BASIL OF CAESAREA
CHRISTIAN, HUMANIST, ASCETIC



A SIXTEEN-
HUNDREDTH
ANNIVERSARY
SYMPOSIUM

EDITED BY

PAUL JONATHAN FEDWICK



PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic
A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium

edited by
Paul Jonathan Fedwick

The study of Basil's life, works, teaching and tradition reveals the exceptional qualities of his Christian, humanistic and ascetic upbringing. Although deeply concerned and involved in the handling of current social and religious affairs, Basil of Caesarea is a truly ecumenical figure belonging to all times and races. These essays commemorating the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of his death have been written by a team of international scholars whose expertise ranges from church history, theology, spirituality, liturgy and iconography to classical studies, palaeography, social history, philosophy and humanities.

The studies open with a new updated chronology of Basil's life and works followed by a penetrating analysis of his writings within the context of his activity as an ascetic and churchman. Since no critical edition is as yet available of his complete works four studies are devoted to the manuscript tradition of his writings in Greek and of all the translations made before 1400 into Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Slavic and Syriac. Basil's work *Contra Eunomium*, difficult to read, is here masterfully analyzed and presented to modern readers for the first time. His relations with classical Greek philosophy, mainly Plotinism, are studied in the general context of third and fourth-century intellectual history; these studies also offer several corrections and insights into the philosophical background of the Christian world in that period. The thorough study of Basil's knowledge and use of rhetoric exhibits a marriage of pagan art with Christian thought, whose offspring are beauty, clarity, and meaning.

It is argued that Basil, when fulfilling the episcopal office, excelled as shepherd, administrator, and teacher, and as the most coherent defender of the faith against the heresies which undermined the unity of the Church. In his works against those who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, Basil examined language, the written teaching in the apostolic tradition, the Bible, and the tradition of the liturgy, in order to argue the equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son.

What made Basil so effective a leader in the church was not so much his family wealth, his aristocratic background, or his sophisticated education; it was rather his conviction of the power of the Christian life to humanize and civilize, of the strength of moral law, and of the supremacy of spiritual values in circumstances which were materially bad or morally equivocal. Although a strict moralist, Basil never separates morality from understanding. His monasticism, it must be noted, was not so much a protest against existing authority in the church, but a sincere search for spiritual revitalization.

Completing the studies are two essays, one studying Basil's contribution to Western canonical collections, the other focusing on Basil's iconographical representations.

This volume, it is hoped, will be a landmark in Basil studies and will herald renewed and wider interest in a great man who belongs not just to Caesarea and the fourth century, but to the whole world and to all time.

Contributors

Milton V. Anastos
Konstantinos G. Bonis
Paul J. Fedwick
Wilma Fitzgerald, SP
Jean Gribomont, OSB
Ioannis Karayannopoulos
George L. Kustas
Jaroslav Pelikan
P. Wallace Platt, CSB
Roger E. Reynolds
John M. Rist
A. Martin Ritter
Stig Y. Rudberg
Thomas Špidlik, SJ
Ramón Teja
Barnim Treucker
Gabriella Uluhogian
Sever J. Voicu


ВАСИЛІИ
ВЕЛИКІИ

BASIL OF CAESAREA: CHRISTIAN, HUMANIST, ASCETIC

A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium

Part One

edited by

PAUL JONATHAN FEDWICK



PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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The Contributors wish to dedicate these volumes
to the Congregation of the Priests of Saint Basil,
organizers and sponsors
of the Toronto St. Basil Symposium, 10-16 June 1979

Contents

Part One

Message of His Holiness, John Paul II, to the Saint Basil Symposium xi

Message of His Holiness, Demetrios I, Ecumenical Patriarch xv

Abbreviations

1. The Works of Basil of Caesarea xix
   —A. Works xix. —B. Dubia xxix. —C. Spuria xxix.
2. Other Works xxxii

Introduction P. Wallace Platt, CSB xxxix

VITA, OPERA, DOCTRINA

1. A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea
   Paul J. Fedwick 3

2. Notes biographiques sur s. Basile le Grand
   Jean Gribomont, OSB 21

   —A. La correspondance 24. —B. Les homélies 27. —C. Les traités dogmatiques 34. —D. L'œuvre ascétique 40. —E. L'*Ad adolescentes* 43. —F. Les livres *De baptismo* 44. —G. Les éloges funèbres à la mémoire de Basile 45. —H. Basil au centre des tensions et des crises 47.

3. Manuscripts and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea
   Stig Y. Rudberg 49

   —A. The Manuscripts 49. —B. The Editions 56.

4. Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου*, A Critical Analysis
   Milton V. Anastos 67

   —A. Book 1 (On God the Father) 67. —B. Book 2 (On the Son) 92. —C. Book 3 (On the Holy Spirit) 111. —D. Conclusions 118. —Epilogue 133. —Glossary 134.

5. Basil's "Neoplatonism": Its Background and Nature
John M. Rist 137

I. Platonism and Christianity: 270-325:
—A. Introduction 137. —B. The Editions of Eustochius. Preliminary Observations, 270-301 140. —C. The Early History of Porphyry's *Against the Christians, De regressu animae*, and Related Matters 141. —D. Eustochius, Porphyry and Eusebius 159. —E. Pagan Alexandria, 270-325 165. —F. Arius 170. —G. The Early Athanasius 173. —H. Some Concluding Remarks: 270-325 178.

II. Platonism and Christianity: 325-355:
—A. Introduction 180. —B. Iamblichus and his Pupils 180. —C. Philosophy at Athens, 250-355 182. —D. Neo-Arianism: Aetius and Eunomius 185. —E. Porphyry, Victorinus Again, and "Candidus" 189. —F. Conclusion: 325-355 190.

III. Basil of Caesarea:
—A. Introduction 190. —B. *De spiritu* and *Ennead* 5.1 192. —C. The Authorship of *De spiritu*: Some Preliminary Remarks 193. —D. *De Spiritu Sancto* outside Chapter 9 195. —E. *De spiritu* and *De Spiritu Sancto* 9 199. —F. Other Texts of Basil 202. —G. Basil and Plotinus: Provisional Results 207. —H. Porphyry and Iamblichus in Basil 212. —I. Plotinus the Philosopher and Basil the Bishop 215. —J. Epilogue 219.

6. Saint Basil and the Rhetorical Tradition George L. Kustas 221

7. Basilios von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert Konstantinos G. Bonis 281

—A. Zur Lage der Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert 281. —B. Basilios' des Grossen Weg zum Wirken in der Kirche 292. —C. Basilios' des Grossen Anachorese 296. —D. Ruckkehr in die Welt – Priesterlich-pastorales Wirken 301. —E. Zu Basilios' Zeiten die Kirche bedrängende Irrlehren 308. —F. Basilios der Theologe 317. —G. Basilios der Kirchenmann 331.

8. The "Spiritual Sense" of Scripture: The Exegetical Basis for St. Basil's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit Jaroslav Pelikan 337

9. L'idéal du monachisme basilien — Thomas Špidlik 361

—A. Un problème en forme d'objection 361. —B. La loi écrite et la loi des faits 362. —C. La "morale du consentement"? 365. —D. Le souvenir continuel de Dieu 367. —E. La sophiologie 370. —F. Les effets du souvenir de Dieu 372. —G. Conclusion 373.

10. St. Basil's Social Activity: Principles and Praxis — Ioannes Karayannopoulos 375

11. San Basilio y la esclavitud: teoría y praxis — Ramón Teja 393

12. A Note on Basil's Letters of Recommendation — Barnim Treucker 405

13. Statt einer Zusammenfassung: Die Theologie des Basileios im Kontext der Reichskirche am Beispiel seines Charismaverständnisses — A. Martin Ritter 411

Part Two

THE TRADITION

14. The Translations of the Works of Basil Before 1400 — Paul J. Fedwick 439

—Introduction: Significance and Limitations of the Problem 439. —A. Syriac Translations 444. —B. Basiliana Latina 455. —C. Works in Armenian 473. —D. Basil in Coptic Literature 480. —E. Basil in Arabic 485. —F. Georgian Translations 492. —G. Old Church Slavonic Translations 503.

15. Basil and the Early Medieval Latin Canonical Collections — Roger E. Reynolds 513

16. Notes on the Iconography of Saint Basil the Great — Wilma Fitzgerald 533

—A. Official Basil 535. —B. Popular Basil 552.

17. P. Antin 111: Un testimone ignorato delle *Erotapokriseis brevius tractatae* di Basilio — Sever J. Voicu 565

18. Repertorio dei manoscritti della versione armena di S. Basilio di Cesarea — Gabriella Uluhogian 571

Appendix: Apostolic Letter of John Paul II for the Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Basil of Caesarea 589

Contributors 623

Participants at the 1979 Toronto St. Basil Symposium 624

Bibliography

—A. Editions: Basil of Caesarea 627 —B. Editions: Other Authors 636. —C. Studies 654.

Concordance Between *Asc. 1* and *Asc. 3* 701

Index of Citations of the Works of Basil of Caesarea 703

Index of Citations of Other Sources 713

Index of Biblical References 727

Index of Manuscripts 731

Index Graecitatis 739

General Index 741

Message of His Holiness, John Paul II, to the Saint Basil Symposium

[A letter from Agostino Casaroli, Pro-Secretary of State, to Cardinal Jan Willebrands, Archbishop of Utrecht, President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, concerning the Saint Basil Symposium held in Toronto, 10-16 June 1979.]

SECRETARIAT OF STATE

FROM THE VATICAN, 1 June 1979

No. 18.532

Your Eminence,

Throughout this year 1979, Christians are commemorating the bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, Saint Basil, Father and Doctor of the Church, whom the Lord called to himself in the year 379 but whose memory and inspiration remain bright in the Christian world even today. Churches, religious congregations, learned groups of many types are taking the occasion of this centenary to reflect upon the personality, the theological acumen and deep spirituality of this holy pastor and illustrious teacher of the Church.

A particularly encouraging aspect of this widespread activity is the common participation of Christians across the divisions of Churches and the differences of theologies, spiritualities and pastoral outlooks. One such meeting is the Symposium in honour of Saint Basil the Great, to be held in Toronto, Canada, from June 10 to 16, under the joint patronage of the Congregation of the Priests of Saint Basil and the Pontifical Institute for Mediaeval Studies. You will take part in this Symposium as President of the Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, in order to show the interest and good will of the Holy See towards meetings between Christian scholars of varying traditions who seek to apply concretely the recommendation for common research made in the Common Declaration published in 1967 by Pope Paul VI and the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras I, of happy memory (*AAS* 59 [1967], p. 1055; *Tomos Agapis*, no. 195, p. 446). Through this letter the Holy Father wishes to greet the

participants in this Symposium and to offer certain reflections concerning the saintly Father of the Church whom we are commemorating in a special way all through the year, and who is rightly considered to belong to all Christians.

In Saint Basil, we honour one of the glories of the Christian Church of the East who has had a remarkable influence on its theology, spirituality and Church discipline. At the same time, he has exercised a marked influence on the entire Christian world. The Church of Rome is happy to look upon him as one of its spiritual guides because of the orthodoxy of his faith joined to a deep sense of pastoral responsibility and great personal holiness.

Basil is, at one and the same time, a man of *Scripture* and a man of *Tradition*. For him, Scripture is the touchstone for discerning the orthodox Christian faith and for making moral choices; it is to guide the asceticism of the monk from going to excess; from it Basil draws his social teachings and his efforts to re-establish a sound discipline in a Church which had been weakened by the controversies of his day; for him it is the instrument for distinguishing the authentic Christian life from contemporary fads and the spirit of the world of his time.

On the other hand, Basil gives strong weight to Tradition. He draws his arguments from older Christian authors as from the "Fathers," and invokes their tradition (cf. *De Spiritu Sancto*, VII, 16, 32-35 and XXIX, 72 ff.). What gives these Fathers authority, however, is that they themselves draw their principles from what Holy Scripture proclaims and follow what Scripture implies. Thus tradition permits progress in theological reflection since it is an expression of the way in which the Church, in the course of the centuries gone by, had understood and lived Scripture. Liturgical usage – the prayer of the Church and the way she has proclaimed the glorification of God – has a particular place to play in this tradition.

This reliance on Scripture and concern for authentic tradition had their origin in Basil's profound respect for the mysteries of faith and for the ultimate incomprehensibility of God. The mysteries of faith were not merely to be taught; they were to find expression in Christian life through contemplation and adoration. Basil was also particularly conscious of being at the service of the Church. During the controversies of his age he did not lose sight of the pastoral needs of his people and of the requirements for reconciling factions deeply divided among themselves. Thus the importance of the practice of what has been called "economy" in expounding his teaching. He did not wish to go beyond the terms of biblical revelation and liturgical celebration if this was at all possible.

Where special formulae were necessary, he would use them; but he tried to avoid the multiplication of formulae or the imposition of terms which could give rise to unnecessary polemics. As Pope Paul VI expressed it in the address he delivered in 1967 when visiting the Ecumenical Patriarch Athenagoras: Saint Basil, in his charity as pastor, defended the authentic faith in the Holy Spirit while avoiding the use of certain words which, even if they were exact, could have been an occasion of scandal for a part of the Christian people (*AAS* 59 [1967], p. 841; *Tomos Agapis*, p. 314). Two years after Basil's death, the Second Ecumenical Council meeting in Constantinople (381) used a similar economy in expressing the Catholic faith in the divinity of the Holy Spirit. An exact statement of the faith was preserved without resorting to certain contested formulae.

Thus Saint Basil remains for us an important witness to Christian unity and a tireless champion of this unity. He strove to reconcile Christians in the profession of the one traditional faith over and above its particular expressions. It is true that where the authentic content of the faith was at stake he could be very demanding. However, even his most rigorous theological speculations were guided by his pastoral preoccupation with the need for unity in proclaiming the faith. To those sincerely striving today to bring about unity among divided Christians, the spirit of Basil is an encouragement to penetrate more deeply into the formulations of the faith in order to grow in understanding the reality underlying them, recognizing that formulae never suffice to express the totality of that reality. In this respect, we are reminded of what the Second Vatican Council says regarding various Christian traditions: "at times one tradition has come nearer to a full appreciation of some aspects of a mystery of revelation than the other or has expressed them better. In such cases, these varying theological formulations are often to be considered complementary rather than conflicting" (*Unitatis Redintegratio*, 17).

It was this preoccupation with unity in proclaiming the faith which motivated Basil's long struggle to heal divisions in the East. How often did he insist on that faith and charity which bind together the local Churches and are their strength (*Ep.* 70, 1; 91, 1; 92, 3, 39; 128, 3, 3; 197, 1, 32). Mutual charity was the heavenly and salvific gift of Christ which united the members in one sole body of Christ for action together in harmony (*Ep.* 70, 7-8). Through disappointment and disillusionment, Basil persevered in striving to bring about communion in faith and ecclesial life among all the Churches of God. His fidelity to both truth and charity should guide us today in making a serene judgment of past events and, above all, in carrying forward our own efforts for restoring full communion among Christians.

These are but a few of the many thoughts which come to mind as the Holy Father contemplates the rich and complex personality of Saint Basil the Great. In his name I would ask you to communicate them to the Symposium of Toronto. His Holiness is grateful to Cardinal George Bernard Flahiff, CSB, Archbishop of Winnipeg, to the members of the Congregation of the Clerks of Saint Basil and to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, for organizing it. His greetings go to the representative of the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and to the representatives of other Churches who are present. He expresses his particular gratitude to the scholars – Catholic, Orthodox, Anglican and Protestant – who are putting their talents at the service of the Christian world by their efforts to make better known the life and work of our common Father, Saint Basil the Great.

Saint Basil represents a model of the ideal apostolic pastor, of the Bishop who is faithful in things great and small, whose strength, rooted in the Gospel, is an inspiration today to those who hold pastoral charges. He was a spiritual master who gave firm guidance on the way to perfection to individuals and communities. In the devotion to the Holy Trinity and particularly to the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier, Saint Basil found the inspiration to join to the experience of radical renunciation an ecclesiology which was profoundly realistic. In him a profound literary and philosophical culture and an exceptionally noble personality are subordinated to the service of the poor and to the well-being of the Body of Christ. By celebrating his memory together, Christians of varying traditions demonstrate their continued openness to his witness, which remains valid for today and the future.

To you and to all the participants of the Toronto Symposium the Holy Father is happy to impart his Apostolic Blessing.

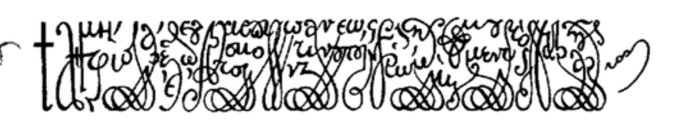
With personal good wishes for the success of this important initiative, I remain

Yours sincerely in Christ,

✠ *Agostino Casaroli*

Pro-Secretary of State

Message of His Holiness, Demetrios I, Ecumenical Patriarch



Ἀριθμ. Πρωτ. 297.

Ὁσιολογιώτατοι πατέρες, οἱ ἀποτελοῦντες τήν ἐν Τορόντῳ Ἀδελφότητα τοῦ Ἁγίου Βασιλείου, χάρις εἴη ὑμῖν καί εἰρήνη παρά Θεοῦ.

Ἐπικοινωνοῦντες καί διά τοῦ παρόντος πρός τήν ἀγαπητήν ἡμῖν Ὁσιολογιότητα ὑμῶν, ἐπιθυμοῦμεν ὅπως καί αὖθις διαδηλώσωμεν πρός τε τήν Ἀδελφότητα ὑμῶν καί πρός τό αὐτόθι Ποντιφικόν Ἰνστιτοῦτον Μεσαιωνικῶν Σπουδῶν τά συγχαρητήρια καί τήν ἰδιαιτέραν εὐαρέσκειαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς Ἁγιωτάτου Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου καί ἡμῶν προσωπικῶς διά τήν ἀπό κοινοῦ ὀργάνωσιν καί πραγματοποίησιν τοῦ πνευματικοῦ Συμποσίου ἐπί τῇ χιλιοστῇ ἑξακοσιοστῇ ἐπετείῳ τοῦ θανάτου τοῦ ἐν Ἁγίοις Πατρός ἡμῶν Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου, Ἀρχιεπισκόπου Καισαρείας τῆς Καππαδοκίας.

Τό Συμπόσιον τοῦτο, ὀργανωθέν ὑφ' ὑμῶν πρός πλουτισμόν, ὡς ἐδηλώσατε, τῶν γνώσεων ὑμῶν περί τοῦ προστάτου ὑμῶν Ἁγίου καί γνωστοποίησιν εὐρύτερον τῆς ἥν οὗτος κατέλιπε πλουσίας ἀνθρωπιστικῆς καί θεολογικῆς κληρονομίας, ἀποτελεῖ καί διά συνόλην τήν Χριστιανοσύνην καλήν εὐκαιρίαν ὅπως αὕτη στρέψῃ συντονωτέραν τήν προσοχήν πρός ἕνα μέγαν Πατέρα τῆς Ἐκκλησίας καί Διδάσκαλον τῆς οἰκουμένης, δι' ὅλων τῶν δυνάμεων τῆς ἰσχυρᾶς προσωπικότητος αὐτοῦ ἐργασθέντα διά τήν εἰρήνευσιν καί τήν ἑνότητα τῆς ὑπό τῆς ἀρειανῆς κακοδοξίας δοκιμασθείσης Ἐκκλησίας καί κοινωνίας τῆς ἐποχῆς αὐτοῦ.

Αἱ ἀνακοινώσεις, εἰς τάς ὁποίας διαρκοῦντος τοῦ Συμποσίου θά προβῶσι δόκιμοι καί ἐμβριθεῖς ἐρευνηταί καί μελετηταί, ἀναμφιβόλως θά ἐπιχύσωσιν ἀρκετόν φῶς εἰς τάς κυριωτέρας πλευράς τῆς ἐκτάκτου εἰς ρυθμόν δραστηριότητος τοῦ Ἁγίου Βασιλείου κατά τε τήν προεπισκοπικήν καί κατά τήν ὀκταετῆ ἀρχιεπισκοπικήν ἐν Καισαρείᾳ διακονίαν αὐτοῦ. Θά ἀναλύσωσι τόν ἄνθρωπον τῶν μεγάλων προσπαθειῶν καί ἐπιτευγμάτων ἐπί τῶν πεδίων τῆς μοναστικῆς,

τῆς κοινωνικῆς, τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καί τῆς θεολογικῆς ζωῆς καί σκέψεως. Ἰδιαιτέρως δέ θά παραστήσωσιν, ὑπολαμβάνομεν, τήν ἀγχώδη εἰρηνοποιόν ἀπό Καισαρείας, τήν ὁποίαν εἶχε καταστήσει κέντρον συντονισμοῦ τῆς δραστηριότητος ὁλοκλήρου τῆς Ὀρθοδοξίας, προσπάθειαν τοῦ ἐκτάκτου τούτου ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἀνδρός πρός μή ἀνακοπήν, ἀλλά συνέχισιν τῆς αὐξήσεως καί πρός τά πρόσω ἀνοδικῆς πορείας τῆς μόλις ἀπό τοῦ κινδύνου τῶν διωγμῶν ἀπαλλαγείσης καί ἐν ἐλευθερίᾳ πλέον ἐπί τό ἁγιαστικόν αὐτῆς ἔργον χωρούσης Ἐκκλησίας τοῦ Χριστοῦ, ἀποκατάστασιν ἐν αὐτῇ τῆς εἰρήνης καί τῆς ἀγάπης, ἀπαραιτήτων παραγόντων τῆς αὐξήσεως καί τῆς ἀκμῆς, καί σύγκλησιν Οἰκουμενικῆς Συνόδου διά τήν ὁριστικήν λύσιν τοῦ Τριαδολογικοῦ δόγματος.

Τήν ὑπό τῆς Ὁσιολογιότητος ὑμῶν πρός τιμήν καί εἰς μνημόσυνον τοῦ μεγάλου εἰρηνοποιοῦ Ἁγίου Βασιλείου τοῦ Μεγάλου ὀργάνωσιν τοῦ Συμποσίου ἡμεῖς τοποθετοῦντες εἰς τά πλαίσια τῆς καί κατά τούς χρόνους ἡμῶν τούτους καταβαλλομένης θεοφιλοῦς προσπαθείας πρός ἀποκατάστασιν τῆς εἰρήνης καί τῆς ἀγάπης ἐν τῇ συγχρόνῳ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, εὐκαίρως καί ὀφειλετικῶς μνημονεύομεν τῶν πρωτοπόρων ἐν τῇ προσπαθείᾳ ταύτῃ καί νέων ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ εἰρηνοποιῶν ἀοιδίμων Πρωθιεραρχῶν τῆς Πρεσβυτέρας Ρώμης Ἰωάννου τοῦ ΚΓ΄ καί τῆς Νέας Ρώμης Ἀθηναγόρου τοῦ Α΄. Ἡ ἄρσις τῶν ἀναθεμάτων καί ὁ ἐγκαινιασμός πυκνῶν διά γραφῆς καί προσωπικῶν ἐπικοινωνιῶν ἐπαφῶν, ἐπί τούτοις δέ ὁ προπαρασκευασθείς καί ὁριστικῶς μέλλων ἵνα ἄρξηται ἐπίσημος θεολογικός διάλογος μεταξύ τῶν δύο ἱστορικῶν καί παραδοσιαρχικῶν Ἐκκλησιῶν, δέν ἀποτελοῦσι μόνον εὐοίωνα σημεῖα τῶν καιρῶν, ἀλλ᾽ εἶναι μαρτύρια ἔκδηλα τῶν περί τῆς Ἐκκλησίας βουλῶν τοῦ Θεοῦ, τοῦ εἰδότος ἀνιστάναι ἑκάστοτε τούς δυνατούς εἰς πραγμάτωσιν αὐτῶν.

Εὐλογήσαι ὁ Κύριος καί τήν τιμίαν καί τῷ θελήματι Αὐτοῦ σύμφωνον προσπάθειαν ταύτην, εἰς δόξαν τοῦ Ὀνόματος Αὐτοῦ.

Διαβιβάζομεν διά τῆς Ὁσιολογιότητος ὑμῶν πρός τούς μετέχοντας τοῦ Συμποσίου πάντας τόν χαιρετισμόν ἡμῶν καί ὁλόθυμον τήν Πατριαρχικήν ἡμῶν εὐλογίαν, καί εὐχόμενοι ὑπέρ ἐπιτυχίας τοῦ Συμποσίου, αἰτούμεθα ἐπί τήν Ὁσιολογιότητα ὑμῶν καί ἐπί πάντας τήν χάριν τοῦ Θεοῦ καί τό ἄπειρον Αὐτοῦ ἔλεος.

͵αϡοθ΄ Μαΐου ιζ΄.

διάπυρος πρός Θεόν εὐχέτης Δ.



[Translation]

Reverend and learned Fathers of the Congregation of St. Basil in Toronto, grace and peace to you from God.

By this present communication to Your beloved Reverence we wish to express once again our congratulations both to your Congregation and to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies in Toronto. We also wish to express the particular satisfaction of our most holy Ecumenical Throne and our own personal satisfaction that the arrangement and realization of this spiritual Symposium on the occasion of the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of the death of our Father among the saints, Basil the Great, Archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, should have been a common undertaking.

You have organized this Symposium, as you declare, to increase your own understanding of your patron saint and to spread more widely the knowledge of that rich legacy of humanism and theology which he has left to us. The Symposium constitutes an excellent opportunity for the entire Christian world to train its attention more closely upon a great Father of the Church and teacher of the oikoumenē, a man who worked with all the powers of his forceful personality to bring peace and unity to the Church of his own age, a community sorely tried by the Arian heresy.

During the Symposium lectures will be given by scholars and researchers of proven ability and erudition. There can be no doubt that these will shed considerable light on the more important aspects of St. Basil's exceptional and timely activity both before and during the eight years of his ministry as Archbishop of Caesarea. These papers will examine a man of great effort and wide accomplishment in the fields of monastic, social, ecclesiastical and theological life and thought. We presume that they will also bring out in a particular way the solicitude of this singular Churchman to make peace spread outwards from Caesarea, a city that he had made a centre for co-ordinating the activity of the whole Orthodox world. Indeed, St. Basil's efforts on behalf of the Church of Christ were aimed not at checking but at furthering the growth and upward progress of The Church which had only just been delivered from the danger of persecutions and which was moving forward in freedom to accomplish her task of sanctification. We presume as well that the scholarly papers will deal with the re-establishment of peace and love in the Church – the indispensable conditions for her growth and flowering – and also with the summoning of the Ecumenical Synod to achieve the definitive resolution of Trinitarian dogma.

You have organized this Symposium to do honour to and to serve as a memorial of an outstanding peacemaker, St. Basil the Great. We situate

this initiative within the framework of that effort being made in our own time, and which is beloved of God, to re-establish peace and love in the contemporary Church of Christ. In this respect it is both appropriate and incumbent upon us to recall here those who pioneered in this effort, new peacemakers in the Church and ecclesiastical leaders of blessed memory, John XXIII of the Elder Rome and Athenagoras I of New Rome. The lifting of the anathemas, the inauguration of frequent contacts in fellowship both by letter and in person, and, in addition, the official theological dialogue between the two historical Churches devoted to Tradition, a dialogue that has long been prepared and is now definitely about to begin – these are all more than just auspicious signs of the times, they are clear witnesses to the will of God for His Church. For in every age God knows how to raise up those able to carry out His will.

May the Lord bless what you have undertaken to the Glory of His Name, an honourable work and one in accordance with His will.

Through Your Reverence we convey our greetings and our heartfelt Patriarchal benediction to all the participants in the Symposium. We pray for the success of the Symposium and we beseech God to send down His grace and boundless mercy upon Your Reverence and upon all those present.

17 May 1979

With fervent prayers to God,
Demetrios I, Ecumenical Patriarch

Abbreviations

1. The Works of Basil of Caesarea

For editions and translations see Bibliography, A; for questions of criticism and chronology see pp. 3-19, below. This list comprises a. Works, b. Dubia, and c. Spuria. The numbers in bold face, on the left, are those from the forthcoming work of P. J. Fedwick, "Basil of Caesarea, 330-1985. A Critical Survey of the Direct and Indirect Tradition of His Works: Manuscripts, Translations, Early References, Editions and Studies." *E* = *Epistula*; *H* = *Homilia*; *L* = *Liturgia*; * = Dubia; ** = Spuria. The numbers in square brackets are those of PG.

A. Works

1	*Ad adolesc.*	*Ad adolescentes, quomodo possint ex gentilium libris fructum capere* (CPG 2867)
2	*Ad virg.* [46]	*Ad virginem lapsam* (either as a homily or a letter, *Ep.* 46)
3	*Asc.*	*Asceticon* (general title of which the following recensions, early translations and traditions are known. For details see Gribomont, *Histoire*, from whose nomenclature and classification I differ slightly)
3a	*Asc. 1*	*Asceticon parvum* or first edition of the *Asceticon* (CPG 2876)
3a1	*Asc. 1r*	Latin version of *Asc. 1* by Rufinus under the title *Interrogationes fratrum*
3a2	*Asc. 1s*	Syriac version of *Asc. 1* by an anonymous. Title: *Quaestiones fratrum*
3b	*Asc. 2*	Second edition of the *Asceticon, Asceticon magnum* (Gribomont: "recensio Studita")
3b1	*Asc. 2h*	Armenian version of *Asc. 2* by an anonymous with the title *Girk' Harc'olac'* = "Liber quaestionum"
3c	*Asc. 3*	Third edition of the *Asceticon*, *Asceticon magnum* (Gribomont: "recensio Vulgata"; CPG 2875)
3d	*Asc. 2/3a*	Ibid. (Gribomont: "recensio Orientalis")
3d1	*Asc. 2/3a-c*	Ibid.: Latin version by Angelo Clareno
3d2	*Asc. 2/3a-k*	Ibid.: Arabic version with the title *Kitab* = "Liber"
3e	*Asc. 2/3b*	Ibid. (Gribomont: "recensio Nilus")

3f	*Asc. 2/3c*	Ibid. (Gribomont: "recensio Barberiniana." Add now the complete MS of Istanbul BOP HT 105)
3f1	*Asc. 2/3c-p*	Ibid.: Georgian version of Procopius with a text akin to the previous
3g	*Asc. 2/3d*	Ibid. (Gribomont: "recensio Mysogyna")
3h	*Asc. Pr1*	*Prologus Asc. 1* (CPG 2878). Add: BHP 53: 137-138
3i	*Asc. Pr2*	*Prooemium in EApokr. br.* (CPG 2880)
3j	*Asc. Pr3*	*Prooemium in Asc. 2* and *3* (CPG 2881)
3k	*Asc. Pr4*	*Prologus* (attached to either *Asceticon magnum*; CPG 2882)
[400]	**Asc. Pr5*	See Dubia
4	*C. Eun.* 1-3	*Contra Eunomium* libri tres (CPG 2837)
5	*De bapt.* 1-2	*De baptismo* libri duo (CPG 2896)
6	*De perf.* [22]	*De perfectione vitae monasticae* (either as a prologue and ascetic treatise or as a letter, *Ep.* 22)
7	*De Sp. S.*	*De Spiritu Sancto ad Amphilochium* (CPG 2839)
8	*EAbr.* [132]	*Abramio, episcopo Batnorum*
9	*EAburg.* [33]	*Aburgio*
10	*EAburg.* [75]	*Aburgio*
11	*EAburg.* [147]	*Aburgio*
12	*EAburg.* [178]	*Aburgio*
13	*EAburg.* [196]	*Aburgio*
14	*EAburg.* [304]	*Aburgio*
15	*EAdm.* [326]	*Sine inscriptione, admonitionis causa*
16	*EAlex.* [139]	*Alexandrinis*
17	*EAmb.* [197.1]	*Ambrosio, episcopo Mediolanensi*
18	*EAmic.* [11]	*Sine inscriptione, amicitiae ergo*
19	*EAmph.* [150]	*Amphilochio, Heraclidae nomine*
20	*EAmph.* [161]	*Amphilochio, ordinato episcopo*
21	*EAmph.* [200]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
22	*EAmph.* [190]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
23	*EAmph.* [188]	*Amphilochio de canonibus* (Canonica 1)
24	*EAmph.* [176]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
25	*EAmph.* [201]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
26	*EAmph.* [231]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
27	*EAmph.* [199]	*Amphilochio de canonibus* (Canonica 2)
28	*EAmph.* [202]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
29	*EAmph.* [232]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
30	*EAmph.* [233]	*Amphilochio episcopo, qui eum consuluerat*
31	*EAmph.* [234]	*Eidem ad aliam quaestionem responsio*
32	*EAmph.* [235]	*Eidem ad aliam quaestionem responsio*
33	*EAmph.* [236]	*Eidem Amphilochio*
34	*EAmph.* [248]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*
35	*EAmph.* [218]	*Amphilochio, Iconii episcopo*

36	*EAmph.* [217]	*Amphilochio de canonibus* (Canonica 3)
37	*EAnc.* [29]	*Ecclesiae Ancyrae consolatoria*
38	*EAndr.* [112]	*Andronico duci*
39	*EAnep.* [307]	*Sine inscriptione seu anepigrapha*
40	*EAnep.* [330]	*Sine inscriptione*
41	*EAnep.* [331]	*Sine inscriptione*
42	*EAnep.* [332]	*Sine inscriptione*
43	*EAnt. ec.* [140]	*Ecclesiae Antiochenae*
44	*EAnt. pb.* [253]	*Presbyteris Antiochiae*
45	*EAnt.* [146]	*Antiocho*
46	*EAnt.* [158]	*Antiocho*
47	*EAnt.* [157]	*Antiocho*
48	*EAnt.* [168]	*Antiocho, presbytero, fratris Eusebii filio, qui cum patruo exsulante versabatur*
49	*EAntip.* [137]	*Antipatro*
50	*EAntip.* [186]	*Antipatro praesidi*
51	*EArc. com.* [15]	*Arcadio comiti privatarum*
52	*EArc. ep.* [49]	*Arcadio episcopo*
53	*EArin.* [179]	*Arinthaeo*
54	*EArin. con.* [269]	*Ad conjugem Arinthaei ducis consolatoria*
55	*EAsc.* [226]	*Ascetis suis*
56	*EAsch.* [154]	*Ascholio monacho et presbytero*
57	*EAsch.* [164]	*Ascholio, episcopo Thessalonicae*
58	*EAtarb.* [65]	*Atarbio*
59	*EAtarb.* [126]	*Atarbio*
60	*EAth.* [61]	*Athanasio, Alexandriae episcopo*
61	*EAth.* [66]	*Athanasio, Alexandriae episcopo*
62	*EAth.* [69]	*Athanasio, Alexandriae episcopo*
63	*EAth.* [67]	*Athanasio, Alexandriae episcopo*
64	*EAth.* [80]	*Athanasio, Alexandriae episcopo*
65	*EAth.* [82]	*Athanasio, Alexandriae episcopo*
66	*EAth. Anc.* [25]	*Athanasio episcopo Ancyrae*
67	*EAth. pt.* [24]	*Athanasio patri*
68	*EAux.* [36]	*Sine inscriptione, auxilii causa*
69	*EBars.* [264]	*Barsae, Edessae episcopo, exsulanti*
70	*EBars.* [267]	*Barsae, Edessae episcopo, exsulanti*
71	*EBer.* [220]	*Beroeoeis*
72	*EBer.* [221]	*Beroeoeis*
73	*EBosp.* [51]	*Bosporio episcopo*
74	*EBris.* [302]	*Uxori Brisonis consolatoria*
75	*ECaes. ptc.* [93]	*Ad Caesariam patriciam, de communione*
76	*ECaes.* [26]	*Caesario Gregorii fratri*
77	*ECall.* [73]	*Callistheni*
78	*ECand.* [3]	*Candidiano*

79	*ECan.* [52]	*Ad canonicas*
80	*ECens.* [83]	*Censitori*
81	*ECens.* [299]	*Censitori*
82	*ECens.* [312]	*Censitori*
83	*ECens.* [313]	*Censitori*
84	*ECens.* [284]	*Ad censitorem, causa monachorum*
85	*EChalc.* [222]	*Ad Chalcidenses*
86	*EChor.* [54]	*Chorepiscopis*
87	*EChor.* [53]	*Chorepiscopis*
88	*ECogn.* [310]	*Sine inscriptione, pro cognatis*
89	*ECol. cl.* [227]	*Clericis Coloniensibus consolatoria*
90	*ECol. mg.* [228]	*Coloniae magistratibus*
91	*ECom.* [303]	*Comiti privatarum*
92	*EComm.* [286]	*Commentariensi*
93	*ECons.* [101]	*Consolatoria*
94	*ECons.* [301]	*Consolatoria*
95	*ECont.* [318]	*Sine inscriptione, pro conterraneo*
96	*EDef.* [209]	*Sine inscriptione, defensionis causa*
97	*EDem.* [225]	*Demostheni, aliorum episcoporum nomine*
98	*EDiod.* [135]	*Diodoro, Antiochiae presbytero*
99	*EDiod.* [160]	*Diodoro*
100	*EDiv.* [316]	*Sine inscriptione, pro divexato*
101	*EDor.* [215]	*Dorotheo presbytero*
102	*EEg.* [309]	*Sine inscriptione, pro egeno*
103	*EEg.* [317]	*Sine inscriptione, pro egeno*
104	*EElp.* [78]	*Sine inscriptione, pro Elpidio*
105	*EElp. ep.* [205]	*Elpidio episcopo*
106	*EElp. ep.* [206]	*Elpidio episcopo consolatoria*
107	*EEpiph.* [258]	*Epiphanio episcopo*
108	*EEpisc.* [165]	*Episcopo* (codd. "Ascholio, episcopo Thessalonicae")
109	*EEpisc.* [191]	*Episcopo* (vulgo "Amphilochio, episcopo Iconii")
110	*EEpisc.* [213]	*Episcopo* (vulgo "Sine inscriptione, viri pii causa")
111	*EEpisc.* [282]	*Ad episcopum*
112	*EEulnc.* [208]	*Eulancio*
113	*EEulg.* [265]	*Eulogio, Alexandro et Harpocrationi, Aegypti episcopis exsulibus*
114	*EEup.* [159]	*Eupaterio, et filiae*
115	*EEuph.* [195]	*Euphronio, episcopo Coloniae Armeniae*
116	*EEus.* [27]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
117	*EEus.* [48]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
118	*EEus.* [30]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
119	*EEus.* [34]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
120	*EEus.* [95]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
121	*EEus.* [98]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*

122 *EEus.* [128] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
123 *EEus.* [100] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
124 *EEus.* [127] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
125 *EEus.* [145] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
126 *EEus.* [138] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
127 *EEus.* [141] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
128 *EEus.* [136] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
129 *EEus.* [162] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
130 *EEus.* [198] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
131 *EEus.* [237] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
132 *EEus.* [239] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
133 *EEus.* [241] *Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum*
134 *EEus.* [268] *Eusebio exsuli*
135 *EEus. sod.* [271] *Eusebio sodali*
136 *EEusbn.* [31] *Eusebonae episcopo*
137 *EEust. arch.* [151] *Eustathio archiatro*
138 *EEust. Him.* [184] *Eustathio, Himmeriae episcopo*
139 *EEust. phl.* [1] *Eustathio philosopho*
140 *EEust.* [79] *Eustathio, episcopo Sebastiae*
141 *EEust.* [119] *Eustathio, episcopo Sebastiae*
142 *EEust.* [125] *Exemplar fidei a sanctissimo Basilio dictatae, cui subscripsit Eustathius Sebastiae episcopus*
143 *EEust.* [223] *Adversus Eustathium Sebastenum*
144 *EEvaes.* [251] *Evaesenis*
145 *EEvagr.* [156] *Evagrio presbytero*
146 *EEx.* [88] *Sine inscriptione, causa exactoris pecuniarum*
147 *EExh.* [327] *Sine inscriptione, exhortatoria*
148 *EFest.* [294] *Festo et Magno*
149 *EFirm.* [116] *Firmino*
150 *EFrat.* [256] *Desideratissimis et religiosissimis fratribus compresbyteris Acacio, Aetio, Paulo et Silvano, et Silvino et Lucio diaconis et caeteris fratribus monachis, Basilius episcopus*
151 *EFug.* [314] *Sine inscriptione, pro fugitivo*
152 *EGen.* [224] *Genethlio presbytero*
153 *EGNaz.* [14] *Gregorio sodali*
154 *EGNaz.* [2] *Gregorio sodali*
155 *EGNaz.* [19] *Gregorio sodali*
156 *EGNaz.* [367] *Gregorio sodali*
157 *EGNaz.* [71] *Gregorio*
158 *EGNaz.* [7] *Gregorio sodali*
159 *EGNys.* [58] *Gregorio fratri*
160 *EGreg. ptr.* [59] *Gregorio patruo*
161 *EGreg. ptr.* [60] *Gregorio patruo*

162	*EGreg. pb.* [55]	*Gregorio presbytero*
163	*EHarm.* [276]	*Harmatio magno*
164	*EHel.* [94]	*Heliae rectori provinciae*
165	*EHell.* [109]	*Helladio comiti*
166	*EHera* [273]	*Sine inscriptione, pro Hera*
167	*EHera* [275]	*Sine inscriptione, pro Hera*
168	*EHes.* [64]	*Hesychio*
169	*EHes.* [72]	*Hesychio*
170	*EHil.* [212]	*Hilario*
171	*EHim.* [274]	*Himerio magistro*
172	*EHosp.* [319]	*Sine inscriptione, pro hospite*
173	*EHyp.* [328]	*Hyperechio*
174	*EIov. com.* [163]	*Iovino comiti*
175	*EIov. ep.* [118]	*Iovino, episcopo Perrhes*
176	*EItal.* [242]	*Ad Italos* (codd. "Occidentalibus")
177	*EItal.* [92]	*Ad Italos et Gallos*
178	*EItal.* [243]	*Ad episcopos Italos et Gallos, de perturbatione ac confusione Ecclesiarum*
179	*EIuln.* [293]	*Iuliano*
180	*EIul.* [107]	*Iulittae viduae*
181	*EIul. tut.* [108]	*Tutori haeredum Iulittae*
182	*EIur.* [85]	*De cavendo iureiurando*
183	*ELeont.* [35]	*Sine inscriptione, de Leontio*
184	*ELeont. sph.* [20]	*Leontio sophistae*
185	*ELeont. sph.* [21]	*Leontio sophistae*
186	*ELibr.* [334]	*Librario*
187	*EMac.* [18]	*Macario et Ioanni*
188	*EMagn.* [175]	*Magneniano comiti*
189	*EMagn.* [325]	*Magneniano* (Magniniano)
190	*EMarit.* [203]	*Maritimis episcopis*
191	*EMart.* [74]	*Martiniano*
192	*EMax.* [149]	*Sine inscriptione, de Maximo* (codd. "Trajano")
193	*EMax. phl.* [9]	*Maximo philosopho*
194	*EMax. sch.* [277]	*Maximo scholastico*
195	*EMel.* [57]	*Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae*
196	*EMel.* [68]	*Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae*
197	*EMel.* [89]	*Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae*
198	*EMel.* [129]	*Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae*
199	*EMel.* [120]	*Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae*
200	*EMel.* [216]	*Meletio, episcopo Antiochiae*
201	*EMel. arch.* [193]	*Meletio archiatro*
202	*EMil.* [106]	*Militi*
203	*EMod.* [110]	*Modesto praefecto*
204	*EMod.* [104]	*Modesto praefecto*

205	*EMod.* [111]	*Modesto praefecto*
206	*EMod.* [279]	*Modesto praefecto*
207	*EMod.* [280]	*Modesto praefecto*
208	*EMod.* [281]	*Modesto praefecto*
209	*EMon. com.* [23]	*Ad monachum commendatitia*
210	*EMon.* [295]	*Monachis*
211	*EMon. vex.* [257]	*Ad monachos ab Arianis vexatos*
212	*EMul.* [289]	*Sine inscriptione, de muliere afflicta*
213	*ENect.* [290]	*Nectario*
214	*ENect. cons.* [5]	*Ad Nectarium consolatoria*
215	*ENect. ux.* [6]	*Nectarii uxori consolatoria*
216	*ENeoc.* [204]	*Ad Neocaesarienses*
217	*ENeoc. cl.* [207]	*Ad clericos Neocaesarienses*
218	*ENeoc. ec.* [28]	*Ecclesiae Neocaesariensi consolatoria*
219	*ENeoc. pm.* [210]	*Ad primores Neocaesarienses*
220	*ENeoc. pl.* [63]	*Principali Neocaesareae*
221	*ENic.* [246]	*Nicopolitanis*
222	*ENic.* [247]	*Nicopolitanis*
223	*ENic. cl.* [229]	*Clericis Nicopolitanis*
224	*ENic. mg.* [230]	*Magistratibus Nicopolitanis*
225	*ENic. pb.* [238]	*Nicopolitanis presbyteris*
226	*ENic. pb.* [240]	*Nicopolitanis presbyteris*
227	*ENot.* [333]	*Notario*
228	*ENum.* [142]	*Numerario praesidum*
229	*ENum. al.* [143]	*Alteri numerario*
230	*EOccid.* [90]	*Sanctissimis fratribus ac episcopis Occidentalibus*
231	*EOccid.* [263]	*Occidentalibus*
232	*EOlymp.* [4]	*Olympio*
233	*EOlymp.* [12]	*Olympio*
234	*EOlymp.* [13]	*Olympio*
235	*EOlymp.* [131]	*Olympio*
236	*EOlymp.* [211]	*Olympio*
237	*EOpt.* [260]	*Optimo episcopo*
238	*EOrig.* [17]	*Origeni*
239	*EOtr.* [181]	*Otreio Meletines*
240	*EPaion.* [134]	*Paionio presbytero*
241	*EPall.* [292]	*Palladio*
242	*EPall. In.* [259]	*Palladio et Innocentio monachis*
243	*EParn.* [62]	*Ecclesiae Parnassi consolatoria*
244	*EPasch.* [322]	*Sine inscriptione, ut cum amico Pascha celebret*
245	*EPasin.* [324]	*Pasinico medico*
246	*EPat.* [300]	*Patri scholastici cuiusdam fato functi consolatoria*
247	*EPatr.* [308]	*Sine inscriptione, patrocinii causa*
248	*EPatr. ec.* [285]	*Sine inscriptione, ut patrocinium Ecclesiae conciliet*

249	*EPatrph.* [244]	*Patrophilo, Aegeensis Ecclesiae episcopo*
250	*EPatrph.* [250]	*Patrophilo, Aegeensis Ecclesiae episcopo*
251	*EPauln.* [182]	*Paulino presbytero*
252	*EPel.* [254]	*Pelagio, episcopo Laodiceae Syriae*
253	*EPerg.* [56]	*Pergamio*
254	*EPetr.* [133]	*Petro, episcopo Alexandriae*
255	*EPetr.* [266]	*Petro, episcopo Alexandriae*
256	*EPhal.* [329]	*Phalerio*
257	*EPhil.* [323]	*Philagrio Arceno*
258	*EPoem.* [122]	*Poemonio, episcopo Satalorum*
259	*EPont.* [252]	*Ponticae dioecesis episcopis*
260	*EPraes.* [84]	*Praesidi*
261	*EPraes.* [86]	*Praesidi*
262	*EPresb.* [87]	*Sine inscriptione de iisdem rebus* (scil. *de presbytero* cf. **260**)
263	*EPrinc.* [311]	*Principali*
264	*EProp.* [315]	*Sine inscriptione, pro propinqua*
265	*ERapt.* [270]	*Sine inscriptione, de raptu*
266	*ESal.* [320]	*Sine inscriptione, salutandi causa*
267	*ESam. cl.* [219]	*Clero Samosatensi*
268	*ESam. sen.* [183]	*Samosatorum senatui*
269	*ESat.* [103]	*Satalensibus*
270	*ESat. civ.* [102]	*Civibus Satalensis*
271	*ESeb.* [306]	*Principali Sebastiae*
272	*ESimpl.* [115]	*Ad Simpliciam haereticam*
273	*ESophr. ep.* [172]	*Sophronio episcopo*
274	*ESophr.* [76]	*Sophronio magistro*
275	*ESophr.* [32]	*Sophronio magistro*
276	*ESophr.* [96]	*Sophronio magistro*
277	*ESophr.* [177]	*Sophronio magistro*
278	*ESophr.* [180]	*Sophronio magistro, in Eumathii gratiam*
279	*ESophr.* [192]	*Sophronio magistro*
280	*ESophr.* [272]	*Sophronio magistro*
281	*ESor.* [155]	*Sorano duci* (codd. "Sine inscriptione causa aliptae")
282	*ESoz.* [261]	*Sozopolitanis*
283	*ESyn.* [70]	*Sine inscriptione, de synodo*
284	*ESynt.* [37]	*Sine inscriptione, pro syntropho*
285	*ETars.* [114]	*Tarsensium communitati sub Cyriacum*
286	*ETars. pb.* [113]	*Presbyteris Tarsensibus*
287	*ETer.* [99]	*Terentio comiti*
288	*ETer.* [214]	*Terentio comiti*
289	*ETer. fl.* [105]	*Diaconissis Terentii comitis filiabus*
290	*ETheod.* [173]	*Theodorae canonicae*
291	*EThdr.* [124]	*Theodoro*

292	*EThdt. Ber.* [185]	*Theodoto, episcopo Beroeae*
293	*EThdt.* [130]	*Theodoto, episcopo Nicopolitano*
294	*EThdt.* [121]	*Theodoto, episcopo Nicopolitano*
295	*ETheoph.* [245]	*Theophilo episcopo*
296	*ETher.* [77]	*Sine inscriptione, de Therasio*
297	*ETim.* [291]	*Timotheo chorepiscopo*
298	*ETract.* [144]	*Tractatori praesidum*
299	*ETrai.* [148]	*Traiano*
300	*ETyan.* [97]	*Senatui Tyanorum*
301	*EUlt.* [287]	*Sine inscriptione, contra ultores*
302	*EUlt.* [288]	*Sine inscriptione, contra ultores*
303	*EUrb.* [123]	*Urbicio monacho*
304	*EUrb.* [262]	*Urbicio monacho*
305	*EVal.* [278]	*Valeriano*
306	*EVal. ep.* [91]	*Valeriano, Illyricorum episcopo*
307	*EVict.* [153]	*Victori ex-consuli*
308	*EVict.* [152]	*Victori exercitus duci*
309	*EVid.* [174]	*Ad viduam*
310	*EVid.* [283]	*Ad viduam*
311	*EVid.* [296]	*Viduae*
312	*EVid.* [297]	*Viduae*
313	*EVir.* [249]	*Sine inscriptione, viri pii causa*
314	*EVir.* [298]	*Sine inscriptione, causa pii viri*
315	*EVirr.* [305]	*Sine inscriptione, causa virorum quorumdam virtute clarorum*
316	*EVit.* [255]	*Vito, Carrhorum episcopo*
317	*EZoil.* [194]	*Zoilo*
	EApokr.	*Erotapokriseis* (see *Asc. 1-2*)
	EApokr. br.	*Erotapokriseis breviores* (formerly "Regulae brevius tractatae": see *Asc. 3*)
	EApokr. fus.	*Erotapokriseis fusiores* (formerly "Regulae fusius tractatae": see *Asc. 3*)
318	*Hex.* 1-9	*Homiliae in Hexaemeron* 1-9 (CPG 2835)
319	*HAtt.* [3]	*Homilia in illud: "Attende tibi ipsi"* (CPG 2847)
320	*HBapt.* [13]	*Homilia exhortatoria ad sanctum baptisma* (CPG 2857; BHG 1935)
321	*HChr.* [27]	*Homilia in sanctam Christi generationem* (CPG 2913; BHG 1922)
322	*HDestr.* [6]	*In illud dictum evangelii secundum Lucam: "Destruam horrea mea, et maiora aedificabo": itemque de avaritia* (CPG 2850)
323	*HDiv.* [7]	*Homilia in divites* (CPG 2851)
324	*HEbr.* [14]	*Homilia in ebriosos* (CPG 2858)
325	*HFam.* [8]	*Homilia dicta tempore famis et siccitatis* (CPG 2852)

326	*HFide* [15]	*Homilia de fide* (CPG 2859)
327	*HGord.* [18]	*Homilia in Gordium martyrem* (CPG 2862; BHG[a] 703)
328	*HGrat.* [4]	*Homilia de gratiarum actione* (CPG 2848)
329	*HHum.* [20]	*Homilia de humilitate* (CPG 2865)
330	*HIeiun.* 1	*De ieiunio, homilia 1* (CPG 2845)
331	*HIeiun.* 2	*De ieiunio, homilia 2* (CPG 2846)
332	*HInv.* [11]	*Homilia de invidia* (CPG 2855)
333	*HIra* [10]	*Homilia adversus eos qui irascuntur* (CPG 2854)
334	*HIul.* [5]	*Homilia in martyrem Iulittam, et in ea quae superfuerant dicenda in prius habita concione de gratiarum actione* (CPG 2849; BHG[a] 972)
335	*HLac.* [26]	*Homilia dicta in Lacizis* (CPG 2912)
336	*HMal.* [9]	*Homilia quod Deus non est auctor malorum* (CPG 2853)
337	*HMam.* [23]	*Homilia in sanctum martyrem Mamantem* (CPG 2868; BHG 1020)
338	*HMart.* [19]	*Homilia in sanctos quadraginta martyres* (CPG 2863; BHG[a] 1205)
339	*HMund.* [21]	*Homilia quod rebus mundanis adhaerendum non sit, et de incendio extra Ecclesiam facto* (CPG 2866)
340	*HProv.* [12]	*Homilia in principium Proverbiorum* (CPG 2856)
341	*HSab.* [24]	*Homilia contra Sabellianos, et Arium, et Anomoeos* (CPG 2869)
342	*HTrin.* [29]	*Homilia adversus eos qui per calumniam dicunt dici a nobis deos tres* (CPG 2914)
343	*HVerb.* [16]	*Homilia in illud: "In principio erat Verbum"* (CPG 2860)
344	*HPs. 1*	*Homilia in psalmum 1*
345	*HPs. 7*	*Homilia in psalmum 7*
346	*HPs. 14a*	*Homilia in psalmum 14, prima*
347	*HPs. 14b*	*Homilia in psalmum 14, secunda*
348	*HPs. 28a*	*Homilia in psalmum 28, prima*
349	*HPs. 29*	*Homilia in psalmum 29*
350	*HPs. 32*	*Homilia in psalmum 32*
351	*HPs. 33*	*Homilia in psalmum 33*
352	*HPs. 44*	*Homilia in psalmum 44*
353	*HPs. 45*	*Homilia in psalmum 45*
354	*HPs. 48*	*Homilia in psalmum 48*
355	*HPs. 59*	*Homilia in psalmum 59*
356	*HPs. 61*	*Homilia in psalmum 61*
357	*HPs. 114*	*Homilia in psalmum 114*
358	*HPs. 115*	*Homilia in psalmum 115*
359	*Hyp. Pr.*	*Prologus in Hypotyposin asceticam* (CPG 2884)
	Hyp. 2	*Hypotyposis ascetica 2* (Gribomont: *Hyp.* **S**)
	Hyp. 3	*Hypotyposis ascetica 3* (Gribomont: *Hyp.* **V**)

360	*LBas. 1*	*Liturgia Basilii byzantina* (see Engberding, *Das eucharistische*; cf. CPG 2905.2)
360a	*LBas. 2*	*Liturgia Basilii vetus syriaca* (see Engberding, *Das eucharistische*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv)
360b	*LBas. 3*	*Liturgia Basilii vetus armeniaca* (Engberding, ibid., p. xxxv. For ***LBas. 4* see Spuria below)
361	*Mor.*	*Moralia seu Regulae morales* (*Reg. mor.* 1-80; CPG 2877)
361a	*Mor. PrI*	*In Moralia Prooemium De iudicio Dei* (CPG 2885)
361b	*Mor. PrF*	*In Moralia Prooemium De fide* (CPG 2886)
362	*Philoc.*	*Philocalia*
	Reg. br.	*Regulae brevius tractatae* see *EApokr. br.*
	Reg. fus.	*Regulae fusius tractatae* see *EApokr. fus.*
	Reg. mor.	*Regulae morales* see *Moralia*

B. Dubia

400	**Asc. Pr5*	*Prologus* or *Sermo asceticus* (attached to either *Asc. 2* or *3*; CPG 2883. Cf. Works **3**)
401	**Enarr. in Is.*	*Enarratio in prophetam Isaiam* 1-16 (CPG 2911)
402	**EApoll.* [361]	*Apollinario*
403	**EApoll.* [363]	*Apollinario*
404	**ELib.* [335]	*Libanio*
405	**ELib.* [337]	*Libanio*
406	**ELib.* [339]	*Libanio*
407	**ELib.* [344]	*Libanio*
408	**Epit.* 24	*Epitimia in monachos delinquentes* (CPG 2897.1)
409	**Epit.* 25	*Epitimia in canonicas* (CPG 2897.2)
410	**HCreat.* 1-2	*Homiliae de creatione hominis* 1-2 (= *Hex.* 10-11: *recensio brevior*, Hörner, *Auctorum*, pp. 2-72; SC 160)
411	**HParad.*	*Homilia de paradiso* (*recensio brevior*, Hörner, *Auctorum*, pp. 74-84). For the longer recensions of these works see Spuria
412	**SAsc.*	*Sermo asceticus* (CPG 2891)
413	**SDisc.*	*Sermo de ascetica disciplina, quomodo monachum ornari oporteat* (CPG 2890)
414	**SInst.*	*Praevia institutio ascetica* (CPG 2888)

C. Spuria

***Admon.*	*Admonitio ad filium spiritualem* (CPL 1155a)
***Admon. ad iun.*	*Admonitio ad iuniores* (also as *Ep.* 43)
***Const.*	*Constitutiones asceticae* (CPG 2895)

***C. Eun.* 4-5	*Contra Eunomium* libri 4-5 (CPG 2837)
***De cons.*	*De consolatione in aduersis* (CPL 999; CPG 2898)
***De sp.*	*De spiritu* (CPG 2838)
***De virg.*	*De virginitate ad Letoium* (CPG 2827 = Basil of Ancyra)
***Doct.* 2-8	*Doctrina* 2-8 (found in the Georgian *Ethika* of Ewkt'ime; see below p. 497)
***ECaes.* [8]	*Ad Caesarienses apologia de secessu* (= Evagrius Ponticus)
***EChil.* [42]	*Ad Chilonem discipulum suum*
***EDion.* [197.2]	Second part of *EAmb.* [197.1], "De reliquis Dionysii"
***EEun.* [16]	*Adversus Eunomium haereticum* (= Gregory of Nyssa)
***EEus.* [166]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum* (= Gregory of Nazianzus)
***EEus.* [167]	*Eusebio, episcopo Samosatorum* (= Greg. Naz.)
***EEust. arch.* [189]	*Eustathio archiatro* (= Gregory of Nyssa)
***EGlyc.* [170]	*Glycerio* (= Gregory of Nazianzus)
***EGNaz.* [47]	*Gregorio sodali* (cf. Greg. Naz. *Ep.* 42)
***EGNaz.* [169]	*Gregorio* (= Greg. Naz.)
***EGNaz.* [171]	*Gregorio* (= Greg. Naz.)
***EGNys.* [38]	*Gregorio fratri de discrimine essentiae et hypostasis* (= Gregory of Nyssa)
***EInn.* [50]	*Innocentio episcopo*
***EInn.* [81]	*Innocentio episcopo*
***EIuln.* [41]	*Iuliano*
***EIuln.* [360]	*Ex epistula ad Iulianum Apostatam*
***ELib.* [342]	*Libanio*
***ELib.* [348]	*Libanio*
***ELib.* [350]	*Libanio*
***ELib.* [351]	*Libanio*
***ELib.* [353]	*Libanio*
***ELib.* [356]	*Libanio*
***ELib.* [359]	*Libanio*
***EMon. laps.* [44]	*Ad monachum lapsum*
***EMon. laps.* [45]	*Ad monachum lapsum*
***EThec.* [321]	*Theclae* (= Gregory of Nazianzus)
***EThds.* [365]	*Imperatori Theodosio*
***EUrb.* [366]	*Ad Urbicium monachum de continentia* (cf. Clement of Alexandria)
***EVid.* [10]	*Ad viduam* (= Gregory of Nyssa)
***Epit.* 26	*Epitimia* 26 (CPG 2897.3)
***Epit. SS.*	*Epitimia diversorum sanctorum de refectorio*
***EApokr. B-G*	*Erotapokriseis Basilii et Gregorii* (sometimes also *Iohannis Chrysostomi* on which see CPG 3064 ff.)

***HAq.*	*Homilia in aquas et in sanctum baptisma* (CPG 2930; BHG[n] 1945[ib])
***HArb.* [30]	*Homilia de libero arbitrio* known also as *Prologus asceticus* 9 (CPG 2887 = Ps. Macarius, *Hom.* 25)
***HBarl.* [17]	*Homilia in Barlaam martyrem* (CPG 2861; BHG 223)
***HCons.*	*Homilia de consummatione saeculi et de templo Salomonis; et de exitu animae* (CPG 2966)
***HCreat.* 1-2	*Homiliae de creatione hominis* 1-2 (= *Hex.* 10-11: *recensio* 2-3. Cf. **410**)
***HIeiun.* 3 [32]	*Homilia de ieiunio* 3 (CPG 2928)
***HInc.*	*Homilia de incarnatione domini* (CPG 5835)
***HMis.* [34]	*Homilia de misericordia et iudicio* (CPG 2929)
***HPaen.* [28]	*Homilia de paenitentia* (CPG 3530 = Eusebius of Emesa)
***HParad.*	*Homilia de paradiso* (*recensio* 2-3. Cf. **411**)
***HPs. 28b*	*Homilia in psalmum 28 secunda* (CPG 2920)
***HPs. 37*	*Homilia in psalmum 37* (CPG 3467.1 = Eusebius of Caesarea)
***HPs. 132*	*Homilia in psalmum 132* (CPG 2921)
***HSomn.* [31]	*Homilia in illud: "Ne dederis somnum oculis tuis, neque indormites palpebris tuis"* (CPG 2927)
***HSp. S.* [25]	*Homilia de Spiritu Sancto* (CPG 2926; BHG 1934[m-n])
***HVit. br.* [35]	*Homilia de vitae brevitate seu Consolatoria ad aegrotum* (CPG 5834 = Proclus?)
***HVirg.*	*Homilia (sermo) de virginitate* (CPG 2081)
***LBas. 4*	*Liturgia Basilii alexandrina* (CPG 2905.1)
***SCal.*	*Sermo de calumnia* (CPG 2894)
***SCont.*	*Sermo de contubernalibus* (CPG 2922)
***SFide*	*Sermo de fide* (CPG 2892)
***SInv.*	*Sermo de invidia, et typus paenitentiae pro fidelibus* (CPG 2992)
***SMon.*	*Sermo quomodo monachum esse oportet* (CPG 2893)
***SPaen.*	*Sermo de paenitentia et morte* (CPG 2991)
***SRen.*	*Sermo de renuntiatione saeculi, et de perfectione spirituali* (CPG 2889)
***SSac.*	*Sermo ob sacerdotum instructionem* (CPG 2933.1-2)
——	Other spurious works whose titles are not abbreviated in this volume will be listed in my "Survey." This will also list the marginal numbers which were omitted here.

2. Other Works

Standard abbreviations have been followed for books of the Bible, according to the various languages. See Index of Manuscripts for abbreviations of libraries, and Bibliography, B. Editions, for works of authors other than Basil.

AAB — Abhandlungen der deutschen (formerly preussischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Philosophisch-historische Klasse, (Berlin 1815 –)
AAG — Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen. Philologisch-historische Klasse. (Göttingen 1941 –)
AAM — Abhandlungen der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Klasse. (Munich 1835 –)
AB — *Analecta Bollandiana*
ABull — *Art Bulletin*
ACl — *Acta classica*
ACO — *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*. Edd. Eduard Schwartz – Johannes Straub. 4 v. in 8. Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1914-1971
ACW — Ancient Christian Writers
AE — *Arkheograficheskiĭ ezhegodnik*
AGWG — Abhandlungen der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen
AHDE — *Anuario de historia del derecho español*
AKK — *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht*
AktAthen — *Aktines*
AN — Akademiya Nauk
AnglThR — *Anglican Theological Review*
AnSt — *Anatolian Studies*
APh — *Archives de philosophie*
ArSlPhil — *Archiv für slavische Philologie*
Aug — *Augustinianum*
BAB — *Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres de l'Académie Royale de Belgique*
BBR — *Bulletin de l'Institut Historique Belge de Rome*
BHG — *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed. by François Halkin, 3 v. (Brussels 1957)
BHL — *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, edd. Socii Bollandiani, 2 v. with Supplement (Brussels 1898-1901, 1911)
BHO — *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Orientalis*, edd. Socii Bollandiani (Brussels 1910)

BHP	*Bibliothēkē Hellēnōn Paterōn kai Ekklesiastikōn Syngrapheōn*, edd. Apostolikē Diakonia (Athens 1955 –)
BJRL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*
BK	*Bedi Kartlisa*
BLE	*Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique*
BMCL	*Bulletin of Medieval Canon Law*
BodlR	*Bodleian Record*
BP	Bibliographia patristica
BSGL	Bibliotheca scriptorum graecorum et latinorum
Byslav	*Byzantinoslavica*
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*
CAG	Commentaria in Aristotelem graeca. Berlin 1882 –
CCCM	Corpus christianorum. Continuatio mediaevalis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1966 –
CCM	*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*
CCO	Codificazione canonica orientale
CCSG	Corpus christianorum. Series graeca. Turnhout: Brepols, 1977 –
CCSL	Corpus christianorum. Series latina. Turnhout: Brepols, 1953 –
CH	*Church History*
CLA	*Codices Latini Antiquiores*, ed. Elias Avery Lowe, 12 vv. Oxford: Clarendon, 1934-1969
CNRS	Centre national de recherche scientifique
ColCist	*Collectanea Cisterciensa*
CPG	*Clavis Patrum Graecorum*, ed. Morits Geerard. Turnhout: Brepols, 1974 (v. 2), 1979 (v. 3)
CPL	*Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, 2nd ed. by Eligius Dekkers (Steenbrugge 1961)
CQ	*The Classical Quarterly*
CR	*Classical Review*
CRAI	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*
CSCO SA	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Arabici. Louvain
CSCO SS	Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium. Scriptores Syriaci. Louvain
CSEL	Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum. Vienna
CUFr	*Collection des universités de France*
CUB	*Catholic University Bulletin*
DA	*Deutsches Archiv*

DACL	*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, edd. Fernand Cabrol and Henri Leclercq, 15 vv. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1907-1953
DBS	*Dictionnaire de la Bible. Supplément*, ed. Louis Pirot. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1928 –
DCB	*Dictionary of Christian Biography*, edd. William Smith and Henry Wace, 4 vv. London: J. Murray, 1877-1887
DHGE	*Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*, edd. Alfred Baudrillant et al. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1912 –
DIP	*Dizionario degli Istituti di Perfezione*, ed. Guerrino Pelliccia and Giancarlo Rocca. Rome: Ed. Paoline, 1973 –
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*
DSp	*Dictionnaire de la spiritualité*, edd. Marcel Viller et al. Paris: Beauchesne, 1937 –
EO	*Échos d'Orient*
EPh	*Ekklesiastikos Pharos*
EpThThes	*Epistēmoniki Epetēris tēs Theologikēs Scholēs tou Panepistēmiou Thessalonikēs*
ETrin	*Estudios trinitarios*
FMSt	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
GCS	Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten Jahrhunderte. Leipzig/Berlin 1897 –
GEL	*Greek-English Lexicon*, edd. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, 9th ed. rpt. with a *Supplement*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1968
GOTR	*The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*
GrRoBySt	*Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*
HA	*Handēs Amsoreay*
HarvClassPhil	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
HeythropJ	*The Heythrop Journal*
HJ	*Historisches Jahrbuch*
IKZ	*Internationale kirchliche Zeitschrift*
JAC	*Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
JThS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
KuD	*Kerygma und Dogma*
LChrys	*Liturgia Chrysostomi*
LCLGA	Loeb Classical Library. Greek Authors
LCLLA	Loeb Classical Library. Latin Authors
LPraes	*Liturgia Praesanctificatorum*
LXX	Versio Septuaginta

MAIBL	*Mémoires de l'académie des inscriptions et belles lettres*
MBDS	*Mittelalterliche Bibliothekskataloge Deutschlands und der Schweiz.* Vol. 1, ed. Paul Lehmann. Munich: C. H. Beck'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1918.
MGH	Monumenta germanica historica
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
MS(S)	Manuscript(s)
MSLC	*Miscellanea di studi di letteratura cristiana antica*
MSR	*Mélanges de science religieuse*
Mu	*Le Muséon*
NAG	*Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*
NedThT	*Nederlands theologisch tijdschrift*
NPNCF	Nicene and Post-Nicene Church Fathers
NTS	*New Testament Studies*
OCA	Orientalia Christiana Analecta
OrChr	*Oriens Christianus*
OrChrP	*Orientalia Christiana Periodica*
OrSyr	*L'orient syrien*
OstkiSt	*Ostkirchliche Studien*
PatSt	Patristic Studies of the Catholic University of America, Washington, DC
PDRKP	*Pamyatniki drevne-russkago kanonicheskago prava* (Leningrand 1880 –)
PG	Patrologia graeca
PGL	*A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, ed. Geoffrey William Hugo Lampe. Oxford: Clarendon, 1961-1965
PL	Patrologia latina
PLRE	*The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, v. 1: *AD 260-395*, edd. Arnold Hugh Martin Jones et al. Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1971
PO	Patrologia orientalis. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1907-1966; Turnhout: Brepols, 1969 –
ProcSocBiblArch	*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*
PS	Patrologia syriaca. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894-1926
PSRL	*Polnoe sobranie russkikh litopiseĭ* (Leningrad 1842 –)
PTS	Patristische Texte und Studien
RAC	*Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum*, edd. Franz Dölger et al. Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1950 –
RAM	*Revue d'ascétique et mystique*
RaMadrid	*Revista de la universidad de Madrid*
RBen	*Revue bénédictine*
REA	*Revue des études augustiniennes*
REArm	*Revue des études arméniennes*

REB	*Revue des études byzantines*
RECA	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*, edd. Georg Wissowa – Wilhelm Kroll et al. Stuttgart/Munich: A. Druckenmüller, 1894 – ; Supplement Bände, ibid., 1903 –
RechAug	*Recherches augustiniennes*
REG	*Revue des études grecques*
REL	*Revue des études latines*
REPThK	*Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*, by Johann Jakob Herzog, 3rd ed. by Albert Hauck, 21 vv. + . Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1898-1913
ReSR	*Revue des sciences religieuses*
RGG	*Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 3rd ed. by K. Galling, 6 vv. + Register. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1957-1965
RHE	*Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*
RHEF	*Revue d'histoire de l'Église de France*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*
RHR	*Revue d'histoire des religions*
RIDA	*Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité*
RILSL	*Rendiconti. Istituto Lombardo di Scienze e Lettere. Classe di Lettere e Scienze Morali e Storiche*
RM	*Revue Mabillon*
ROC	*Revue de l'Orient chrétien*
RPAA	*Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia di Archeologia*
RPh	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*
RR	*Ricerche religiose*
RSCI	*Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*
RSDI	*Rivista storica di diritto internazionale*
RSO	*Rivista degli studi orientali*
RSPhTh	*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*
RSR	*Recherches de science religieuse*
RSV	Revised Standard Version [of the Bible]
RThPh	*Revue de théologie et de philosophie*
SABPh	*Sitzungsberichte der deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Philosophie, Geschichte, Staats-, Rechts- und Wirtschaftswissenschaft*
SAH	*Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philos.-hist. Klasse*
SAM	*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch-historische Abteilung*

SC	Sources chrétiennes. Paris: Cerf, 1941 –
SE	*Sacris erudiri*
SML	*Stimmen aus Maria Laach*
SP	*Studia patristica*. Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1957 –
SPCK	Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge
ST	Studi e testi. Studies and Texts
StMon	*Studia monastica*
SVF	*Stoicorum veterum fragmenta*, ed. Hans Friedrich August von Arnim. 4 v. Leipzig: Teubner, 1903-1924
ThLZ	*Theologische Literaturzeitung*
ThM	*Theologisch-praktische Monatschrift*
ThPh	*Theologie und Philosophie*
ThQ	*Theologische Quartalschrift*
ThZ	*Theologische Zeitschrift*
TM	Travaux et Mémoires
TODRL	*Trudy otdela drevnerusskoĭ literatury*
TRE	*Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, edd. Gerhard Krause – Gerhard Müller. Berlin/New York: W. de Gruyter, 1977 –
TU	Texte und Untersuchungen. Berlin 1882 –
UCalifClass	*University of California Publications in Classical Philology*
VCaro	*Verbum Caro*
VetChr	*Vetera christianorum*
VigChr	*Vigiliae christianae*
VladQ	*St. Vladimir's Seminary Quarterly*
VOONGr	*Vestnik otdela obshchestvennikh nauk Akademii Nauk Gruzinskoĭ SSSR*
WSt	*Wiener Studien. Zeitschrift für klassische Philologie und Patristik*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*
ZKG	*Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*
ZKTh	*Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*
ZNW	*Zeitschrift für neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche*
ZOR	*Zapiski otdela rukopiseĭ*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papirologie und Epigraphik*
ZThK	*Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche*

Introduction

When, early in 1974, the Basilian Fathers began to prepare for the sixteenth centenary of the death of their patron, Basil of Caesarea (330-379), it was quickly decided that the best way for a teaching community to mark the anniversary of such a patron was by a scholarly meeting of minds. Thus the idea of the St. Basil Symposium was born. At an initial meeting in Toronto in February, 1974, the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, which would celebrate its golden jubilee in 1979, was invited by the Superior General of the Basilian Fathers to join in the preparation of a gathering of outstanding Basil scholars from all over the world, to come together in Toronto in the centennial year to present papers on Saint Basil and to share ideas on this remarkable fourth century figure, who spoke so cogently to his own times and who still speaks so to ours.

The original committee, which remained intact during the entire five years of preparation, consisted of the following: from the Pontifical Institute, Leonard Boyle, Reginald O'Donnell, Laurence Shook and Edward Synan; from the Basilian Fathers, Robert Barringer, James Hanrahan, and Wallace Platt, who was named chairman. Roman Danylak, Chancellor of the Eastern Rite Catholic Eparchy of Toronto, also consented to serve on the committee, providing the essential link with Eastern Catholicism, where Basil is so greatly honoured, and the necessary knowledge of the Orthodox Church, in which Saint Basil occupies so important a place.

From the beginning the idea of the St. Basil Symposium met with enthusiasm from every side. In the ecclesiastical area, Cardinal George Bernard Flahiff, Archbishop of Winnipeg, provided invaluable advice on procedures, as well as his own good offices in contacting the Vatican Secretariat for Promoting Christian Unity, where the project received the warmest encouragement from Cardinal Willebrands. He kindly consented, through the Secretariat, to inform the Ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, His Holiness Demetrios I, of the projected Symposium. The Patriarch, underscoring the ecumenical significance of such a meeting, expressed his approval and his desire to be kept informed of the various stages in the preparation of the Symposium. Thus the ecumenical

dimension of the Symposium was recognized from the early stages and remained a guiding principle throughout. The messages from Pope John Paul II, and from the Patriarch, Demetrios I, which appear in this volume, eloquently express the ecumenical force of the Symposium.

Of incalculable importance to the organizing and to the success of the Symposium was the engaging of Dr. Paul Fedwick as Executive Secretary, in June of 1976. A Basil scholar himself, Dr. Fedwick brought to the Symposium a knowledge of the field and a personal acquaintance with scholars throughout the world who would be valuable participants in the Symposium. Dr. Fedwick invited four of these scholars, Jean Gribomont (Rome), Stig Y. Rudberg (Lund), Wolf-Dieter Hauschild (Hanover), and Thomas Špidlík (Rome), to serve as "assessors," and to advise on the various themes and topics to be treated in the Symposium. Unfortunately, before the opening of the Symposium, because called to an important ecclesiastical office, Dr. Hauschild was obliged to withdraw, both as an assessor and as a participant.

In the autumn of 1976 the theme of the Symposium was decided upon: "Basil of Caesarea: Christianity, Humanism, Asceticism." It was thought that these three aspects of Saint Basil would allow sufficient scope for particular topics within them. Topics were then sketched out and the various scholars invited to treat of them. This provided a good two years of preparation for the papers, which were due by 1 January 1979.

Of the eighteen papers which follow in this volume, ten were presented at the Symposium.[1] The order, for the sake of logic and convenience, has been slightly changed from that followed during the Symposium week, 10 June to 16 June 1979, when the papers were given at the rate of two each day, with the exception of Sunday, Thursday, and Saturday, when only one paper was given. The audience for the papers varied from one hundred to one hundred and twenty, and each paper was followed by an hour's discussion period. Some twenty-four minor papers were given on two evenings of the Symposium week.

As an introduction, Dr. Fedwick provides a chronology of the life of Basil, an abridged version of his excellent "Revised Provisional Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea (330-379)," which appears as Appendix A of *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea*, P. J. Fedwick (Toronto 1979). This is followed by

[1] The paper of Dr. Reinhart Staats (University of Heidelberg), read in English, has been published in *Kerygma und Dogma* 25 (1979) 232-253, under the title "Die basilianische Verherrlichung des Heiligen Geistes auf dem Konzil zu Konstantinopel 381. Ein Beitrag zum Ursprung der Formel 'Kerygma und Dogma'."

biographical notes on Saint Basil by Jean Gribomont (Rome), who traces the various stages of the study of Basil's life, and who looks at interior and exterior evidence to determine both chronology and meaning in Basil's works. Father Gribomont's contribution might be characterized as "the works in context."

The two papers which follow treat of manuscripts and editions of Basil's works. Dr. Stig Y. Rudberg provides the fruit of a life-long study of Basilian manuscripts, examining particularly the work of Amand de Mendieta, which was published in the *Revue Bénédictine*, from 1940 to 1946, and bringing manuscript and edition information down to the present day. Dr. Fedwick, on the other hand, presents a survey of early translations of the works of Basil into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, and Slavic, in the period from the fourth to the fourteenth centuries. This represents a study of some five thousand Basilian manuscripts in Greek and other languages, according to the various categories: ascetic, homiletic, canonical, liturgical, and epistolary.

Two other papers, which appear toward the end of the volume, deal with particular manuscript questions. Sever Voicu (Centre for Christian Union, Rome) presents a papyrus manuscript of Basil's *Asceticon*, dating from the sixth or seventh century, while Gabriella Uluhogian (University of Bologna) offers some interesting new information about Basil's works in Armenian manuscripts. Both of these scholars, though not present at the Symposium, enrich the present volume by new information and by valuable commentary.

Milton V. Anastos (University of California, Los Angeles) makes a unique contribution inasmuch as his is the only paper devoted to one particular text, Basil's *Contra Eunomium*, 1-3. Here is treated one of the crucial questions of Basil's life, the divinity of the Son. In theological controversy, Basil shows himself intrepid in the defence of the creed of Nicaea, as well as skilled and forceful in argument.

John Rist (now Regius Professor, University of Aberdeen) studies Neoplatonism in Basil, its possible sources and its extent. By a close analysis of the *De spiritu*, only doubtfully by Basil, and of the *De Spiritu Sancto* and other works, Rist sees a late knowledge of Plotinus on Basil's part and some influence of Plotinus in his works. The paper makes interesting suggestions about Basil's sources, the date, authenticity, and context of several of his works, the relationship of his work to that of his contemporaries, and the possibility of understanding him apart from any Neoplatonism.

In "St. Basil and the Rhetorical Tradition," George Kustas (University of New York at Buffalo) shows how the work of Basil of Caesarea offers a

remarkable example of the mastery, use and development of classical rhetoric in a Christian writer. Not only is Basil familiar with the terms and devices of the art of rhetoric, but he uses all the possibilities thereof for formulation of doctrine and for effectiveness in teaching. Basil can be said to merit his title "Great" because he joined in his thought and in his life's work the two main cultural currents of the ancient world: philosophy, for which one might now understand theology, and rhetoric. Rhetoric was the indispensable means by which ideas became known and operative in Basil's time. He uses this art honestly, skillfully, and for the highest purposes, with a delight which his reader also enjoys. Basil is in the Ciceronian tradition which viewed rhetoric not so much as the art of persuasion as the art of teaching. The Basilian corpus represents a marriage of pagan art with Christian thought, whose offspring are beauty, clarity, and meaning.

Basil was the outstanding churchman of his time. Konstantinos Bonis (Academy of Athens) shows how Basil's greatness is founded on the ways he fulfilled his episcopal office. He excelled as shepherd, administrator, and teacher, as an opponent of Arianism and other heresies, as an ascetic, and as father of monasticism in the East. Professor Bonis suggests that Basil should be remembered more as the great peacemaker and reconciler of the divided Christian factions rather than for new theological approaches. In all these conflicts the unity of the Church was his final goal.

No topic is of more importance in the study of Basil than that of his teaching on the Holy Spirit. Jaroslav Pelikan (Yale University), in looking to the scriptural basis of this teaching, points out that though the question of the person of the Son was spread over centuries, that of the person of the Holy Spirit was raised, discussed, and decided in about two decades. Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto* is one of a small group of treatises that addressed the doctrine of the Holy Spirit directly, determining the form that it was to take in both East and West for a millenium or more. The "spiritual sense" of Scripture in Basil's treatise is the basis for understanding Basil's teaching. His treatise rehearses proofs for the divinity of the Son, which proofs are then analogically applied to show the divinity of the Holy Spirit. Basil examines language, the written teaching in the apostolic tradition, and the tradition of the liturgy, to argue the equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son. He establishes the doctrine of the person of the Holy Spirit as part of the *depositum fidei*. This probably represents his chief contribution to the history of Christian doctrine.

Basil was a great leader, but he was pre-eminently a Christian leader. Ioannes Karayannopoulos (University of Thessaloniki) looks at Basil in

this light to examine his social activity and his dealings with the authorities. Before he became a bishop, Basil had occasion in two funeral orations to outline the character of a good bishop: first in his diocese, a good theologian, a father to the young, a colleague to his peers, a leader among leaders, a protector of the people, a supplier to those in need. When he became bishop, he fulfilled his own prescriptions even beyond the persons he lauded in his orations. What made Basil so effective a leader in his Church and community was not so much his family wealth, his aristocratic background, nor his education. It was rather his convictions of the power of the Christian life to humanize and civilize, of the strength of moral law, and of the supremacy of spiritual values in circumstances which were materially bad or morally equivocal. His own personal detachment from wealth, health, position and power left him free to conduct himself according to what he conceived as the law of Christ. His social and political activities were seen by him as so many duties of a Christian leader.

The essay by Ramón Teja (University of Santander) on slavery makes an interesting complement to that of Professor Karayannopoulos. Basil accepts slavery, it seems, as the normal order of things. The abnormality for Basil is rather poverty and the subjection of the human spirit by the inequities in this world's goods. It was his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, who was to speak out against the institution of slavery itself.

In a short note, Barnim Treucker (Paderborn) offers some new insights on Basil's relations with various dignitaries and officials during the Later Roman Empire. After almost twenty years following the publication of his outstanding study, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* (Frankfurt 1961), Dr. Treucker revises his opinion concerning the senatorial origin of Basil.

The subject of monasticism is central to the study of Basil. The volume present two essays on Basil's monasticism, one by Thomas Špidlik (Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies, Rome) outlining the relationship between asceticism and the understanding of scripture, and asceticism and morality. Though a strict moralist, Basil never separates morality from understanding. Right action in freedom, and knowledge of God through Scriptures and the world, underlie his monastic teaching.

Adolph Martin Ritter (University of Marburg) echoes a modern interest in his essay "Monasticism as a Movement of Charismatic Renewal." Basil's monasticism was part of a movement of considerable popularity which did in fact effect a renewal in the Church. Basil saw its potential and channeled its force by his Rules. This monasticism, it must be noted,

was not so much a protest against existing authority in the Church, as some have suggested, but a sincere search for spiritual revitalization.

Completing the volume are two essays of diverse interests, one by Roger Reynolds (Pontifical Institute, Toronto), "Basil in Western Canonical Collections," which can be seen as basic to any study of the influence of Basil in the West; and one by Sister Wilma Fitzgerald (Pontifical Institute, Toronto), who has put into essay form a slide lecture on iconography which provided the Symposium with the varied visual aspects of Basil, bringing him into both intellectual and affective focus. The few icons reproduced here can give only an impression of the rich display which enhanced the Symposium week.

This volume, it is hoped, will be a landmark in Basil studies and will herald renewed and wider interest in Basil of Caesarea. Like all great men, he belongs not just to Caesarea and the fourth century, but to the world and to all time. The unity of the volume is founded not only on the theme, "Basil of Caesarea: Christianity, Humanism, Asceticism," but more strongly on the common affection which study of Basil breeds, and which was so evidently operative at the Toronto Symposium.

2 January 1980 P. Wallace Platt, CSB
Ss. Basil and Gregory

Places in which in 1979 St. Basil's anniversary was especially commemorated include: 1. Rome, "Augustinianum" (20 January); 2. Rome, "Academia Bessarionis" (9 February); 3. Trento (9 March); 4. Rome, "Circolo Besa" (March); 5. Palermo (26 April); 6. Sicily (May); 7. Poland (May-June); 8. Toronto (10-16 June); 9. Sicily, Abbazia S. Martino (8 July); 10. Chevetogne (August); 11. Regensburg (August); 12. Sicily, Abbazia Mezzojuso (27-30 August); 13. Oxford (3-8 September); 14. Athens (September); 15. Palermo (14-21 October); 16. Rome, "San Anselmo" (27-31 October); 17. Philadelphia (9-11 November); 18. Vancouver (16-17 November); 19. Lebanon (November); 20. Messina (3-6 December); 21. Bari (4-6 December).

Vita, Opera, Doctrina

1

A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea

Paul J. Fedwick
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Whereas the immediate objective of my previous chronology of Basil's life and writings was to table the results achieved by modern scholarship,[1] the purpose of the present contribution is directed more towards a critical assessment of the conclusions reached by the authors quoted earlier. In particular I have in mind the works of those scholars who dealt with the question with certain degree of innovation. Above all taken into consideration have been the works of Tillemont,[2] Maran,[3] Loofs,[4] Lietzmann,[5] Schwartz,[6] Richard,[7] Gribomont,[8] Dörries,[9] Treucker,[10]

[1] Hence its title "A *provisional* chronology." See P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto 1979) pp. 133-155. I wish to thank J. Gribomont, G. Mazzanti, and B. Treucker for helpful suggestions towards the setting of the present chronology.

[2] L. S. Le Nain de Tillemont, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles*, 9 (Paris 1703) 1-304; 628-691. See J. Gribomont, "Notes biographiques" pp. 22-23 below.

[3] P. Maran, *Vita S. Basilii*, PG 29: v-clxxvii. Gribomont, "Notes biographiques," pp. 22-23 below.

[4] F. Loofs, *Zur Chronologie der Briefe des Basilius von Caesarea* (Halle 1898).

[5] H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen 1904) pp. 48-62.

[6] E. Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius," a series of articles in *NAG* 1905-1911 reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 3 (Berlin 1959) particulary 40-53; idem, "Zur Kirchengeschichte des 4. Jahrhunderts," *ZNW* 34 (1935) 129-213, reprinted in *Gesammelte Schriften*, 4 (Berlin 1960) 1-113, especially 53-88. All references are to these latest reprints.

[7] M. Richard, "Saint Basile et la mission du diacre Sabinus," *AB* 67 (1949) 178-202 = *Opera minora*, 2 (Turnhout 1977) No. 34 (without new pagination).

[8] J. Gribomont, "In tomos 29, 30, 31, 32 PG ad editionem operum S. Basilii Magni introductio," pp. 1-13. In *PG* 29 (rpt. Turnhout 1959); idem, "In tomum 29, 31, 32 PG

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 3-19.

Bernardi,[11] Hauschild,[12] and some others.[13] Throughout in this new critical (but by no means "definitive") chronology, I have adopted the policy of assigning a date to a work only if there is decisive internal and/or external evidence to support it. In cases of persistent doubt or uncertainty I have either retreated to safer limits such as placing a work within a larger framework, e.g., 370-378, or omitted dates altogether. My forthcoming "life" of Basil should constitute a further attempt at re-examining some of the details touched upon only very briefly in the footnotes of the present contribution.[14]

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adnotationes." In PG 29, 31, 32 (rpt. Turnhout 1959, 1961). See also his other publications like *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de saint Basile* (Louvain 1953); the contribution to this volume, and others to be quoted below.

[9] H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto. Der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas* (Göttingen 1956).

[10] B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* (Frankfurt 1961), unfortunately ignored by the compilers of the *Prosopography*; cf. n. 13 below.

[11] J. Bernardi, *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire* (Paris 1968).

[12] W. D. Hauschild, *Basilius von Caesarea, Briefe II* (Stuttgart 1973).

[13] At times Basil's chronology interlaces with that of Gregory of Nazianzus. In this regard P. Gallay, *La vie de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Lyons 1943) has been most helpful. However, upon inspection Gallay's dating of Basil-Gregory's correspondence which he places in 360 or 361 appears to conflict with the evidence, e.g., of Basil's *EGNaz.* [14]; see below under 357 or 358. Gregory's *Ep.* 8 is placed by Gallay in 362; see also idem, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze, Lettres*, 1 (Paris 1964), and *Gregor von Nazianz, Briefe* (Berlin 1969). It is known that *Ep.* 8 contains Gregory's reply to Basil's letter (not extant) in which Basil notified Gregory of his priestly ordination. Despite Maran's opinion that Basil was ordained presbyter in 364 at this point I am inclined to think that this took place in 362; see below n. 26. From the chronological standpoint at least little or no help at all is found either in the pertinent entries of the *RECA* or *PLRE* which for the most repeat the information and alas! mistakes of previous publications. It is a pity that the editors of *PLRE* ignored the work of Treucker (above n. 10).

[14] Although this may sound like a commonplace, the reader should be reminded nonetheless that there are almost unsurmountable difficulties in setting an absolute chronology of any author, ancient or modern, and that many crucial dates in the life of Basil such as the time of his birth, baptism, ordination to reader and presbyter, etc. are and will always remain tentative. Hence corrections are inevitable; compare this chronology with the previous one. However, I think that from internal evidence we can now at least know in what order Basil's *Ascetica* were written: 1. *Asc. 1*; 2. *De perf.* [22]; 3. *Reg. mor.* 1-68, with *Mor. PrF.* 6; 4. *Mor. PrI* as an independent *Epistula de concordia*; 5. *Asc. 2*; 6. *De bapt.* 1-2; 7. *Hypotyposis ascetica* (with revisions of 3-5).

Among some of the changes introduced in the present chronology are the placing among the Spuria of *De sp.* and *Hex.* 10-11 (longer recensions, see nn. 99, 106 below) and among the Dubia of the letters to Apollinarius and Libanius and of the shorter recension of *Hex.* 10-11. It is quite possible that the date of the Synod of Gangra should be advanced from the early 340s to the 360s and even perhaps 370s (see n. 81 below). The date 360s is suggested by Socrates (see ibid.). However it is not only his testimony which has been

330 or 329

Basil born at Caesarea in the province of Cappadocia. His father Basil of Neocaesarea, by profession a sophist-rhetorician, was a native from the province either of Pontus Polemoniacus (capital Neocaesarea) or Helenopontus (capital Amasia) where Annisa was located.[15] Emmelia, Basil's mother, was a noble-woman from Cappadocia.[16] Of the nine children born to this family of devout Christians and rich landowners the names of five are known: Macrina the Younger, Basil of Caesarea, Naucratius, Gregory of Nyssa and Peter of Sebaste.[17]

346 – 348

After the death of his father who began to teach him the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία, Basil continues his education in Caesarea of Cappadocia.[18] Meets Gregory of Nazianzus.

348 or 349

Goes for further studies to Constantinople. Hears Libanius.[19]

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challenged on insufficient grounds (see e.g. Gwatkin and Leclercq cited there) but *the convergence of other evidence* — the *Liber Graduum*, Basil's *Mor. PrI*, *De bapt.* 1-2, *Asc.* 2-3 but not *Asc. 1* — which seems to be pointing in that direction. For more details see n. 81 below.

[15] According to Maraval, *Grégoire* (n. 18, below), pp. 39-40, Annisa is the modern Sonusa or Uluköy, located near the confluence of the rivers Yeşil Irmak (ancient Iris) and Kelkit Çayi (Lycos). See also ibid. De Jerphanion's map correcting Ramsay's identification of the place. Whereas Neocaesarea (modern Niksar) lay in the province of Pontus Polemoniacus, Annisa was in Helenopontus, although at a distance of only 65 km or three-day-travel from Neocaesarea.

[16] Only Basil's mother descended probably from a high ranked family of civil servants (senators?) but not his father; see Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 104, n. 9 (3).

[17] A tenth child, between Naucratius and Gregory, was stillborn. On the date of the Synod of Gangra possibly in the 360s or 370s see n. 81 below.

[18] Basil's father could not have died earlier than 345 or 346, as he was the one who at least began to teach Basil the ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία; see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.12 and Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 134. A different calculation but with almost identical results in P. Maraval, *Grégoire de Nysse, Vie de sainte Macrine* (Paris 1971) p. 48, n. 2.

[19] On Basil, student of Libanius, see Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26, PG 67: 529A6; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 6.26, PG 67: 1333C9; Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 13 (to Libanius), Pasquali, 8.2: 45.22-24, ταῦτα (scil. about the eloquence of Libanius) γὰρ ἤκουσα πρὸς πάντας διηγουμένου τοῦ σοῦ μὲν μαθητοῦ, πατρὸς δὲ ἐμοῦ καὶ διδασκάλου τοῦ θαυμαστοῦ Βασιλείου. Basil, however, did not go to Antioch but heard Libanius in Constantinople; see P. Maas, cited by A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* (Paris 1959) p. 409. See also M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse, Traité de la virginité* (Paris 1966) pp. 44-45, n. 5. The correspondence between Basil and Libanius is of dubious origin. R. Foerster, *Libanii opera*, 11: *Epistolae* (Leipzig 1922) accepted only *Ep.* 1603 (among Basil's 358) and *Ep.* 647, the latter not in the MSS of Basil (see CPG 2900). However, Bessières, *La tradition*, pp. 165-174, was the first to study the whole question in some detail. On the basis of the MSS he was able to discern between the various clusters of spurious and less doubtful letters. Of the twelve out of the twenty-five letters of the Basil-Libanius correspondence favoured by Bessières, I would be inclined to accept the following nine: *Epp.* 1580-1586, 1589,

349 or 350

Travels to Athens. Among his teachers are Himerius and Prohaeresius.

355

At the end of the term Basil returns home.

355 – 356

Teaches rhetoric in Caesarea.[20]

356

Follows Eustathius "the Philosopher" (= ascetic) on a tour of the monastic settlements in Coele-Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt.

357

Upon his return, before November, from Caesarea of Cappadocia, writes *EEust. phl.* [1].

357 (or 358)

Baptized by Dianius, retires to the family estate in Annisa,[21] joining his mother and sister in the practice of asceticism.
EGNaz. [14].[22]

358

EGNaz. [2]. *EOlymp.* [4].
Gregory of Nazianzus joins Basil.
During the period of this first stay both friends compose the *Philocalia*.[23]

1591, 1603 (among Basil's letters 335-341, 344, 346, 358). For the chronology see Bessières, ibid. Cf. O. Seeck, *Die Briefe des Libanius zeitlich geordnet* (Leipzig 1906) pp. 30-34, 94-96, 468-471. Of some importance is the testimony of Zacharias Rhetor (Scholasticus), *Vita Severi*, writing about Alexandria in the years 485 – 487, PO 2: 13.7-9, "On l'etendit aussitôt faire l'éloge des lettres adressées par Basile à Libanios et celles que Libanios écrivit en réponse." On the reliability of Zacharias as an historian see K. Wegenast, *RECA* Suppl. 9 (1967) 2214.20-30; E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) pp. 197-198; O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altkirchlichen Literatur*, 5 (Freiburg i.Br. 1932) 112-116.

[20] I consider this point well established; see my *The Church*, p. 135. For the more general historical scenario and other references the reader is also referred to this work.

[21] See note 15 above.

[22] Written partly before leaving Caesarea, and partly before reaching Annisa. If one was to follow Gallay's chronology, see his *La vie*, pp. 69-72, this letter would have to be placed in 360 or 361. But this is impossible as in it Basil clearly implies that he is about to put an end to his travels (1, Courtonne, 1: 43.7). As Tillemont saw it well this could be only in reference to Basil's trips undertaken before his retreat in particular the one described in *EEust.* [223]. Besides Basil clearly implies that he is about to start a life as an ascetic, hence the reference to his "wanderings" coming to an end could not be put in relation to his short visit to Constantinople and Caesarea in 360.

[23] On the Basil-Apollinarius correspondence (*Epp.* 361-364) that would have been written between 358 and 362, I make my own the following statements of K. J. Woollcombe, review of G. L. Prestige, *St. Basil the Great and Apollinaris of Laodicea*

360

Basil attends the Synod of Constantinople (in January). Probably upon his return to Caesarea he is ordained reader by Dianius. Leaves Caesarea for Annisa shortly after Dianius signs the formulary of Nicé-Constantinople.

360 – 362

EMax. phl. [9].[24]

362

After his ordination, Gregory flees to Basil.[25]

In the middle of the year Basil returns to Caesarea to attend the deathbed of Dianius. Probably at this time he is ordained presbyter by the newly elected bishop Eusebius.[26]

(Oxford 1956), in *JThS* 9 (1958) 162-163, "To sum up: 1. There is no textual evidence to condemn the correspondence; there is, however, no strong evidence in its favour; 2. The literary arguments for the genuineness of the letters are extremely convincing; 3. There are reasonable explanations of Basil's account of the matter, and no historical evidence necessitating the rejection of the correspondence. On the evidence before us [cf. also H. de Riedmatten, *JThS* 7 (1956) 199-210; 8 (1957) 53-70] the correspondence must undoubtedly be promoted from the ranks of the Spuria of Basil to the Dubia. But, until more positive textual evidence is adduced in its favour, it must remain a matter of opinion whether or not the letters are genuine beyond all doubt." Admitting as absolutely certain that Basil and Apollinarius wrote to each other ("as a layman to a layman," "twenty or more years so," cf. Woollcombe, ibid., p. 161), I have some misgivings in accepting the extant documents as being the genuine letters. Two things are quite suspicious: the elaborate titles (not even with regard to Eustathius of Sebaste did Basil use any such addresses), and the close parallels not only with *C. Eun.* 1-3 but also with writings written after 375 (see the list of de Riedmatten, ibid., pp. 58-60). Because "stylus est homo," it is in the study of the vocabulary and phraseology where the main proof should be sought as to who is the author of these letters. See below under Dubia.

[24] The reasons for this date are not necessarily the arguments adduced by Maran, *Vita* 7.4, but the words ἐπὶ τῆς ἐσχατιᾶς (Courtonne, 1: 40.33-34). Maran bases his chronology on parallels with the Ps.-Basil (= Evagrius) *ECaes.* [8], dated now in 379 (!). Nevertheless, besides the *C. Eun.* 1-3, *EMax. phl.* [9] 2 (Courtonne, 1: 38.5-6), is the only other early reference in Basil to the heresy of the Anomoeans from before 370.

[25] See Gallay, *La vie*, p. 73.

[26] See above n. 13. In my view there is a serious *non sequitur* in Maran's *Vita* 9.2, argumentation for the year 364 based on the supposition that under Julian the orthodox were not harassed by the heretics, as he next says that Basil wrote his *C. Eun.* 1-3 in 363. I do not think that one should take the words of Gregory from his *Ep.* 8 in such an exclusively political sense. More persuasive would be the argument from Basil's *ENeoc. pm.* [210] 1, πολλῶν ἐτῶν ἐφεξῆς ἐνδιέτριψα χρόνου (scil. in Pontus) (Courtonne, 2: 190.19). But such an assertion is well justified with reference to the period 357-362, with one small interruption in 360. Writing fifteen years later Basil could also have included 363-365. The year proposed by Maran (a) reduces almost to nothing Basil's activity as a presbyter in Pontus; (b) overcrowds the events in 364: Basil, ordained presbyter, goes on a self-imposed exile, writes *C. Eun.* 1-3; (c) whereas we know that Basil was in Caesarea at the time of Dianius' death, and very likely Eusebius' election in 362, we have no record (and Maran produces none) for his return (just to be ordained presbyter?) in 364.

362 or 363

During the reign of Julian, 3 November 361 – 27 June 363: *ECand.* [3].[27] *EOrig.* [17]. *EMac.* [18].

363

Towards the end of the year:
As a result of a misunderstanding with Eusebius, Basil returns to Annisa.
Sometime before 365:
EGNaz. [19]. *EGNaz.* [367].

363 – 370

Asc. Pr1. Asc. 1.[28]
De perf. [22].[29]
LBas. 1 (revision of the anaphora).[30]

[27] See Treucker. *Politische*. p. 57.

[28] The existence of the various redactions of Basil's major ascetic works is attested by a Byzantine scholar of the sixth century in a scholion edited by Gribomont. *Histoire*. pp. 152-153:

> ΣΧΟΛΙΟΝ 2. *Πάλαι ποτὲ πρὸ τῆς ἐπισκοπῆς ἐπερωτηθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀσκητῶν, ἐγγράφως τὰς ἀποκρίσεις ἐποιήσατο καὶ ἐξέδωκεν αὐτοῖς τὸ μικρὸν ἀσκητικόν· τοῦτο τοίνυν ἐπεξεργασάμενος καὶ πλατύνας διεπέμψατο τοῖς ἐμμελῶς ἐξαιτήσασιν θεοσεβεστάτοις μοναχοῖς, ἤδη λοιπὸν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀρχιερωσύνῃ διαπρέπων. Διόπερ ἀναγκαίως τοίνυν τὸν περὶ πίστεως λόγον προέταξεν, προσέθηκεν δὲ καὶ τὴν συλλογὴν τῶν μαρτυρίων τῆς θεοπνεύστου γραφῆς.*

Asc. 1 has survived in its entirety only in two versions: the Latin of Rufinus from ca. 397 (=*Asc. 1r*: 203 *EApokr.*), and the anonymous Syriac from the fifth century (=*Asc. 1s*: 186 *EApokr.*). It is possible that fragments of the Greek text have been preserved in the papyrus of Antinoopolis; see Voicu, pp. 565-570 below. *Asc. Pr1* has been edited for the first time from Paris BN Coislin. gr. 193. 11th cent., ff. 96ᵛ-97ᵛ in BHP 53: 137-138.

[29] There is no internal evidence to support a later date of this work unless we assume that over the years in Basil's thinking the shift was from the more biblical to the less biblical; see for such a view J. Gribomont, "Les Règles épistolaires de saint Basile: Lettres 173 et 22," *Ant* 54 (1979) 266: "En somme, quoique notre lettre [scil. *De perf.*] n'ai guère de prétentions philosophiques ni littéraires, elle est moins littéralement biblique que l'*Ascéticon*, et surtout que les *Règles Morales*. Signe d'une époque relativement tardive?" I hold the opposite to be true. The older Basil grew the more he turned to Scripture. No doubt since his youth while still at home he was acquainted with the Bible but such a comprehensive understanding of the theoretical and practical implications of the Scriptural message as exhibited in the *Reg. mor.* but not yet in *De perf.* [22] could only have been achieved later in life.

[30] See briefly B. Capelle, "Les liturgies 'basiliennes' et saint Basile," pp. 45-74, in *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie de saint Basile*, edd. J. Doresse and E. Lanne (Louvain 1960); B. Bobrinskoy, "Liturgie et ecclésiologie trinitaire de saint Basile," *VCaro* 23 (1969) 1-32, and the fundamental work of H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebet der Basileiosliturgie* (Münster 1931). "Il va de soi qu'il faut prendre l'ossature primitive de la liturgie, c'est-à-dire une succession des prières, sans les rubriques, sans les litanies diaconales, sans les additions dont l'histoire nous a conservé les dates indéniables," P. de Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies), *DACL* 6 (1925) 1595. After extending the study of the relationship between *LBas. 1* and ***LBas. 4* to the prayers of intercession, H. Engberding

363 – 378

Homiliae morales (τὰ ἠθικά) 1-40 (listing alphabetical).[31]

HAtt. [3].[32] *HBapt.* [13].[33] *HChr.* [27].[34] *HDestr.* [6].[35] *HDiv.* [7].[36] *HEbr.* [14].[37]

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concludes: "Die Verwandschaft der ägyptischen und der byzantinischen Bearbeitung ist im Bereich des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes ganz anders gelagert als im Bereich des eucharistischen Hochgebetes. Das hängt mit der allgemeinen Entwicklung des anaphorischen Fürbittgebetes zusammen" (see his "Das anaphorische Fürbittgebet der Basiliusliturgie," *OrChr* 49 [1965] 37). On the various recensions see below P. J. Fedwick, "The Translations."

[31] For most of these homilies it is difficult to assign a precise date. The possible date of delivery of some is suggested by the nature of the topics dealt with, although it is by no means obvious that Basil indeed published his work immediately following its public presentation. The composition of all the homilies falls certainly within the period of Basil's ecclesiastical ministry, as a presbyter (perhaps even as a reader; see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.27) and as a bishop in the diocese of Pontus. Although there are hardly any indications that some of his discourses would be preached outisde the diocese, some could have been delivered in provinces other than Cappadocia (see, e.g., *HMund.* [21], preached at Satala in Armenia Minor?). There cannot be any doubt that Basil dealt with the same topics more than once and that his homilies, e.g., on fasting, envy, anger, humility, etc. in their present form represent the outcome of many years of reflection and revisions. In the notes I suggest only the possible dates or days of delivery. For some I indicate the liturgical days for which they are assigned in the oldest MSS of the menologia. For details on the menologia see A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche von den Anfängen bis zum Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1937/1952), and my forthcoming "Survey" (see p. 440 n. 3 below). For the various supplements accompanying these homilies in the MSS see S. Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* (Lund 1953); see in particular the family D, p. 74 (I am referring to the works of Basil by the numbers printed on the left margin of the Abbreviations of his works, above): **344 319 322 323 346 347 330 331 324 333 332 328 334 340 336 355-358 338 327 335 325 320 326 343**. For the various supplements see ibid., pp. 75-77.

[32] In only one or two MSS assigned for reading in Lent. Although probably earlier, this homily is a fitting complement to the unfinished *Hex.* 1-9.

[33] 5 or 6 January (feast of the Epiphany) (BHG 1935). According to Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 68, delivered on 6 January 371.

[34] Invariably 25 December (BHG 1922). However, Basil preached it on 6 January (until the end of the fourth century in the East Christmas and Epiphany were celebrated on the same day).

[35] Possibly to be dated to the end of spring or beginning of summer 369 with *HFam.* [8] and *HMal.* [9]. R. Teja, *Organización económica y social de Capadocia en el siglo IV, según los Padres Capadocios* (Salamanca 1974) p. 151 proposes first *HDestr.* [6], followed by *HFam.* [8] and *HMal.* [9]; Bernardi, *La prédication*, pp. 60-61, *HMal.* [9], then *HDestr.* [6] and *HFam.* [8]. In Lesvos MI. 13, 11/12th cent., and Vatican BAV Barb. gr. 583, 15th cent., *HDestr.* [6] is assigned for the Ninth Sunday of Luke, i.e., between 11 and 17 November; see Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 3: 499-501, 476-477. See also Ayion Oros MMI. 456, 12th cent., Istanbul BOP Chalkis 37, 16th cent., Ayion Oros MMI. 1965, 17th cent. (copy of 456).

[36] In the MSS it accompanies *HDestr.* [6]; not necessarily delivered at the same time.

[37] Delivered on Easter but not necessarily in 372 as Bernardi, *La prédication*, pp. 74-76, proposes. In the MSS it is the ordinary companion of *HIeiun.* 1 and *HIeiun.* 2, and hence assigned for Lent reading.

HFam. [8].[38] *HFide* [15].[39] *HGord.* [18].[40] *HGrat.* [4].[41] *HHum.* [20]. *HIeiun.* 1.[42] *HIeiun.* 2.[43] *HInv.* [11]. *HIra* [10]. *HIul.* [5].[44] *HLac.* [26].[45] *HMal.* [9].[46] *HMam.* [23].[47] *HMart.* [19].[48] *HMund.* [21].[49] *HProv.* [12].[50] *HSab.* [24]. *HTrin.* [29].[51] *HVerb.* [16].[52] *HPs. 1.*[53] *HPs. 7. HPs. 14a. HPs.14b.*[54] *HPs. 28a. HPs. 29. HPs. 32. HPs. 33. HPs. 44. Hps. 45. HPs. 48. HPs. 59. HPs. 61. HPs. 114. HPs. 115.*[55]

Ad virg. [46].[56]

364

Before the fall:

C. Eun. 1-3 (at Eusinoe, on the coast of the Helenopontus).[57]

[38] See n. 35 above.

[39] In Syriac entitled "De fide prima" (cf. n. 51 below); in Armenian "De Trinitate." With the latter title sometimes in Greek but less frequently, assigned for Monday after Pentecost. Feast of the Holy Trinity. According to Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 86, probably delivered 7 September 372. Feast of the Cappadocian Saint St. Eupsychius.

[40] Feast 3 January (BHG[a] 703): according to Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 80, preached on that day or in the spring of 373.

[41] In Ayion Oros MMI. 650, a. 1626/1627, for Tuesday of Cheese-week. But this is very unusual. According to Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 80, with *HIul.* [5] delivered ca. 372.

[42] Inseparable companion of the following, ordinarily for the first week of Lent (Sunday, Monday or Tuesday). Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 72 dates both homilies to 371..

[43] See previous note. Frequently assigned for Friday of Cheese-week. According to Bernardi, *La prédication*, pp. 59, 72-73, *HInv.* [11] was preached in 364 and *HIra* [10] in 372. However, as in most cases, there are no cogent reasons for thinking so. See in general the critical remarks on Bernardi's work in the article of J. Gribomont in this volume.

[44] Feast 30 July (BHG[a] 972). Not found in the menologia. See n. 41.

[45] Laciza corrupted reading of Lazica? See T. Orlandi, "Basilio di Cesarea nella letteratura copta," *RSO* 49 (1975) 56-58, for the Coptic homilies preached in Lazica allegedly by Basil.

[46] See n. 35 above.

[47] Feast 2 September (BHG 1020): in only one or two MSS of the menologia. Because of the affinity of its arguments with the letters to Amphilochius from 376 and also *Mor. PrI* the date 376 proposed by Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 85, is probably correct.

[48] Feast 9 March (BHG[a] 1205), the favourite of the menologia in most languages. Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 85, dates it in 373.

[49] Probably preached in Satala, Armenia Minor, in July 373.

[50] Certainly one of the first homilies preached by Basil.

[51] In Syriac entitled "De fide secunda" (cf. n. 39 above). For the possible dates of *HSab.* [24] see Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 153.

[52] Probably preached the same year (but before) *HFide* [15], see n. 39 above.

[53] Ordinarily placed at the beginning as a prologue to many Psalteria (also in other languages, Latin, Slavic, etc.). It prefaces also some homiletic collections; cf. n. 31 above. For the possible dates of many of the *Homilies on the Psalms* see Gribomont's essay in this volume.

[54] Also sometimes entitled "De avaritia." Thematically closely bound with *HDestr.* [6] and *HDiv.* [7].

[55] For the early medieval translations of some of these homilies see P. J. Fedwick's article pp. 439-512 below.

[56] More a homily than a letter; see Bessières, *La tradition*, pp. 128-146, for some stylistic comparisons. See also S. Y. Rudberg in this volume, pp. 55-56, 64.

[57] The work was dictated rather in a hurry before the Synod of Lampsacus met in the

365

ELeont. sph. [20]. *ELeont. sph.* [21].[58]
Basil is recalled to Caesarea.

365 – 372

Mor. PrF. 1-5.[59]

365 – 378

EArc. com. [15].[60]

368

After 10 October:
ECaes. [26].

369

End of spring or beginning of summer: Famine in Cappadocia.
HDestr. [6]. *HFam.* [8]. *HMal.* [9].[61]
Autumn:
EEusbn. [31].[62]

370

Spring:
EEus. [27].
After the death of Eusebius (June), Basil becomes bishop of Caesarea (September?).

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fall; *EEust.* [223] 5, Courtonne, 3: 14.5-9. J. Gribomont, "Les succès littéraires des Pères grecs et les problèmes d'histoire des textes," *SE* 22 (1974/1975) 31 delays the dates of *C. Eun.* 1-3 and the Synod of Lampsacus to 365. However, the date of the Synod of Lampsacus, fall of 364, is well established; see H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism* (Cambridge 1900) pp. 275-276; L. Duchesne, *Early History of the Christian Church*, 2 (London 1912) 293, n. 1; G. Bardy, "The Decline of Arianism," p. 315 n. 3, in *The Church in the Christian Roman Empire*, edd. J. R. Palanque, et al. (New York 1953); M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Rome 1975) p. 395, n. 44. That Basil was presbyter when dictating the work compare *C. Eun.* 1.5, PG 29: 517B with *Asc. Pr3.* 4, PG 31: 900C. Because of certain inconsistencies (see notably M. V. Anastos, "Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου*, A Critical Analysis," pp. 122-123 below), Basil probably never revised the text, or perhaps we have only the unrevised copy preserved by Leontius the Sophist (see *ELeont. sph.* [20]).

[58] The last letter was written after 365.

[59] Without the last paragraph as, e.g., in Venice BNM gr. 63, s. 11 or 12, as an independent letter to a group of ascetics of conservative theology. According to Gribomont, "In t. 31," p. 9 after 372, according to Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 18 as above. Further on this work see nn. 80, 95 below.

[60] In all certainty not written from Pontus as in Maran, followed by *PLRE* s.v. According to Treucker, *Politische*, p. 54, between 370 and 378. But this does not need to be necessarily so as Basil was in Caesarea since 365, already acting as a *prostatēs*.

[61] See n. 35 above.

[62] Although Eusebona is a Syriac diminutive for Eusebius, it does not seem that this letter was addressed to Eusebius of Samosata. Cf. also Hauschild, *Basilius*, p. 155, n. 1.

370-371

Winter:
EAth. Anc. [25].

370 – 373

EAth. [61].

370 – 378

(Alphabetical listing):
EAburg. [178].[63] *EArc. ep.* [49]. *EArin.* [179].[64] *EAth. pt.* [24].[65] *ECall.* [73]. *ECens.* [83]. *ECens.* [284]. *EChor.* [54]. *EChor.* [53]. *EElp.* [78]. *EEpisc.* [282]. *EGreg. pb.* [55]. *EHell.* [109]. *EHes.* [64]. *EHes.* [72]. *EHim.* [274]. *EIul.* [107]. *EIul. tut.* [108]. *EIur.* [85]. *EMax. sch.* [277].[66] *EMul.* [289]. *ENect.* [290]. *ENeoc. pl.* [63]. *EParn.* [62].[67] *EPatr. ec.* [285]. *EPerg.* [56]. *EPraes.* [86]. *EPresb.* [87]. *ERapt.* [270]. *ESeb.* [306]. *ESimpl.* [115]. *ESophr. ep.* [172]. *ESophr.* [177].[68] *ESophr.* [180]. *ESophr.* [192]. *ESophr.* [272]. *EThdt. Ber.* [185].[69] *ETher.* [77]. *ETim.* [291]. *EUlt.* [287]. *EUlt.* [288]. *EVict.* [153].[70] *EVict.* [152]. *EVid.* [283]. *EZoil.* [194].[71]

371

Beginning, no later than March:
EEus. [48].
EGNys. [58]. *EGreg. ptr.* [59]. *EGreg. ptr.* [60].
EMel. [57].
EAth. [66].
Emmelia, Basil's mother dies.
June:
EEus. [30].
Summer:
EMel. [68]. *ESyn.* [70].[72]

[63] Belongs together with *EArin.* [179] and *ESophr.* [177]; see below.

[64] See previous note. Hauschild, *Basilius*, p. 172, n. 201, thinks that the person on whose behalf Basil writes is the same as Eumathius of *ESophr.* [180]. However, the labeling of the charge as "ridiculous" suggests Eusebius of *ESophr.* [177] and *EAburg.* [178].

[65] The reference in CPG 2900 to a Latin translation of this letter is inaccurate: see P. J. Fedwick, "Translation," p. 461, n. 109 below. It is very doubtful that this Athanasius was father of the bishop to whom is addressed *EAth. Anc.* [25].

[66] According to *PLRE*, p. 585, this Maximus would be identical with that mentioned in *ECons.* [301]; see Undated Works below.

[67] Written before 376; see *EEus.* [237] 2.

[68] See nn. 63-64 above.

[69] Probably before *EBer.* [220] and *EBer.* [221]; see below under 376.

[70] Victor was *magister equitum* between 367 and 379, and consul sometimes in the 370s.

[71] Written during one of Basil's many illnesses.

[72] Draft of a letter intended for Damasus of Rome; sent only to Meletius residing at Getasa? In any event it never went beyond Alexandria; see Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 108 n. 29.

Late summer-fall:
EAth. [69]. *EAth.* [67].
End of the year:
EEust. [79].

371-372

Winter:
EAth. [82].
ENeoc. ec. [28]. *EAnc.* [29]. *EEust.* [119].

371-372 or 372-373

Winter:
Valens arrives in Caesarea.[73]
6 January: Meeting between the emperor and Basil.

372

EItal. [242].[74]
Before easter:
EOccid. [90]. *EVal. ep.* [91]. *EItal.* [92]. *EMel.* [89].
Early spring:
EEus. [34].
After 7 September:
EGNaz. [71].[75]
EHel. [94]. *EGNaz.* [7].[76] *EAth.* [80]. *EPall. In.* [259]. *EPaion.* [134]. *EDiod.* [135].

372-373

Winter:
EAmph. [150].

372 or 373

Spring:
Basil visits Eusebius in Samosata.
EMart. [74]. *EAburg.* [75]. *ESophr.* [76].[77]
In either of those years:
ESophr. [32].[78] *EAburg.* [33]. *ETer. fl.* [105]. *ETars. pb.* [113]. *ETyan.* [97].[79]

[73] 371-372 is the date generally but not universally accepted; see Hauser-Meury cited in Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 144, for this date. It is equally possible that Valens came to Caesarea in the winter of 372-373; see A. Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien* (Paris 1972) p. 182 n. 5, who follows Stein cited ibid. Hence if the latter is accepted the dating of several letters (*EMart.* [74], *EAburg.* [75], *ESophr.* [76], *ETyan.* [97]) and events (the episcopal ordination of the two Gregories) should be deferred by a year.

[74] Draft of *EItal.* [92].

[75] If this is a reply to Gregory's *Ep.* 58, his *Epp.* 58-60 should be placed before the *Epp.* 47-50. It is unlikely that *EGNaz.* [71] was written after Gregory became bishop.

[76] This letter seems to have been written after *EGNaz.* [71]; compare the contents.

[77] *EMart.* [74] was written while Basil was away from Caesarea, after he learned of the proposed division of Cappadocia. Cf. n. 73 above about the time of Valens' visit to Caesarea.

[78] There is nothing at all suggesting that Caesarius, the brother of Gregory of Nazianzus, died immediately following the earthquake of 10 October 368 as implied by all

372 (or 371) – 375

Mor. PrF. 6. *Reg. mor.* 1-68.[80]
Mor. PrI: *Epistula de concordia.*[81]

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authors; see lastly *PLRE*, s.v. On the contrary, these two letters clearly suggest that he died shortly before or after Gregory was consecrated bishop. Hence if Gregory was ordained at Easter of 373 these letters should be placed after that date. Maran's assumption that the title *episkopos* applied to Gregory in the letters crept into the text from the margin is a gratuitous assumption. Upon inspection none of the texts of Gregory related to the death of Caesarius implies that Caesarius died following immediately the earthquake of 368.

[79] Written in connection with the partition of the province of Cappadocia, either late 372 or in the early part of 373.

[80] On *Mor. PrF.* 1-5 see n. 59 above. On their final conflation see below under 376–377. Internal evidence indicates that *Mor. PrF.* 6 is a preface to the first 69 *Reg. mor.* only and not to the whole collection composed today of 80 *Moral Rules*; compare *Mor. PrF.* 6, PG 31: 692.5-6 with *Reg. mor.* 69, ibid., 808B ff. *Reg. mor.* 69 recaps the contents of all the foregoing chapters. That the section 1-69 of the *Moralia* constituted originally a unity independent from *Reg. mor.* 70-80 see *Hyp. Pr.* 2, Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 281.31-282.40. Notice that each is announced and introduced separately. This fact on the other hand explains as well the rather unusual length of the last ten rules vis-à-vis the other sixty-nine. This shorter recension of the *Moralia* has been preserved in only three MSS, Ayion Oros MV 61, 11th cent., Ayion Oros MV 51, 13th cent. (copy of the preceding), and Ayion Oros MML B65 (185), 12th cent. For the final redaction of the *Reg. mor.* see below under 376–377. See also the scholion quoted in n. 28 above.

[81] The date of composition of this work can be reasonably established on the basis of internal and external evidence. Before its title was changed to *De iudicio Dei* at the time of the *Hypotyposis ascetica* (ca. 376-377), it circulated as an independent letter under the name of Ἐπιστολὴ περὶ τῆς συμφωνίας; see *De bapt.* 2.5, Neri, p. 338.2-3. For the addition of the last sentence see below under 376/377. The date of *De bapt.* 1-2, according to Neri, p. 53, is sometime after 370. However, neither work could have been written before the *Asceticon parvum*, that is, before 365–370 because the doctrine or theory about the equality of all sins is found only in these works and the *Asceticon magnum* but not in the *Asceticon parvum*. Compare *Mor. PrI.* 4-8, PG 31: 661A-676C with *De bapt.* 1.2, 2.5 (for these and other references see Neri, pp. 84-85), and also with the following *Erotapokriseis* found only in the second and third editions of the *Asceticon* but not in the first, the *Asceticon parvum*: *Asc. Pr3.* 2-3, PG 31: 893A-895A; *EApokr. br.* 4, 233, 293, ibid., 1084B-1085A, 1237C-1240A, 1288C-1289A. For a discussion of these texts see the study of E. Baudry, "À propos du rigorisme de saint Basile. Gravité du péché, libération du pécheur," in *Commandements du Seigneur et libération évangélique*, ed. J. Gribomont (Rome 1977) pp. 139-173. In my opinion, Basil's teaching on the equality of all sins as well as that on the observance of all commandments (see, e.g., *Mor. PrI*, ibid.) should be put in direct contrast to the teaching upheld by the anonymous author of the *Liber Graduum*, PS 3; the influence of Stoic philosophy should be minimized if not dismissed altogether. The date proposed for the *Liber Graduu*m is ca. 400; see I. Hausherr, "Quanam aetate prodierit 'Liber Graduum'," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 495-502; A. Guillaumont, "Liber Graduum," *DSp* 9 (1976) 749-751. However, also a larger span of time such as 373–400 could be assigned for the composition of the 30 *Sermons* making up this work, one of the most ancient documents of Syrian spirituality. The Basil texts point with all certainty to the circulation of some of the opinions of the *Liber Graduum* in the early 370s (evidently in an oral form, among the Greek speaking ascetics). Contrast *Liber Graduum* 2.7, PO 3: 39-42 with *Mor. PrI* cited above. In 1957 J. Gribomont, "Le monachisme au IVe siècle en Asie Mineure: de Gangres au Messalianisme," *SP* 2 (1957) 400-416, drew attention to the similarities

Asc. Pr3. Asc. 2.[82]
De bapt. 1-2.[83]

372 (or 371) – 377

EMod. [110]. *EMod.* [104]. *EMod.* [111]. *EMod.* [279]. *EMod.* [280]. *EMod.* [281].[84]

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between the condemnations of the Synod of Gangra and some of the texts of Basil's *Asceticon*. It should be added that most of these texts correcting the Eustathians' excesses *are found only in Asc. 2 and 3 but none in Asc. 1*; cf. *EApokr. fus.* 11 (on slaves); *fus.* 40 (synaxes of martyrs); *EApokr. br.* 265, 310 (about liturgical offerings in private homes). Does this suggest that the date of the Synod of Gangra should be brought closer to the time of composition of *Asc. 2* and *3*? With Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 2.43, I would be inclined to place that Synod sometime in the mid or even late 360s. See n. 14 above. In fact the date in 340 or 341 accepted by most authors (Tillemont, Gwatkin, Leclercq against Hefele, Loofs, Duchesne, Schwartz, Gribomont, etc.) is far from being certain; see most recently Simonetti, *La crisi ariana*, p. 411 ("data incerta"). Without postulating absolute synchronicity, given the nature of Basil's *Asceticon* (made up of answers to questions put forward by his followers), it seems more logical to assume that all these questions were raised within a short span of time. A different interpretation would have to be given if the date in 340 or 341 were absolutely certain; but see especially Gwatkin, *Studies*, pp. 189-192. A date in the 370s is also possible. Returning to the *Mor. Pr1* the following parallels with Basil's works written in the mid 370s should be noticed; compare *Mor. Pr1.* 1-4 with *De Sp. S.* 76-79; *EEpih.* [258]; see also *HMam.* [23] 4; *EOccid.* [90]; *EItal.* [92] (all these documents emphatically voice Basil's criticism of contemporary church leaders). On the "re-appearance" of the Anomoeans as the allies of the Eustathians in the 370s see *EHil.* [212] 2 (during Basil's trip to Pontus in 376); also *ENeoc. pm.* [210] 4; *EAsc.* [226] 2; *EAmph.* [236] 1; *EPatrph.* [244] 9; *EEvaes.* [251] 2-3; *De Sp. S.* 4, 5, 13, 44; *Hex.* 9.6. On Sebaste as the stronghold of the revived Anomoeans in the late 370s [thanks to the support of Eustathius; cf. *EPatrph.* above] see briefly M. van Esbroeck, pp. 99-107, in *Basile de Césarée, Sur l'origine de l'homme*, edd. A. Smets-M. van Esbroeck (Paris 1970). Both the idea of hostile aggression and of the regrouping of the Anomoeans in the 370s, seems to be contained in *Mor. Pr1*, 1 (PG 31: 653B): ἐθεώρουν ... νῦν, τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἐπιφυέντων ... "I was seeing ... now, when the Anomoeans were pressing hard" (or: "have become closely knit together." For either meaning of the 2nd aorist passive of ἐπιφύω, see *GEL*, s.v. Cf. also Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 151; the translation on p. 105 is to be slightly revised as here).

[82] The text of *Asc. 2* has been preserved in Greek (see in Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 26-40, the MSS of the so-called "recension Studite") and in an Armenian version (inedited) from the first half of the fifth century. *Asc. 2* includes all the *EApokr. fus.* divided into 32/41/44 chapters, followed immediately, without distinction, by almost all the *EApokr. br.*, with the exception of *br.* 130, 203, 194, 314, *fus.* 48bis, *br.* 315, 316, 317, 130, 156, 278, 282, 318 (see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 178, 70-71). Unless their author is not Basil but one of his immediate disciples from the Basiliada, *Asc. 2* contained probably also **Asc. Pr5* and **Epit.* 24, 25. On the Armenian *Girk' Harc'olac'* (= "Liber quaestionum") see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 65-77; Uluhogian and Fedwick, pp. 572, 578 ff., 474-476 below (with literature).

[83] See now the critical edition of U. Neri, *Basilio di Cesarea, Il battesimo* (Brescia 1976), accompanied by an excellent introduction and profuse commentary. Because of its references to the *Mor. Pr1* as *Epistula de concordia* (see n. 81 above) and the *Asc. 2*, *De bapt.* 1-2 certainly post-dates these works but ante-dates the *Hypotyposis vitae asceticae*. On the latter see below under 376–377.

[84] For the placing of *EMod.* [110] before *EMod.* [104] see Treucker, *Politische*, p. 40.

373

EAtarb. [65].

May: *EEus.* [95]. End of May/early June: Trip to the province of Armenia; meetings with Eustathius of Sebaste. *De Sp. S.* 10-27.

End of June: *EEus.* [98]. Summer: *EEus.* [128]. *EPetr.* [133]. August: *ETer.* [99]. *EEust.* [125]. *EEus.* [100].

End of August (from Caesarea): *EEus.* [127]. Late summer: *ECons.* [101]. *EAndr.* [112].

September/October: *EEus.* [145]. Fall: *ESat. civ.* [102]. *EEus.* [138]. *EAlex.* [139]. *EAnt. ec.* [140].

ETars. [114]. *ESch.* [154]. *EVal.* [278]. End of the year: *EEus.* [141].

373 or 374

ESophr. [96]. *EAnt.* [146]. *EAburg.* [147]. *ETrai.* [148]. *EMax.* [149].[85] *EPraes.* [84]. *EAntip.* [137]. *ESor.* [155].[86] *EIov. ep.* [118]. *EEvagr.* [156]. Winter: *EAmph.* [161].

374

Early in the year: *EEus.* [136]. *EAnt.* [157]. *EEus.* [162]. Summer: *EThdt.* [130]. *EAmph.* [200]. Late summer/fall: *EAnt.* [168]. Fall: *EOtr.* [181].

ESat. [103]. *EIov. com.* [163]. *EAsch.* [164]. *EEpisc.* [165]. *EEust. Him.* [184]. *EAntip.* [186]. *EAmph.* [190]. *EEpisc.* [191].[87] *EMagn.* [175]. *EEuphr.* [195].

374 or 375

EAnt. [158]. *EEup.* [159]. *EAmph.* [188]. Winter, or beginning of 375: *EPoem.* [122].

374 – 378

After summer-fall 374, Eusebius' exile: *EPauln.* [182]. *ESam. sen.* [183]. *ESam. cl.* [219].

375

Beginning of the year: *EMel.* [129]. *EEus.* [198]. *EEpisc.* [213].[88]

Package of letters sent through Sanctissimus (same time): *EMel.* [120]. *EThdt.* [121]. *EVit.* [255]. *EAbr.* [132]. *EAnt. pb.* [253]. *EPel.* [254]. *EFrat.* [256]. *EItal.* [243].

EAmb. [197.1.]. *EBer.* [220]. *EBer.* [221]. *EChalc.* [222]. *EAmph.* [176].

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followed by Hauschild, *Basilius*, pp. 158-159 with nn. 32, 47. Modestus was *praefectus* between 369 and 377, and consul before 372.

[85] It is obvious that this letter was not written to Trajan but to somebody else on behalf of the same Maximus. *EPraes.* [84] is placed here on the assumption that the same Maximus is in question.

[86] This letter in the MSS is without address but Maran has convincingly shown that its destinatary was Soranus.

[87] Certainly not to Amphilochius as in the MSS. That *EEpisc.* [165] is also addressed to a bishop but not Ascholius see Hauschild, *Basilius*, pp. 170-171.

[88] See Hauschild, *Basilius*, p. 183, n. 331; MSS: *Ἀνεπίγραφος, ἐπὶ ἀνδρὶ εὐσεβεῖ.*

June/July: *EEust.* [223]. *EGen.* [224]. *EDem.* [225]. Letters written in connection with the second trip to Armenia. Synod at Phargamum.

Summer: *EAtarb.* [126].

September: *De Sp. S.* 1-30.[89]

After September: *EAmph.* [201].

EOlymp. [131]. *EVid.* [174].

End of the year: *ECol. cl.* [227]. *ECol. mg.* [228]. *ENic. cl.* [229]. *ENic. mg.* [230]. *EAmph.* [231]. *EAsc.* [226].[90]

375 or 376

EDiod. [160]. *EAmph.* [199]. *EUrb.* [123]. *EMel. arch.* [193]. *EAmph.* [202].

376

Beginning of the year: *EAmph.* [232]. *EAmph.* [233]. *EAmph.* [234]. *EAmph.* [235]. *EAmph.* [236].[91] *EEus.* [237]. *ENic. pb.* [238]. *ENic. pb.* [240]. *EAmph.* [248].

Before summer: *ENeoc.* [204]. *EElp. ep.* [205]. *EElp. ep.* [206]. *ENeoc. cl.* [207]. *EEulnc.* [208]. *EMarit.* [203].

Middle of the year: *EEus.* [239].

Early summer: Trip to Pisidia, the provinces of Helenopontus and Pontus Polemoniacus. During his stay in Pontus Polemoniacus: *ENeoc. pm.* [210]. *EOlymp.* [211]. *EHil.* [212].

Late summer/early fall: *ETer.* [214]. Fall: *EMel.* [216]. *EAmph.* [218]. *EDor.* [215].[92]

Before September (?): *EPont.* [252].

ECan. [52].[93] *EEus.* [241]. *ENic.* [246]. *ENic.* [247]. *EMon. vex.* [257].

End of the year: *EPatrph.* [244]. *ETheoph.* [245]. *EEpiph.* [258].

376 or 377

EPatrph. [250]. *EBosp.* [51].

Hypotyposis vitae asceticae: *Hyp. Pr. Mor. PrI.*[94] *Mor. PrF.* 1-6.[95] *Reg. mor.* 1-80.[96] *Asc. Pr4.*[97] *Asc. 3.*[98]

Winter, or beginning of 377: *EAmph.* [217].

[89] See also under 373. On this work see Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*.

[90] Placed by Hauschild, *Basilius*, p. 17, in June 375. But this is impossible. The "three years" ought now to be counted from 373 not 372. Hence in December 375 or the Cappadocian year 376 (the Cappadocian New Year began 12 December); see Lietzmann, *Apollinarius*, p. 49.

[91] These five letters are the so-called *ὑπομνιστικὰ πρὸς τὸν Ἀμφιλόχιον*.

[92] Hauschild, *Basilius*, p. 10 places this letter in the winter 376/377 based on the lines of the *EDor.* [215], Courtonne, 2: 206.8-207.13. However, next Basil says *Εἰ δὲ δεῖ θαλάσσῃ χρήσασθαι, ἔσται καιρός*. Since the Mediterranean was closed for traffic from 11 November to 10 March of each year (see Vegetius quoted by Piganiol, *L'empire chrétien*, p. 318) a date in the fall of 376 appears more likely.

[93] Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 115, n. 1.

[94] See n. 81 above. Apparently when Basil decided to use his *Epistula de concordia* as a preface to the *Moralia* he added the last sentence (PG 31: 676.29-36).

[95] See nn. 58 and 80 above.

377

January: *EEvaes.* [251].

Early part: *EOccid.* [263]. *EBars.* [264]. *EEulg.* [265]. *EOpt.* [260]. *ESoz.* [261]. *EUrb.* [262].

377 or 378

Winter: *EPetr.* [266]. *EBars.* [267].

378

Hex. 1-9.[99]

EEus. [268]. *EAburg.* [196].

After 9 August: *EArin. ux.* [269].

Undated Works

Ad adolesc.[100]

[96] See n. 80 above. It should be noted that whereas *Reg. mor.* 1-69, with *Mor. PrF.* 6 circulated earlier (see n. 80), *Reg. mor.* 70-80 either existed earlier as a separate work ("manual of officials") or they were written at the time of the *Hypotyposis.* While the first sixty-nine *Rules* deal with duties common to all Christians, the last ten tackle those of people holding particular charismata. *Reg. mor.* 80 is a magnificent summary and synthesis of the whole work, the only *Rule* ever written by Basil. This last *Rule* is in the truest sense the "spiritual testament" of Basil.

[97] This prologue is a conflation of *Asc. Pr1* and *Asc. Pr3*; see nn. 28, 82 above and Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 238, 289-291, 324.

[98] For the first and second editions of the *Asceticon* see nn. 28, 82 above. The third edition intended for the ascetics of the two provinces of Pontus counted 55 *EApokr. fus.* (divided into eighteen chapters) and 286 *EApokr. br.* For the additional twenty-seven *EApokr. br.* added later from a MS of Caesarea (see n. 82 above) and for the other five ("quaestiones extravagantes" = *EApokr. br.* 314-318) see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 155 (*Scholion* 7), 154-155 (*Scholion* 6), 179-186 (*editio princeps* of the "extravagantes"). See also ibid., pp. 277-301.

[99] This work was not necessarily either delivered or composed in one week as claimed by Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 47. See also Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 152-153. With the same topics Basil could have dealt on more than one occasion. It is not clear if the decision to begin its publication "sometime in the late 370s" was motivated by the spread in Cappadocia and Armenia Minor of the teachings of Eunomius wherein scientific theories were applied detrimentally to the exegesis of Genesis 1, or whether it was Basil's work that triggered the reaction of the chief of the Anomoeans. For useful remarks and comments on the intellectual climate in Cappadocia and Sebaste in the late 370s see van Esbroeck, SC 160: 99-107. On the so called *Hex.* 10-11 see Dubious Works, *HCreat.* 1-2 (shorter recension). See also below, n. 106, and Gribomont, pp. 30-34.

[100] Variously dated by various authors: 356 or thereabouts by R. Weijenborg, "De authenticitate et sensu quarumdam epistularum S. Basilio Magno et Apollinario Laodiceno adscriptarum," *Ant* 33 (1958) 386; see also Rist and Ritter, pp. 219, 421 below; during the academic year 362/363 by A. Moffatt, "The Occasion of St. Basil's *Address to Young Men*," *Antichton* 6 (1972) 83-86; in 364 by L. Schucan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "Ad adolescentes." Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des christlichen Humanismus* (Geneva 1973) p. 38; in the episcopate, e.g., by A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, 3 (Paris 1930) 278; U. W. Knorr, "Basilius der Grosse. Sein Beitrag zur christlichen Durchdringung Kleinasiens" (Tübingen 1968); N. G. Wilson, *St. Basil on the*

EAburg. [304]. *EAdm.* [326]. *EAmic.* [11]. *EAnep.* [307]. *EAnep.* [330]. *EAnep.* [331]. *EAnep.* [332]. *EAux.* [36]. *EBris.* [302]. *ECaes. ptc.* [93]. *ECens.* [299]. *ECens.* [312]. *ECens.* [313]. *ECogn.* [310]. *ECom.* [303].[101] *EComm.* [286]. *ECons.* [301]. *ECont.* [318]. *EDef.* [209]. *EDiv.* [316]. *EEg.* [309]. *EEg.* [317]. *EEus. sod.* [271]. *EEust. arch.* [151]. *EEx.* [88]. *EExh.* [327]. *EFest.* [294]. *EFirm.* [116]. *EFug.* [314]. *EHarm.* [276]. *EHera* [273]. *EHera* [275]. *EHosp.* [319]. *EHyp.* [328]. *EIuln.* [293]. *ELeont.* [35]. *ELibr.* [334]. *EMagn.* [325].[102] *EMil.* [106]. *EMon. com.* [23]. *EMon.* [295]. *ENect. cons.* [5]. *ENect. ux.* [6]. *ENot.* [333]. *ENum.* [142]. *ENum. al.* [143]. *EOlymp.* [12]. *EOlymp.* [13].[103] *EPall.* [292]. *EPasch.* [322]. *EPasin.* [324]. *EPat.* [300]. *EPatr.* [308]. *EPhal.* [329]. *EPhil.* [323]. *EPrinc.* [311]. *EProp.* [315]. *ESal.* [320]. *ESynt.* [37]. *ETheod.* [173]. *EThdr.* [124]. *ETract.* [144]. *EVid.* [296]. *EVid.* [297]. *EVir.* [249]. *EVir.* [298]. *EVirr.* [305].

Dubious Works

**Asc. Pr5* **Enarr. in Is.* 1-16. **EApoll.* [361].[104] **EApoll.* [363]. **ELib.* [335].[105] **ELib.* [337]. **ELib.* [339]. **ELib.* [344]. **Epit.* 24. **Epit.* 25. **HCreat.* 1-2 (= *Hex.* 10-11: *recensio brevior*).[106] **HParad.* (*recensio brevior*).[107] **SAsc.* **SDisc.* **SInst.*[108]

379

1 January: Basil dies in Caesarea of Cappadocia.

Value of Greek Literature (London 1975) p. 9, followed by M. Naldini, "Sulla 'Oratio ad adolescentes' di Basilio Magno," *Prometheus* 4 (1978) 39. Naldini, however, following the opinion of Bach-Dirking (cited ibid.), would not exclude "che Basilio abbia composto l'operetta in momenti diversi e a più riprese." Because of the recurrence of the term παῖδες, as I believe in the technical sense which in the Hellenistic system of education was applied to pupils about 14 years of age. I would disagree that the *Ad adolesc.* is a kind of "apologie de l'ascèse adaptée à un public imbu d'une littérature exclusivement classique" (Naldini, ibid., quoting Gribomont). The analysis of a passage in Wilson, p. 8 confirms that Basil's audience were youngsters "in the region of fifteen or sixteen" years of age, probably his nephews. A further re-elaboration of some parts of the essay is not excluded.

[101] Possibly same as Fortunatianus see *PLRE*, pp. 1010, 369, then to be placed in between 370 and 378.

[102] Despite a slightly different spelling of the name in some MSS (Magnenianus instead of Magninianus) same as the recipient of *EMagn.* [175]; see above under 374.

[103] These two letters to Olympius could have been written during Basil's retreat in Annisa.

[104] On the letters to Apollinarius see n. 23 above.

[105] On the letters between Basil and Libanius see n. 19 above.

[106] See n. 99 above. The two longer recensions (see the ed. of Hörner) are certainly spurious.

[107] Similarly (cf. preceding note), the two longer recensions of this work are spurious.

[108] On the remaining Dubia see CPG 2883, 2911, 2897, 2891, 2890, 2888.

2

Notes biographiques sur s. Basile le Grand

Jean Gribomont, OSB
Abbazia San Girolamo, Rome

Saint Basile a laissé une œuvre abondante, notamment plus de 300 lettres, qui permettent de le suivre dans son activité rayonnante. Ayant vécu au centre d'un groupe de haute qualité intellectuelle et ecclésiale, il n'est pas passé inaperçu: Grégoire de Nysse et Grégoire de Nazianze ont écrit des panégyriques pour les anniversaires de sa mort; en outre, le premier a rédigé une biographie de Macrine, leur sœur aînée, et un *Traité sur la virginité* dont, il l'avoue, la figure de Basile constitue le modèle; Grégoire de Nazianze, de son côté, a correspondu avec Basile, et l'a évoqué dans ses poèmes; Jérôme l'a rencontré, Athanase l'a loué, Damase a croisé le fer avec lui, Ambroise s'est inspiré de ses écrits, Rufin l'a traduit, Eunome l'a réfuté. Bref, de tous côtés, des témoignages contemporains éclairent son rôle et sa personnalité. Aussi, dès le v[e] siècle, les historiens ne manquent pas de recueillir les traditions qui circulent à son sujet, non sans que des légendes hagiographiques ne brodent sur ses vertus et ses miracles. Le matériel informatif ne fait donc pas défaut, le problème est plutôt d'apprécier la valeur des notices et de les combiner avec assez de sens historique pour discerner les ressorts profonds de son jeu, les buts réels de ses manœuvres.

Seule l'intelligence des grands courants qui déterminent l'évolution du monde à la fin de l'antiquité, annonçant le haut moyen âge byzantin, donne leur sens aux témoignages basiliens, lesquels établissent en revanche les points de repère les plus précieux sur le parcours de ces

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Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 21-48.

courants. Pensons par exemple à l'histoire sociale (la famille de Basile, le rôle du moine et de l'homme d'Église dans une société en transformation); à la survivance de la culture classique, ou plutôt à l'élaboration d'une haute culture chrétienne; à la réforme des structures de l'Église impériale, sous les règnes de Constantin, de Constance, de Julian, de Valens, de Théodose I; à l'établissement de rapports stables et positifs entre l'ascétisme et l'épiscopat; aux formulations dogmatiques, qui font appel à une philosophie plus cohérente, et surtout plus respectueuse des postulats de la foi populaire; à la diplomatie ecclésiastique et à l'accord avec les exigences des grands sièges, dans le respect des traditions locales légitimes. Exégèse et usages canoniques, platonisme et stoïcisme, charismes spontanés et discipline, pauvreté évangélique et institution durable, passé et avenir, partout Basile éprouve les esprits et retient ce qui est solide.

C'est dans les milieux érudits liés à Port Royal qu'à l'âge d'or des études patristiques la documentation essentielle fut soumise à une critique attentive, classée chronologiquement, située par rapport à la grande histoire. Le mérite principal en revient à S. Lenain de Tillemont, qui consacra aux vies de s. Basile, de s. Grégoire de Nazianze, de s. Grégoire de Nysse et de s. Amphiloque un gros volume, le neuvième de ses *Mémoires pour servir l'histoire ecclésiastique des six premiers siècles.*[1] En réalité, les recherches préparatoires à cette synthèse remontent déjà aux années décisives de la formation du jeune Tillemont à Beauvais, auprès de G. Hermant, en 1661-1669. Dans *La Vie de s. Basile le Grand ... et celle de Grégoire de Nazianze*, publiée par G. Hermant en 1674, on trouve une esquisse nette des *Mémoires* définitifs, où les sources sont systématiquement discutées, avec des notes prolixes consacrées aux points obscurs.[2]

Les Mauristes étaient en excellents termes avec Tillemont. Quand ils entreprirent l'édition critique de Basile, ils abandonnèrent l'ordre traditionnel de la correspondance pour se conformer, autant que possible, à la chronologie, en fonction des conclusions du grand historien. La *Vita Basilii* que dans le dernier tome rédigea dom P. Maran,[3] reprit la substance des judicieux *Mémoires*, non sans que l'esprit critique de dom J. Garnier et la timidité conservatrice de Maran n'y laissent aussi leur trace. Forgé par quatre artisans, ce travail reste solide, puisque les sources principales étaient dès lors bien accessibles. C'est toujours là qu'il faut aller contrôler les données devenues traditionnelles, avant de les mettre en

[1] Paris 1703; seconde édition revue et corrigée, Paris 1714.

[2] Cf. B. Neveu, *Un historien de l'Église à l'école de Port-Royal. Sébastien Le Nain de Tillemont* (La Haye 1966) p. 58.

[3] Paris 1730. Cette *Vita* a été réimprimée dans PG 29: v-clxxvii.

question si par hasard une hypothèse veut renouveler l'interprétation d'un document particulier.

Il serait ambitieux de songer à reprendre systématiquement et *ab ovo* un effort aussi vaste; ce n'est en tout cas pas l'affaire d'une conférence ou d'un congrès. En nous référant donc à ce monument jamais contesté, nous devons apprécier ses présupposés méthodologiques, et consacrer des notes particulières aux points où une mise au point semble utile.

Si Tillemont et les Mauristes ont veillé à reconstituer la chaîne chronologique des événements, ils sont moins préparés à suivre l'évolution des idées, en raison de leur habitude de situer dans l'absolu la doctrine des saints; ils ne cherchent guère à distinguer Basile de son ami de Nazianze, d'Athanase, ni des autres piliers de l'orthodoxie. Depuis lors, la *Dogmengeschichte* s'est constituée en méthode; ce n'est pas toujours une science infaillible, elle a pu formuler des thèses aventureuses et caduques; elle n'en repose pas moins sur un dossier d'observations. L'influence de la culture de l'antiquité tardive, avec sa rhétorique, son platonisme, son stoïcisme; celle d'Origène, d'Eusèbe de Césarée, de l'opinion homéousienne guidée par Basile d'Ancyre; celle de l'ascétisme eustathien, et, de plus loin, celle du monachisme égyptien ou syrien; les effets précis de la réaction contre Eunome, ou d'autre part contre des alliés d'Athanase comme Marcel d'Ancyre ou Apollinaire; la connaissance éventuelle d'une littérature chrétienne latine, surtout de Cyprien, qui avait en son temps noué une correspondance avec Firmilien de Césarée; les jeux nuancés de la politique ecclésiastique; voilà autant de domaines où des questions se posent avec une tout autre acuité qu'à l'époque où Garnier et Maran achevaient leur magistrale édition.

Les sciences auxiliaires de l'histoire — l'archéologie,[4] la numismatique, la papyrologie — ne semblent guère avoir apporté de faits importants au sujet de la Cappadoce au temps de Valens,[5] et nous en restons à peu près aux textes littéraires connus depuis longtemps. Mais notre connaissance des manuscrits ne se limite plus aux bibliothèques parisiennes fouillées par les Mauristes. Sans disposer de documents réellement neufs, on commen-

[4] Voir une brève synthèse, avec bonne bibliographie dans N. Thierry, "L'archéologie cappadocienne en 1978," *CCM* 22 (1979) 3-22. Si les traces du IVe s. chrétien sont si fugaces, c'est peut-être dû en partie à la durée de la domination musulmane; mais cela doit tenir aussi à la modestie des prestations architecturales; ce n'est pas dans la pierre que Basile entendait construire l'Église ou l'ascèse évangélique.

[5] Bien des faits sont néanmoins rassemblés, c'est évident, par A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1970); ou encore par les récents éditeurs d'Ammien Marcellin ou de Zosime.

ce à voir se dégager les grandes lignes de l'histoire des textes, ce qui conduit à un progrès dans l'intelligence de leur genèse.

Parcourons systématiquement les diverses catégories d'œuvres basiliennes.

A. La correspondance

Les recherches de Bessières[6] ont distingué les grandes familles de manuscrits, chacune avec son ordonnance spécifique du matériel documentaire; ensuite Cavallin[7] et Rudberg[8] ont confirmé la valeur exceptionnelle de la famille Aa; puis l'édition de Courtonne[9] nous a donné ce texte Aa, avec les variantes de quelques manuscrits B. La version allemande de Hauschild,[10] en cours de publication, ajoute enfin un commentaire historique solide.

Divers critiques ont décelé les pièces qui ne sortent pas de la plume de Basile. Ce n'est pas ici le lieu de les énumérer toutes; mais on peut observer que si l'on élimine l'*ECaes.* [8] (qui revient à Évagre) et les *EVid.* [10], *EEun.* [16], *EGNys.* [38] et *EEust. arch.* [189] (qui appartiennent à Grégoire de Nysse), on modifie notablement la base sur laquelle K. Holl avait autrefois reconstruit, avec d'ailleurs une admirable perspicacité, la théologie de Basile.[11] Ces lettres restent, au sens large, cappadociennes, et se rattachent indirectement à Basile; mais en les citant comme authentiques, Holl faisait remonter au chef de l'École une élaboration technique des concepts de nature et d'hypostase que Basile n'était peut-être pas sans envisager, mais qu'il refusa délibérément d'exploiter au delà de ce qui lui était indispensable pour réfuter Eunome. Une critique rigoureuse est ici indispensable pour bien marquer les nuances entre la théologie robuste de Basile et l'élaboration plus subtile brillamment tentée par ses épigones.

La chronologie des Mauristes répartit en trois classes les lettres basiliennes: 1-46, avant l'épiscopat; 47-291, durant l'épiscopat; 292-366, pièces difficiles à situer chronologiquement, avec les pièces douteuses et apocryphes. Ces catégories sont très inégales, comme l'on peut voir. Mais

[6] M. Bessières, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de saint Basile* (Oxford 1923) = *JThS* 21 (1920-1921) 1-50; 289-310; 22 (1921-1922) 105-137; 23 (1922-1923) 113-133, 225-249, 337-361.

[7] A. Cavallin, *Studien zu den Briefen des heiligen Basilius* (Lund 1944).

[8] S. Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* (Lund 1953).

[9] Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, 1-3 (Paris 1957-1966).

[10] W. D. Hauschild, *Basilius von Caesarea, Briefe II* (Stuttgart 1973).

[11] K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen 1904).

il faut ajouter que l'élimination des pièces inauthentiques, avec quelques rectifications chronologiques (certaines ou vraisemblables), affecte considérablement la première classe, déjà peu nourrie. Outre les *ECaes.* [8], *EVid.* [10], *EEun.* [16], *EGNys.* [38], citées plus haut, il faut éliminer les *EBas.* [39], *EBas.* [40], *EIuln.* [41], *EChil.* [42], *Ad iun.* [43], *EMon. laps.* [44], *EMon. laps.* [45], et peut-être renvoyer au temps de l'épiscopat les *ENect. cons.* [5], *ENect. ux.* [6], *De perf.* [22], *EMon. com.* [23], *ENeoc. ec.* [28], *EAnc.* [29], *EEus.* [30], enfin *ESophr.* [32] et *EAburg.* [33].[12] Les *ELeont.* [35], *EAux.* [36] et *ESynt.* [37] manquent dans la tradition manuscrite Aa; ce sont des lettres de recommandation, assez insignifiantes. Après ces opérations, il reste bien peu de pièces réellement datées d'avant l'épiscopat de Basile, sauf des lettres intéressant Grégoire de Nazianze et vraisemblablement conservées par celui-ci. Mettons à part, en particulier, l'*EGNaz.* [2], écrite pour être largement diffusée, et, de fait conservée par des manuscrits homilétiques. On serait tenté de conclure qu'avant d'accéder à l'épiscopat, Basile n'avait pas l'habitude de conserver dans ses archives sa correspondance, et que ses amis ne pensaient pas davantage à la postérité. Peut-on par analogie restreindre aussi le nombre des homélies antérieures à l'épiscopat?

Un certain nombre de lettres sont transmises en version syriaque; avec celles-ci on trouve en syriaque quelques pièces non identifiées et apparemment inédites. Malheureusement la version, trop large, généralise tellement les allusions, qu'elle ne conserve guère que des banalités. J'ai tenté à plusieurs reprises d'en tirer quelque information pour l'histoire du corpus, mais jusqu'ici rien d'utile n'en est sorti.

Le plus souvent, les manuscrits de la correspondance de Basile contiennent aussi, en tête ou en queue, la collection des lettres de Grégoire de Nazianze. Paul Gallay[13] s'est attaché au classement de cette seconde collection; quoique disposant des mêmes manuscrits, il aboutit à des résultats sensiblement différents quant à l'autorité des traditions. Il distingue six familles, liées entre elles deux à deux (u v, d f, g h), les quatre premières s'alliant en outre contre g h. Les manuscrits Aa de Basile, qui transmettent en même temps la correspondance de Grégoire, la présentent en trois recensions: le Patmos *MHITh* 57 forme à lui seul la famille f; le Florence BML gr. 57, 7 appartient à la famille g; enfin le Paris BN Suppl. gr. 334, témoin très tardif (XVIe s.), est rattaché à la famille u. Cette famille u,

[12] J. Bernardi, *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens* (Paris 1968) p. 109.

[13] P. Gallay, *Les manuscrits des lettres de saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Paris 1957), étude préparatoire à l'édition critique.

dans ses meilleurs manuscrits, s'identifie à la branche Ab de Basile; or, tandis que Ab est médiocre, texte contaminé et remanié, u passe pour le meilleur témoin de Grégoire. La famille v, proche de u, et elle aussi fort appréciée, est jointe dans les manuscrits à la tradition Bo de Basile, tradition secondaire. La famille d de Grégoire, dans ses meilleurs témoins, se joint elle aussi à la famille basilienne Ab.

De telles divergences d'appréciation ne sont pas aussi paradoxales qu'on ne pourrait le croire. En effet, le critère premier auquel se fie Gallay tient à la conformité des ordres u et v à la disposition primitive censée imposée par Grégoire lui-même à ses propres lettres, lorsqu'il en fit l'envoi à son petit neveu Nicobule. Le critère premier de Bessières était au contraire une méfiance envers les collections logiquement ordonnées; la réunion des lettres adressées à un même correspondant lui semblait s'expliquer par l'activité des recenseurs, tandis qu'il ne comprenait pas que les copistes aient tendu à diviser de tels paquets de lettres.

Il ne serait pas sans intérêt de reconsidérer dans son ensemble le classement des manuscrits des deux correspondances. Il n'est certes pas impossible que chacune ait connu, à l'origine, une histoire indépendante, de sorte que l'autorité des collections pourrait varier. Mais Grégoire ayant envoyé à Nicobule ses propres lettres à la suite d'une anthologie de lettres basiliennes, on peut croire que l'ensemble a (en partie?) une origine commune, avec des transpositions éventuelles dès que chacune des deux anthologies venait à s'enrichir au cours de son histoire.

L'exégèse à donner à chaque lettre devrait sans doute tenir compte, non seulement de la chronologie que la critique estime pouvoir reconstituer, mais aussi de la disposition du matériel dans les diverses collections manuscrites.

La chronologie de Tillemont et des Mauristes a été soigneusement contrôlée par Loofs,[14] à propos surtout des relations de Basile avec Eustathe de Sébaste. Elle a été aussi revue par Lietzmann,[15] à propos d'Apollinaire de Laodicée.

Dans ses recherches personnelles, souvent si pénétrantes, toujours si audacieuses, sur l'histoire de l'Église au IVe s., Schwartz[16] a proposé une datation révolutionnaire pour les documents intéressant l'histoire

[14] F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basilius-Briefe* (Halle 1898).

[15] H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen 1904) pp. 48-62.

[16] E. Schwartz, "Zur Kirchengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts," *ZNW* 34 (1935) 169-195 = *Gesammelte Schriften, Zur Geschichte der alten Kirche und ihres Recht*, 4 (Berlin 1960) 1-110.

générale, mais il n'est pas descendu jusqu'à reprendre tous les indices que fournissent les lettres "domestiques," et ceci rend ses thèses assez fragiles.

En relevant et en découvrant l'interprétation exacte d'une souscription d'une lettre de Damase, conservée en latin dans un manuscrit de Vérone, Richard[17] a réussi à illuminer un détail capital des relations de Basile avec Athanase et l'Occident. Il en résulte que, par l'initiative de l'évêque d'Alexandrie, en réponse à une lettre de communion envoyée par Basile (qui le priait de la faire parvenir à Rome), l'évêque de Césarée a été inscrit parmi les destinataires d'une lettre de communion occidentale, sur laquelle il a pu faire fond durant toute son activité. La doctrine impeccable des livres *Contre Eunome* a dû jouer un rôle dans cette initiative d'Athanase. Une telle étude permet de reconstituer, à partir d'un point précis, tout l'horizon ecclésiologique de Basile.

Enfin Hauschild a joint à sa traduction allemande des lettres, dont il a été parlé plus haut, une longue note[18] extrêmement attentive, *Zur Chronologie der Briefe*. Il y détermine avec précision ce qui est solidement attesté par les textes et ce qui est, à ses yeux, probable. On peut en retenir notamment que l'*EItal.* [242] est un brouillon préparé pour l'*EItal.* [92] (à dater de 372); que les deux colloques avec Eustathe à Sébaste se situent vers le début de juin et la fin d'août 373, les lettres 98-95 descendant donc un an plus tard que ne le pensaient les Mauristes; et que les lettres 203-216 descendent à l'été et jusqu'à l'hiver 376, de nouveau un an plus tard que la chronologie traditionnelle. Ces modifications ne vont pas sans corriger le dessin de la biographie reçue. Dans bien des cas, Hauschild renonce à telle ou telle précision suggérée par les Mauristes, et préfère ignorer l'année exacte d'une lettre.

B. Les homélies

Ni Tillemont, ni les Mauristes n'ont osé tenter une chronologie de l'œuvre oratoire de Basile, sauf pour l'homélie sur le début des Proverbes, qui se présente elle-même comme l'œuvre d'un débutant, invité par l'évêque président, et que l'on place donc au début du sacerdoce de Basile. Disons-le en passant, il est intéressant de relever l'inspiration très origénienne de ce premier chef d'œuvre.

[17] M. Richard, "S. Basile et la mission du diacre Sabinus," *AB* 67 (1949) 189-202 = *Opera minora*, 2 (Turnhout 1977) No. 34 (voir quelques compléments au No. 35).

[18] Hauschild, *Basilius*, pp. 9-17.

Aujourd'hui, à la suite du classement des manuscrits proposé par Rudberg à partir de la disposition des pièces dans les recueils, et des corrections apportées à ce classement grâce aux groupements de variantes qui se sont manifestés à Rudberg et à Rouillard, à l'occasion de sondages étendus, on commence à avoir une idée de la tradition manuscrite. L'histoire ancienne des collections n'est pas encore dégagée; plutôt qu'un arbre généalogique, on observe une forêt, mais des sentiers s'y laissent entrevoir.

La disposition imprimée par les Mauristes a des fondements documentaires. Les neuf homélies sur l'*Hexaéméron* se présentent toujours en un ensemble cohérent, souvent transmis avec les compléments qu'après la mort de Basile ajouta Grégoire de Nysse (*De hominis opificio*; *Explicatio apologetica in Hexaemeron*), ou encore avec les deux Homélies *Sur l'origine de l'homme*,[19] attribuées à Basile ou à Grégoire. Sur cette tradition manuscrite, nous attendons des précisions de la part de notre ami et collègue St. Y. Rudberg. Nous voudrions arriver à savoir si c'est Grégoire de Nysse qui se trouve à l'origine de l'édition de ces homélies, ou si elles ont été diffusées du vivant de l'auteur, avant toute intervention grégorienne.

Les Mauristes ont imprimée ensemble, dans leur tome premier,[20] les homélies exégétiques sur les Psaumes (*HPs. 1*, *HPs. 7*, *HPs. 14a*, *HPs. 14b*, *HPs. 28a*, *HPs. 29*, *HPs. 32*, *HPs. 33*, *HPs. 44*, *HPs. 45*, *HPs. 48*, *HPs. 59*, *HPs. 61*, *HPs. 144*; ajoutons l'*HPs. 115*, renvoyée à l'appendice, mais aussi attestée que les précédentes). L'*HPs. 28b*, les *HPs. 37* et *HPs. 132* n'appartiennent pas à Basile. En fait, déjà beaucoup de manuscrits réunissent les homélies authentiques et les disposent dans l'ordre du texte biblique, ce qui s'explique aisément. Il semble pourtant y avoir lieu de tenir grand compte de la disposition d'autres anciennes collections, qui isolent l'*HPs. 1*, puis la seconde (ou les deux) *HPs. 14a* et *HPs. 14b*, puis les *HPs. 59*, *HPs. 61*, *HPs. 114* et *HPs. 115*, et enfin les autres. Certes, les manuscrits de ces homélies n'ont jamais encore été collationnés, et la valeur respective des témoins reste donc douteuse; néanmoins, il n'est guère vraisemblable que ce soient des éditeurs médiévaux qui aient pris l'initiative de diviser la collection, si elle était bien ordonnée au départ. Une lecture un peu critique montre d'ailleurs que ces homélies, qui ne

[19] Sur les manuscrits de l'*Hexaéméron* qui ajoutent les *HCreat. hom.* 1-2, cf. A. Smets et M. van Esbroeck, *Basile de Césarée, Sur l'origine de l'homme* (Paris 1970) pp. 127-134 et 27-62, et H. Hörner, *Auctorum incertorum – vulgo Basilii vel Gregorii Nysseni – Sermones De creatione hominis, Sermo De paradiso* (Leiden 1972).

[20] PG 29 et 30.

concernent qu'une fraction minime du psautier, ne constituent aucunement un ensemble, répondant à un plan ou à une méthode cohérente. Sans aller jusqu'à considérer chaque pièce comme isolée, il convient de partir de l'hypothèse qu'il ne s'agit pas ici d'un commentaire suivi, pour lequel il faudrait chercher une date déterminée dans le cours de l'enseignement de Basile.

Le reste des homélies basiliennes a été qualifié de "morales" ou "diverses," ce qui laisse entendre qu'elles répondent encore moins à un plan systématique. Les manuscrits connaissent un nombre infini de dispositions, où l'on retrouve tout au plus de petits groupes relativement cohérents, agglomérés à date ancienne: sur le jeûne, sur la richesse, sur les passions (colère et envie), sur les martyrs, sur la foi....

Nous avons déjà mentionné un bon travail critique, attentif à tirer des textes le maximum d'information chronologique: *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens*, par J. Bernardi.[21] Il concerne 117 homélies de Basile et de ses amis. Quelques-unes de ces homélies ont été retouchées au moment de la publication, mais aucune des pièces basiliennes n'est classée dans cette catégorie. Bernardi retient 45 discours basiliens; il a malheureusement mis de côté, systématiquement, toutes les pièces dont l'authenticité a été mise en doute, y compris celles qui n'auraient pas dû être contestées. Bien entendu, il est excellent que ce matériel ait été rapproché des œuvres analogues de Grégoire de Nazianze et de Grégoire de Nysse, car cela permet d'apprécier ce qui est commun au temps et au milieu, et ce qui est propre à Basile. D'autre part, Bernardi a été amené à prendre en considération, d'un point de vue neuf, les deux discours funèbres où son frère et son ami ont honoré la mémoire de notre saint.

Tandis que Grégoire de Nazianze aime ouvrir son cœur et parler de ses épreuves personnelles, ce qui révèle la date de ses discours, Basile commente la parole de Dieu avec une objectivité exceptionnelle; les indices chronologiques sont donc à peine sensibles, et presque toujours discutables. La preuve, c'est qu'en un premier temps Bernardi avait daté d'avant l'épiscopat les homélies sur les Psaumes, adoptant ainsi une suggestion de Maran; mais les points d'appui étaient trop fragiles, et "on peut constater ici qu'à peu près rien n'a subsisté de cette conviction primitive," dit-il finalement lui-même.[22]

Aussi est-ce avec prudence qu'il propose sa chronologie, et avec prudence que nous devons le suivre. Il espère au moins distinguer,

[21] Cf. supra n. 12.

[22] *La prédication*, p. 29 n. 28.

comme les Mauristes l'ont fait pour la correspondance, le temps de l'activité sacerdotale, et celui de l'épiscopat; encore admet-il que certaines pièces, comme les *HPs. 7, HPs. 14a* et *HPs. 14b*, se situant "à la fin du sacerdoce ou au début de l'épiscopat," tandis que d'autres seraient "antérieures à 372." Pourtant, les tentatives de rapprochement avec des expériences vécues par Basile me paraissent peu convaincantes; ainsi de l'homélie sur l'envie, qui aurait un lien avec l'opposition manifestée par l'évêque Eusèbe, lors des premiers succès du sacerdoce de Basile; ou encore des éloges de l'intrépidité chrétienne (*HPs. 33*, homélie sur la colère), rattachée au fameux dialogue de Basile avec le préfet Modestus, dramatisé par Grégoire de Nazianze en une belle page de l'oraison funèbre; ainsi encore la critique des usuriers (*HPs. 14b*), rapprochée de l'amère aventure des dettes laissées à son décès, en 368, par Césaire, frère de Grégoire de Nazianze. Ces expériences n'étaient pas requises pour justifier les exhortations du moraliste, et aucune d'entre elles ne semble visée par quelque expression spécifique. Je reste aussi sceptique lorsque l'on croit devoir situer avant l'épiscopat, ou en tout cas avant la construction du grand hospice de la Basiliade (373 au plus tard), une phrase comme: "il est une chose en laquelle nous avons l'avantage sur les riches, nous les pauvres: l'absence de souci" (*HPs. 14b.* 3). Les responsabilités administratives de l'évêque et du fondateur ne faisaient pas tort, aux yeux de Basile, à l'*amerimnia* philosophique et évangélique.

Non sans avoir longtemps hésité, j'avoue me rapprocher des thèses de Bernardi au sujet de l'*Hex.* 1-9, prédication de carême, soigneusement préparée. Il propose la dernière année de Basile, et même très précisément la semaine du 12 au 16 mars 378. J'ai quelque difficulté à me ranger à cette année 378, car à en juger par la correspondance, relativement abondante et bien datée, l'activité de Basile, à l'approche de la mort, est déjà gravement limitée, tandis que l'*Hex.* 1-9 requiert une vigueur exceptionnelle, tant pour l'effort physique d'intense prédication que pour la rédaction et la publication de cet ensemble, que l'on peut assimiler à un traité. L'*Hex.* 1-9 promettait un nouveau développement sur la création de l'homme, mais je ne suis pas convaincu que ce complément ait été tout prêt, et que seule une crise de santé imprévue ait forcé l'auteur à se dédire. Quant aux *HCreat.* 1-2, qui se présentent elles-mêmes comme ce complément, nous y reviendrons plus loin. J'hésite encore à croire Bernardi, lorsqu'il veut que Grégoire de Nazianze, en son discours 28.22, prononcé peut-être à Constantinople au début de 379, plus tard revu et intégré dans le corpus des cinq *Discours Théologiques*, ait ignoré encore l'existence de l'*Hex.* 1-9; l'argument du silence me paraît, en ce cas, assez fragile. Mais je concède que l'*Hex.* 1-9 doit être postérieur à l'*EAmph.* [236] 5 (de Basile),

datée de 376. Ceci est déjà important, et situe avec sécurité à la fin de la vie de Basile cette synthèse de haute vulgarisation, où la foi en un Créateur assume, avec brio, les conceptions platoniciennes de l'origine du monde, et aussi la cosmologie moralisée des anciens. Je tendrais à en rapprocher idéalement, sinon peut-être chronologiquement, l'*HAtt.* [3], que Bernardi met au contraire très tôt, car à son avis "elle sent plus le débutant que l'homme fort de son autorité et sûr de son audience."[23]

Les blocs les plus cohérents, et peut-être les plus solides, constitués par Bernardi sur la base d'indices convergents, se situent l'un vers 368-369, au point culminant de l'activité sacerdotale, et l'autre au début de l'épiscopat, en 370-373. Le premier est représenté par un groupe d'homélies contre les riches, assez agressives. Cette prédication "socialiste" prend occasion d'une sécheresse exceptionnelle, suivie de famine et de crise économique. En tête vient l'homélie, origénienne et fort spéculative, *HMal.* [9]; puis *HDestr.* [6], puis *HDiv.* [7] (pièce qui pourtant ne s'insère pas ici avec une évidence absolue; Basile pourrait reprendre les mêmes thèmes, une autre année); enfin le réquisitoire *HFam.* [8]. L'*HPs. 14b*, contre les usuriers, se rattache à la même politique anticapitaliste, mais non à ce cycle précis.

L'autre période de fécondité, au début de l'épiscopat, est provoquée par une crise doctrinale, à propos du culte du S. Esprit. Là Bernardi situe l'*HVerb.* [16] et *HFide* [15] (identique peut-être à la fameuse prédication du 7 septembre 372, vivement reprochée à Basile par des moines plus à cheval sur la précision dogmatique, et aussi, avec plus de timidité,[24] par Grégoire de Nazianze). Ce n'est que plus tard (377 ?) que l'on peut situer l'homélie contre les Sabelliens (en pratique, contre la tendance intégriste dont nous venons de parler !). Divers exposés sont proches de ce que l'on peut lire dans le *De Sp. S.*, par ex. dans les *HPs. 28a*, *HPs. 32*, *HPs. 33*. Bernardi date ces homélies des environs de 375, année de publication du *De Sp. S.* En fait, l'on sait que les chapitres 10-27 du *De Sp. S.* remontent, pour l'essentiel, à 373 et l'on peut sans difficulté faire remonter un peu plus haut ces exposés trinitaires.

Bernardi situe sous l'épiscopat (370-378) les textes où l'orateur parle avec autorité; par ex. les *HIeiun.* 1 et *HIeiun.* 2, qui ouvrent le Carême, et *HEbr.* [14], qui blâme vertement le peuple de la ville pour la façon dont il a célébré la Pâque; l'*HBapt.* [13] invitant les catéchumènes à s'inscrire, dès l'Épiphanie (371 ?), pour le baptême de la Pâque prochaine; l'*HMund.* [21],

[23] Ibid., p. 67.
[24] Cf. Grégoire de Nazianze, *Ep.* 58; Basile, *EGNaz.* [71]; Grégoire, *Ep.* 59.

qu'il situerait en juillet 372, lors d'un passage de Basile à Satala; les *HPs. 1* et *HPs. 61*, celles sur les Martyrs (*HGord.* [18] et *HMart.* [19]). Pour l'*HPs. 114*, bien proche des précédentes, il préfère le temps du sacerdoce, car l'orateur s'excuse d'un retard, dû à une fonction liturgique dans une autre église confiée à ses soins, ce qu'il entendrait de la "paroisse urbaine" à laquelle Basile aurait été affecté. Il y a quelque raison de reconnaître en ces homélies une voix épiscopale, mais bien avant son sacre, Basile avait l'habitude d'élever la voix avec autorité, lorsqu'il estimait devoir annoncer les préceptes de Dieu. L'évêque Eusèbe ne s'est-il pas senti rejeté dans l'ombre par ce subordonné, si supérieur par son rang social et sa culture? Lorsque Basile a fait un recueil de ses prédications les plus marquantes, a-t-il usé d'une discrétion telle qu'il a laissé de côté celles dont le ton avait pu offusquer ce prélat?

En somme, Bernardi tend à attribuer à l'activité sacerdotale les œuvres sociales vigoureuses qui préparèrent dans le peuple l'élection à l'épiscopat, et la rendirent plus difficile à l'épiscopat des environs et aux classes dirigeantes. Il concentre sur le début de l'épiscopat les luttes dogmatiques, en gardant en réserve peu d'exposés de ce genre pour les dernières années, celles qui suivirent la rupture avec Eustathe et la constitution d'un front anti-macédonien. C'est aussi au début de l'épiscopat qu'il tend à situer l'activité réformatrice, la proposition à l'ensemble de la cité d'un idéal d'austérité — thèmes que je situerais aussi volontiers durant le sacerdoce. À la fin de la vie de Basile on constate, avec l'*Hex.* 1-9, un enseignement apologétique et d'apparence philosophique, d'une philosophie moins radicale. Une telle courbe n'a rien d'invraisemblable, mais il y a lieu d'en éprouver encore longtemps les divers points d'appui, en la confrontant à toutes les données contrôlables. Pour la période antérieure à l'épiscopat, si les lettres sont relativement rares, il subsiste des œuvres dogmatiques et ascétiques que l'on peut rapprocher des homélies.

La question qui se pose pour les homélies de Basile n'est pas tant celle de leur existence, que celle de leur petit nombre. À côté des centaines d'homélies laissées par un Chrysostome ou un Augustin, les Cappadociens n'offrent chacun tout au plus qu'une cinquantaine de pièces oratoires. Ils ont évidemment pris la parole bien plus souvent, et nous devons admettre qu'ils n'ont jugé digne de transmettre à la postérité que des compositions d'un certain niveau littéraire, ou des thèses qu'ils estimaient significatives. Ce serait peut-être une raison d'accorder à leurs publications une importance relative plus grande qu'aux improvisations cueillies au vol!

L'édition du matériel conservé est-elle due à l'auteur lui-même, ou à ses amis survivants? La variété des collections, l'absence de tout ordre systématique (sauf pour l'*Hex.* 1-9), le mélange des homélies de dates diver-

ses, ne soutiennent pas particulièrement l'idée d'un recueil conçu et réalisé par l'auteur. Peut-être en va-t-il autrement pour Grégoire de Nazianze, qui attachait certainement plus d'importance à sa réputation littéraire.

Quand nous avons considéré les neuf homélies sur l'*Hexaéméron*, nous avons laissé en suspens deux homélies, *HCreat.* 1-2, et une autre, *HParad.*, qui font suite à l'*Hex.* 1-9 dans un certain nombre de manuscrits. La majorité des témoins sont relativement récents, mais l'un au moins remonte à la fin du IXe s., le Genova BF 17. Il existe de nombreux états du texte des homélies sur l'origine de l'homme (on en a distingué cinq), mais le texte court est unanimement reconnu comme le plus ancien. Une telle instabilité constitué déjà un indice du caractère peu satisfaisant de cette rédaction primitive. Bon nombre de manuscrits attribuent ces homélies à Grégoire de Nysse, et cette hésitation constitue une certaine objection à l'authenticité basilienne. Les versions anciennes, et les témoignages qui très tôt abondent en faveur des neuf homélies traditionnelles, ignorent les trois homélies supplémentaires.

D'autre part, il faut reconnaître que les homélies authentiques annoncent elles-mêmes une suite à venir;[25] et que nos homélies se présentent comme l'œuvre de Basile, en reprenant bien des thèmes chers à l'évêque de Césarée. Ceci a été fort bien mis en relief par A. Smets et M. van Esbroeck, qui ont récemment donné aux *Sources chrétiennes* une bonne édition de nos homélies.[26] Développant avec subtilité les arguments en faveur de leur authenticité, ils ont fait l'histoire des controverses qui ont suivi la mort de Basile, en particulier de la part d'Eunome, et ils ont rappelé l'effort intense de Grégoire de Nysse pour répondre, à quatre reprises, à l'Apologie dogmatique d'Eunome, et aussi pour reprendre à sa façon l'*Hex.* 1-9, vers Pâques 379, puis vers juillet 380. Ces deux derniers ouvrages avaient eux aussi une pointe anti-eunomienne. Ils peuvent expliquer comment des homélies, ébauchées par Basile, mais non terminées, auraient été systématiquement écartées.

Deux ans après cette édition, H. Hörner en a donné une autre, en appendice aux *Opera omnia* de Grégoire de Nysse.[27] Cette fois, l'authenticité basilienne au sens strict est formellement niée. Un nouvel examen de la tradition manuscrite, indépendant du précédent et peut-être encore plus soigné, confirme le regroupement des témoins, mais en explique tout autrement la genèse. Ainsi, le "fin remaniement doctrinal au sujet de la

[25] PG 29: 208A.
[26] Cf. supra n. 19.
[27] Ibid.

Trinité" des manuscrits MLK (xve s.; sigles de Hörner), que Smets et van Esbroeck tendaient à attribuer à Grégoire de Nysse en personne, et qu'ils considéraient en tout état de cause comme bien antérieur à des recensions attestées bien plus tôt, ne représente pour Hörner qu'une recension docte, et elle rattache sans scrupule ces manuscrits à un ensemble, plus vaste, de *recentiores*

On doit espérer que l'établissement du texte des homélies sur l'*Hex.* 1-9 permettra de reprendre sur une base plus large[28] les faits controversés, déjà mis en relief, et de voir ce qui est à retenir des interprétations proposées par les différents éditeurs.

Le regretté E. Amand de Mendieta, qui avait longuement fréquenté ces manuscrits, en y étudiant les homélies supplémentaires, déclare[29] reconnaître ses propres impressions dans les thèses qu'au début de son édition, H. Hörner propose quant au problème de l'authenticité.[30] L'auteur anonyme, *ingenio mediocri, stilo non admodum felici,* aurait disposé d'un matériel rassemblé par Basile; il se serait efforcé de l'imiter, en s'inspirant de diverses pages de son œuvre. Il diffère néanmoins tellement de Basile que l'on ne peut traiter les homélies, ni comme une improvisation oratoire prise au vol et non revue, ni même comme un schéma ébauché par l'auteur et retrouvé dans ses papiers.

Même si l'on se rallie à ce point de vue, le chapitre de Smets et van Esbroeck sur les controverses qui ont suivi la mort de Basile est loin d'être inutile. Il montre qu'à côté de Grégoire de Nysse, d'autres héritiers spirituels ont pu tenter de compléter l'œuvre de l'évêque de Césarée, et de répondre à une campagne déchaînée. Les conditions de la publication de l'œuvre authentique pourraient en ces conditions avoir été moins pacifiques que l'on ne pourrait l'imaginer à partir de l'hagiographie qui nous est familière, d'après laquelle la *vox populi* l'aurait si bien canonisé, que sa figure édifiante se serait imposée telle quelle, à ses amis comme à ses ennemis.

C. Les traités dogmatiques

Les dates traditionnelles de publication des tomes dogmatiques se trouvent confirmées et précisées par les études récentes, mais leur composition

[28] Voir quelques remarques dans J. Gribomont, "Les succès littéraires des Pères grecs et les problèmes d'histoire des textes," *SE* 22 (1974-1975) 23-49, en particulier pp. 38-40.

[29] E. Amand de Mendieta, "Les deux homélies *Sur la création de l'homme*," pp. 695-710, dans *Zetesis* (Antwerpen-Utrecht 1973).

[30] Hörner, *Auctorum*, p. viii.

s'avère avoir été plus tourmentée et plus complexe que ne l'imaginaient Tillemont et les Mauristes.

Le P. B. Sesboüé vient de soutenir une thèse sur le *C. Eun.* 1-3,[31] et il y fait état d'une dissertation antérieure, inédite, de Th. Dams, *La controverse eunoméenne.*[32] Nous croyons savoir que L. Doutreleau prépare pour les *Sources chrétiennes* une édition critique de l'*Apologie* d'Eunome, et G. de Durand une édition critique du *C. Eun.* 1-3; l'introduction, la traduction et le commentaire (réduit) de Sesboüé doivent accompagner cette publication. La thèse elle-même (413 + 260 pages) représente avant tout une analyse attentive de la doctrine et de la méthode des deux adversaires, mais elle prend aussi position sur bien des points d'histoire, qu'elle invite à reconsidérer.

L'occasion et la date de l'*Apologie* d'Eunome restent discutées. À bon droit, Sesboüé se rallie à la proposition de L. R. Wickham:[33] l'*Apologie* écrite est un remaniement d'un plaidoyer personnel, fait par Eunome au concile de Constantinople de 360. Acace de Césarée et son parti, tout en réussissant à s'imposer en ce concile, avaient dû malgré tout condamner l'anoméisme extrême, et condamner nommément Aèce, le maître d'Eunome. Ce dernier doit donc se justifier, montrer le caractère à la fois traditionnel et logique de sa doctrine, et passer sous silence l'*anomoios*, affirmant au contraire que le Fils est semblable au Père (selon l'opération, non selon l'*ousia*). Le succès de ce plaidoyer assura à Eunome le siège de Cyzique, comme doit le reconnaître Basile,[34] la même où polémiquement il s'efforce d'établir qu'Eunome n'avait aucune raison de se défendre en ce synode, au milieu d'une cour d'amis.[35]

On savait déjà que Basile avait suivi de près le déroulement de ce triste synode de 360. Ceux qui voudraient laisser dans l'ombre le point de départ, pleinement orthodoxe, mais de formulation homéenne, de sa théologie trinitaire, doivent minimiser le sens de cette participation; ainsi S. Giet.[36] Mais l'ensemble de la correspondance de Basile, et en particulier

[31] B. Sesboüé, "L'*Apologie* d'Eunome de Cyzique et le *Contre Eunome* de Basile de Césarée. Présentation, analyse théologique et traduction" (Rome: Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, 1979).

[32] Th. Dams, "La controverse eunomienne" (Paris: Institut catholique, 1952) (thèse dactylographiée).

[33] L. R. Wickham, "The Date of Eunomius' Apology," *JThS* 20 (1969) 231-240; cf. idem, "Aetius and the Doctrine of Divine Ingeneracy," *SP* 11 (1972) 259-263.

[34] *C. Eun.* 1.2, PG 29: 505A.

[35] Ibid., 504.

[36] S. Giet, "S. Basile et le Concile de Constantinople de 360," *JThS* 6 (1955) 94-99.

l'analyse du *C. Eun.* 1-3, montrent que son adhésion au *Nicaenum* s'est effectuée par étapes: il eut à vaincre ses propres hésitations sur le sens sabellien que Marcel d'Ancyre avait donné à *homoousios*. Une fois éclairé sur ce point, notamment par Apollinaire, il mit un certain temps avant d'imposer à tous, comme condition de sa communion, la confession du *Nicaenum*, à laquelle il s'était personnellement rallié. Au moment où il écrit le *C. Eun.* 1-3, il ne suppose chez ses lecteurs qu'une absence d'opposition au symbole de Nicée; le terrain sur lequel il s'établit est celui de l'*homoios kata panta* ou l'*homoios kat' ousian*, avec des présupposés radicalement opposés à ceux d'Eunome, mais pas nécessairement nicéens, ni même néo-nicéens.

Et quels sont les destinataires du travail de Basile? Certainement pas les Eunomiens, car il ne fait aucun effort pour les gagner. Sesboüé a pensé à un groupe de moines, destinataires du *Mor. PrF*, lesquels ont envoyé à Basile, un peu plus tard, un *epitagma* (comme les destinataires du *C.Eun.* 1-3), le mettant en demeure de leur soumettre une (nouvelle) profession de foi. Mais s'il fallait ainsi identifier ces deux groupes de solliciteurs, Basile se serait, la première fois, montré bien maladroit à les satisfaire, puisqu'il est amené à s'excuser ensuite de ne pas s'être tenu à un vocabulaire et une théologie purement bibliques (le terme d'*homoousios*, qui apparaît dans le *Mor. PrF.* imprimé, PG 31: 688A, n'y est pas soutenu par les bons manuscrits). Les deux groupes de destinataires peuvent être apparentés entre eux, mais ils sont distincts; les moines du *De fide* sont certainement des gens de l'entourage d'Eustathe, mais ils sont restés en retard sur l'évolution des évêques, car ils n'ont pas eu l'expérience du combat contre Eunome et du dialogue avec d'autres Églises.

Sesboüé cite l'*EEust.* [223] 5, de Basile, qui nous donne de précieux renseignements sur les circonstances de composition du *C. Eun.* 1-3. Cette lettre, adressée à Eustathe, après la rupture de 375, évoque le souvenir des luttes en commun dans la paix d'une même foi:

> Interroge-toi: combien de fois ne nous as-tu pas visité dans la maison (*monè*) des bords de l'Iris, lorsqu'était à mes côtés le frère aimé de Dieu, Grégoire (de Nazianze), qui poursuivait le même idéal de vie que moi? As-tu jamais entendu quelque chose de tel (que l'hérésie d'Apollinaire), en as-tu saisi la moindre apparence (*emphasin*)? Et à Eusinoé, lorsque, sur le point de partir pour Lampsaque avec tout un groupe d'évêques, vous m'avez fait venir, n'est-ce pas sur la foi que portaient les échanges de vue (*logoi*)? Est-ce que, tout le temps, les tachygraphes n'étaient pas tous à ma disposition, tandis que je dictais les arguments contre l'hérésie? Est-ce que tes disciples les plus sûrs (*gnèsiôtatoi*) n'étaient pas tout le temps avec moi?

Et le texte continue en passant à un autre ouvrage rédigé en collaboration avec les Eustathiens, l'*Ascéticon*; il rappelle les visites aux fraternités, les nuits de prière en commun, les échanges confiants de questions et réponses sur des sujets spirituels.

Quoique postérieure à la rupture, cette lettre ne laisse pas encore tomber sur le nom et l'influence d'Eustathe la *damnatio memoriae* qu'imposeront bientôt les amis de Basile. À quoi se rapportent les premiers entretiens avec Grégoire, dans la maison des bords de l'Iris? Sans doute à des contacts purement oraux. Nous ignorons — et c'est bien dommage — où se trouvait Eusinoé; mais le nom de Lampsaque est en revanche tout à fait significatif. C'est là que se réunirent au début du règne de Valentinien, dès qu'il fut permis de réunir un concile, un groupe d'évêques d'Asie mineure d'origine homéenne, guidés par Silvain de Tarse, Eustathe de Sébaste et Théophile de Costabala. Il s'agissait d'invalider les actes d'Eudoxe et d'Acace, c'est-à-dire ce concile de Constantinople de 360 où Eunome avait, après son *Apologie*, été promu au siège de Cyzique, et où sa doctrine avait été approuvée; on rejeta même la formule occidentale de Rimini, on proclama l'*homoios kat' ousian*, et l'on décida d'envoyer jusqu'à Rome une délégation, qui finit par accepter de souscrire au *Nicaenum*,[37] et reçut des lettres de communion du pape Libère.

Les discussions préliminaires à Eusinoé eurent évidemment un caractère antieunomien très prononcé. L'appel aux plus sûrs disciples témoins d'Eustathe a pour but de servir de garantie aux souvenirs de Basile; il nous renseigne sur la part que l'entourage immédiat de l'évêque de Sébaste prit à cette évolution théologique. Que conclure de la mention, parallèle, des tachygraphes? Que ces discussions contre Eunome furent mises par écrit, ce qui invite à les identifier aux trois livres *C. Eun.* 1-3, ou, si l'on veut, elles en constituent un premier jet.[38] L'*EEust.* [223] vise, en outre, à montrer au public qu'Eustathe s'était pleinement compromis dans cette lutte théologique, et ce groupe de secrétaires apparaît étroitement lié, comme Eusinoé, comme les évêques réunis, comme les fidèles disciples, au mouvement ecclésial et spirituel mené par Eustathe, lequel finira par mener à Rome la délégation asiatique.

L'orientation du discours dans le *C.Eun.* 1-3 s'explique au mieux, si l'on considère ce public très particulier qui, à la veille de Lampsaque,

[37] Sozomène, *Hist. eccl.* 6.7 (d'après la collection de documents recueillie par Sabinus); cf. M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Rome 1975) p. 394.

[38] En fait, la lecture du *C. Eun.* 1-3 suggère de considérer (sauf exceptions?) le texte comme une réaction rapide à l'*Apologie*, sans que Basile ait pris le loisir d'une revision à tête reposée.

attendait une réponse à l'*Apologie* de l'hérétique. Le livre III, par exemple, consacré au problème du S. Esprit, est curieusement sobre et rapide. À l'étonnement de B. Sesboüé, Basile y concède à trois reprises,[39] en dépit de réserves insistantes, que l'Esprit soit présenté comme troisième en dignité, affirmation eunomienne qu'il laisse provisoirement passer, et que contredira plus tard son *De Sp. S.* Une telle concession surprend, après ce que les livres précédents ont revendiqué au sujet de la dignité du Fils.[40] D'où vient ce manque de cohérence dans l'argumentation? Si l'on veut bien songer à la difficulté que trouvera Basile en juin 373, puis à l'impossibilité où il sera au mois d'août de la même année, de convaincre Eustathe sur ce point précis, on sera tenté d'expliquer la prudence du livre 3 *Contre Eunome* par la nécessité de ne pas heurter le public qu'il s'agissait de décider.

Faite en fonction de ce genre de lecteur, l'analyse théologique du *C. Eun.* 1-3 sera moins exigeante sur la cohérence abstraite du discours, par exemple au sujet de la notion de *ousia*, notion tour à tour générique et concrète. On comprendra que certaines réfutations du langage eunomien ne tiennent pas compte des postulats personnels de l'hérétique, et ne soient pas attentives à le convaincre. Basile construit sur les postulats de ses lecteurs, ce qui ne prive pas de toute valeur sa démonstration, mais sans aucun doute en conditionne l'expression.

Au point de vue de la chronologie basilienne, cette référence à Lampsaque situe fermement en 364 la composition, sinon la publication définitive, des trois livres *Contre Eunome*. Cela ne suffit pas pour mettre au clair tout le détail des activités de Basile durant son sacerdoce, tel que l'évoque l'*Éloge funèbre* de Grégoire de Nazianze.[41] L'année exacte de l'ordination, l'histoire des difficultés avec l'évêque Eusèbe, la protestation des moines contre l'évêque, la vénération du peuple, "il vaut mieux n'en rien dire," affirme Grégoire. Je prolongerais volontiers ces tensions et je les rapprocherais de l'an 370, c'est-à-dire du moment où s'imposera la candidature de Basile à l'épiscopat. La fermeté du théologien doit s'être alliée, en ces circonstances, à la force radicale de son ascétisme et à son succès auprès des classes sociales humiliées.

Un point curieux que personne n'a réussi à expliquer, c'est le délai qu'Eunome s'est accordé avant de répondre à Basile; l'*Apologie de l'Apologie* ne fut publiée que quatorze ans plus tard, à la veille de la mort de Basile, en 378.

39 PG 29: 656A (deux fois) et 657C.
40 Ibid., 557A, 565C, 568B, 644C, 645B.
41 *Or.* 43.28.

Le *De Sp. S.* a été édité par Pruche dans les *Sources chrétiennes*,[42] avec en 1968 une réédition dont il n'est pas exagéré de dire qu'elle est entièrement refondue, et fort améliorée. Malgré tout, cette réédition ne tient pas assez compte des faits acquis par Dörries en 1956, dans une *Abhandlung* de l'Académie de Göttingen.[43] J'ai peine à croire que Pruche ait réellement lu Dörries, qui a réussi à identifier dans les ch. 10-27 du *De Sp. S.* l'écho direct d'un dramatique dialogue, vécu à Sébaste en juin 373, au cours duquel Basile réussit à convaincre son vieux maître et l'amena à partager ses positions. L'insistance entêtée des "amis" de Basile (Théodote de Nicopolis), aussi bien que de ceux d'Eustathe, fit malheureusement échouer cet accord, et transforma la conciliation en ressentiment amer.

Le dialogue de Sébaste a évidemment été retravaillé et complété au moment où il a été intégré dans le *De Sp. S.*; on voit en effet des explosions d'hostilité, plus récentes, se surajouter à un franc débat au ton cordial. L'argumentation d'Eustathe et de son entourage aura été réduite au strict nécessaire, elle se limite à introduire les arguments basiliens. Mais cette argumentation des adversaires garde sa cohérence interne; elle suit exactement le progrès de la discussion, et n'est pas du tout, comme il est trop habituel dans les dialogues littéraires, une opposition complaisante que l'auteur s'accorde à soi-même.

Le donné traditionnel, notamment la réflexion d'Origène, joue un rôle considérable dans la substructure du *De Sp. S.*[44]

L'influence de Plotin[45], à travers le petit opuscule *De sp.*, est surprenante, mais certaine; elle a été étudiée surtout par Dehnhard.[46] L'authenticité basilienne de ce ***De sp.*, souvent postulée, n'a jamais été démontrée. Dans les manuscrits, cet opuscule fait suite à un livre inauthentique (numéroté 4-5) adjoint au *C. Eun.* 1-3 et connu, dès avant 464, de Timothée Élure. Comme je l'ai remarqué dans une recension,[47] la relation à la source plotinienne aide ici à discerner avec certitude les bonnes et les mauvaises leçons, et ce sont les manuscrits MLNPR (sigles de Hayes) qui

[42] B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Traité du Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1947); deuxième édition entièrement refondue, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1968).

[43] H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto. Der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas* (Göttingen 1956).

[44] Cf. J. Gribomont, "Ésotérisme et Tradition dans le *Traité du Saint-Esprit* de saint Basile," *Oecumenica* 2 (1967) 22-58.

[45] *Enn.* 5.1.

[46] H. Dehnhard, *Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin* (Berlin 1964). Les réserves de J. Rist, dans le présent volume (pp. 193 ss.), renouvellent le sujet, mais elles ne peuvent éliminer les faits essentiels.

[47] *BZ* 68 (1975) 86-88.

s'avèrent les meilleurs.[48] Ces manuscrits n'étant pas les meilleurs pour le reste des livres 4-5 *Contre Eunome*, on est en droit de conclure que l'archétype de ces livres ignorait le ***De sp.*, introduit ensuite dans la branche MLNPR, puis passé de là dans les autres témoins. De fait, l'opuscule manque dans l'ancienne version syriaque des livres 4-5 (Londres BL Or. 8606), et on n'en signale aucune citation ancienne. Cela n'empêche point l'opuscule d'être antérieur au *De Sp. S.*, mais rend bien douteux qu'il ait été transmis, à l'origine, dans le corpus basilien. D'autre part, les éléments de vocabulaire qui n'y sont pas repris à Plotin sont très peu basiliens,[49] de même que les formules introduisant les citations bibliques.[50] J'attribuerais l'opuscule à quelqu'un de l'entourage de Basile, travaillant peut-être pour lui; théologien, du reste, intéressé par les hypostases trinitaires plus que par le jeu de la spéculation néoplatonicienne. Nous connaissons trop peu cet entourage pour avancer un nom; je ne crois pas reconnaître Grégoire de Nysse; pourquoi pas une femme (Macrine?)?

Le dernier livre du *Contre Eunome* (divisé, dans les éditions, en 4-5) n'étant certainement pas authentique, il n'y a pas lieu d'utiliser ici directement l'étude que leur a consacré Hayes;[51] il est évident, néanmoins, que cette description et ce classement des manuscrits présente un grand intérêt pour le texte authentique des livres 1-3.

D. L'ŒUVRE ASCÉTIQUE

J'ai peu à ajouter à la présentation de l'œuvre ascétique de Basile, que j'ai donnée en 1953.[52] Les manuscrits découverts depuis, par Rudberg,[53] par B. Flusin, de l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes,[54] et par

[48] W. M. Hayes (infra n. 51). Les bonnes leçons les plus caractéristiques de MLNRP sont à la ligne 45 de l'édition Dehnhard *μέρει*, et à la ligne 92 *οἷον*. Voir aussi lignes 9, 23, 33, probablement aussi 39, 90, 94, mais pas 42 et 69.

[49] Je pense par ex. à ligne 1 *θειοτέρων*, 2 *τὰ αἰσθήσει ἀόρατα*, 5 *τότε ὅτε*, 6 *γένηται μὴ εὑρεῖν*, 6 *ἀναχωρεῖ τοῦ οἰκεῖν*, 11-12 *ζητήσωμεν ... ζητήσαντες*, 20 *ἀϊδίου ζωῆς*...

[50] Basile a l'habitude de citer beaucoup l'Écriture, avec des formules fort variées, mais néanmoins aptes à caractériser sa manière; cf. J. Gribomont, "Les lemmes de citation de saint Basile, indice de niveau littéraire," *Aug* 14 (1974) 513-526, et U. Neri (cité infra n. 69), pp. 33-41. Dans l'opuscule, les formules des lignes 3, 4, 7, 9, 15, etc., sont peu basiliennes.

[51] W. M. Hayes, *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.) Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books IV-V* (Leiden 1972).

[52] J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de saint Basile* (Louvain 1953).

[53] Cf. supra n. 8.

[54] Je remercie en particulier Bernard Flusin d'une communication du 28 février 1979, me donnant la description d'un manuscrit fort important d'Istanbul BOP HT 105, X^e^-XIe s., donnant le texte complet d'une recension importante dont je ne connaissais qu'un seul témoin gravement mutilé, Vatican BAV Barb. gr. 476, XIIe s.

d'autres, enrichissent la documentation, mais ne semblent pas de nature à modifier les conclusions.

L. Lèbe[55] a contesté la date qu'après Tillemont, Maran, J. Lebon,[56] j'avais attribuée aux *Reg. mor.*, et il prétend les situer dans la vieillesse de Basile. Le texte du *Mor. Pr1* est pourtant explicite. L'auteur se qualifie en racontant ses propres expériences d'enfant, d'étudiant, de voyageur,[57] sans un mot sur une vie d'ascèse, de ministère ecclésial, d'épiscopat, de relations autorisées; il se présente comme un quelconque fidèle, scandalisé par les divisions entre chrétiens et l'inefficience du clergé, "surtout en ce moment où les Anoméens sont en pleine efflorescence," (τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἐπιφυέντων).[58] Ce participe peut à la rigueur signifier s'accrocher, s'acharner, mais ce sens dérivé que Lèbe va chercher dans le dictionnaire demanderait une justification objective, que rien à mon avis ne suggère. Le succès même des Anoméens (360-364), conformément au sens étymologique du verbe, répond parfaitement au contexte, comme dans une formule parallèle de l'épître synodale d'Amphiloque d'Iconium, écrite du vivant de Basile et remplie d'allusions à son œuvre, qui parle des Pères de Nicée qui s'empressèrent de retrancher les premières semences de l'arianisme τότε νεῶστι φυομένην.[59]

Du reste, le même prologue aux *Reg. mor.* se termine en expliquant que l'auteur, encore jeune, a longtemps attendu qu'une personne plus autorisée fasse appel à la Bible pour ramener les chrétiens à l'unité, et qu'il ne s'est décidé à agir lui-même qu'en raison de la passivité des autres.[60] Je demande qu'on m'indique une occasion, au temps du sacerdoce de Basile ou de son épiscopat, où il ait ainsi attendu que d'autres agissent et se soit excusé de faire son devoir.

Lèbe prend argument du fait que Basile, encore jeune laïc, aurait dépassé sa compétence et son autorité en faisant ainsi la leçon aux évêques. Je réponds que la leçon était prise tout entière au Nouveau Testament, l'autorité personnelle du compilateur n'est donc pas en jeu. Celui-ci ne fait que transmettre la parole de Dieu, ce qui est parfaitement conforme à son caractère.[61]

[55] L. Lèbe, "Saint Basile et ses *Règles morales*," *RBen* 75 (1965) 193-200.

[56] Je fais allusion à un cours de J. Lebon, que j'ai suivi à Louvain en 1946.

[57] PG 31: 633A.

[58] PG 31: 653B.

[59] C. Datema, CCSG 3: 219.32.

[60] PG 31: 626A.

[61] Aussitôt après la lecture de la présente conférence à Toronto, Mgr. Sotirios, l'évêque grec orthodoxe de la ville, me fit remarquer, avec un sourire, que la critique impitoyable à l'égard des évêques s'explique bien mieux de la part d'un jeune homme profondément évangélique, que de celle d'un collègue dans l'épiscopat!

Du reste, comme je crois l'avoir montré à plusieurs reprises,[62] les points qui semblent le moins monastiques des prescriptions de ce recueil, comme la conduite à tenir par les gens mariés, par les soldats, par le clergé, répondent précisément aux problèmes que posaient les initiatives des Eustathiens, comme on le voit par le concile de Gangres. Ces questions étaient brûlantes au début de la vocation ascétique de Basile, elles ne sont pas spécifiquement épiscopales.

Après les *Reg. mor.* vient la collection des *Questions ascétiques*. Leur ancienne version syriaque atteste que la recension courte, connue depuis toujours par la version latine de Rufin, ne représente pas, comme on l'imaginait, un abrégé capricieux, mais une édition grecque primitive, antérieure aux 55 "Grandes Règles" et aux 313 "Petites Règles" connues par le grec imprimé. Les manuscrits byzantins connaissent différentes formes de l'*Ascéticon*, mais toujours dans la recension longue.

Une chronologie relative s'impose: *Reg. mor.*; *Asc. 1r* et *Asc. 1s*, tel que nous le connaissons par Rufin et par les Syriens; *Grand Ascéticon*, sous ses diverses formes, dont la recension "Studite" (= *Asc. 2*) doit être une des plus anciennes. Il me reste impossible d'assigner à ces diverses étapes des dates précises. Il y a lieu sans doute de dater le *Asc. 1* des années du ministère sacerdotal; l'édition longue de l'*Ascéticon*, qui montre des institutions plus stabilisées, ne possède pas d'élément qui atteste ni exclue l'épiscopat du saint. La seule considération que l'on puisse faire, c'est que, en devenant évêque, Basile n'a pas dû cesser de distribuer les réponses qui constituent l'*Ascéticon*. On est donc amené à situer sous l'épiscopat (assez tard) l'édition la plus complète, à moins que les réponses les plus tardives n'aient pas été jointes à la collection.

Dans la correspondance, on trouve un document assez court, comme une ébauche de règle, le *De perf.* [22]; c'est le genre des *Reg. mor.*, mais dans une perspective plus nettement conventuelle. Une meilleure intelligence de ce document éclairerait peut-être les étapes de l'évolution ascétique; j'en ai tenté un commentaire, dans un article dans la revue *Antonianum*.[63]

Autour de l'*Ascéticon* apparaissent un discours ascétique très ancien[64] et

[62] J. Gribomont, "Les *Règles morales* de saint Basile et le Nouveau Testament," *SP* 2 (1957) 416-426; idem, "Saint Basile," pp. 101-102, dans *Théologie de la vie monastique* (Paris 1961); idem, "Saint Basile," pp. 81-85, dans *Commandements du Seigneur et libération évangélique* (Rome 1977).

[63] "Les Règles épistolaires de saint Basile: *Lettres* 173 et 22," *Ant* 54 (1979) 255-287.

[64] PG 31: 881-888.

des pénitences tariffées[65] qui ne paraissent pas être de la main de Basile, mais devraient appartenir au même milieu, de son vivant ou peu après.

Vers la fin de sa vie, le saint envoya aux communautés pontiques une collection complète, l'*Hypotypose d'ascèse*; il y avait fait copier les *Reg. mor.*, avec au complet les citations bibliques, représentées à l'origine par de simples références; dans leur prologue primitif *Mor. PrI*, il avait ajouté un autre prologue, *Mor. PrF*, composé après le *C. Eun.* 1-3 et avant les controverses de 373-375 sur l'Esprit Saint. Je ne vois pas de raison de supposer d'autres retouches apportées, à ce moment, au vieux recueil des *Reg. mor.*, basées sur un fichier néotestamentaire qui avait dû être établi consciencieusement dès le principe. Après ces pièces, l'*Hypotypose d'ascèse* comprenait le *Asc. 3*, sous sa forme "Vulgate," c'est-à-dire 55 *EApokr. fus.* (réparties en 18 chapitres) et 287 *EApokr. br.* (un éditeur ajouta plus tard les 27 dernières *EApokr. br.*, qu'il avait trouvées dans un autre exemplaire, et qui sont peut-être particulièrement tardives).

E. L'*Ad adolescentes*

Avec les homélies, copistes et éditeurs ont rangé un bref traité sur la littérature profane et les services qu'elle peut rendre à la formation ascétique.[66] Cet opuscule possède un genre littéraire propre, celui des *Moralia* de Plutarque. La Renaissance lui a fait un succès exceptionnel, voulant y trouver un éloge chrétien de la culture classique; tel n'était pas le but de l'ouvrage, qui s'attachait, avec toutes les ressources d'une vaste érudition, à discerner une préparation évangélique, et plus spécifiquement ascétique, dans la pédagogie humaniste des Grecs. Platon, et bien d'autres éducateurs, avaient déjà interprété les exemples et les légendes du passé comme une initiation à la philosophie; tout cela, et la philosophie en plus, se voit ici orienté vers la vie spirituelle, à l'usage d'un public habitué à plus de respect envers les grands écrivains qu'envers les prophètes et les apôtres. Systématiquement, l'opuscule fait abstraction de la Bible, il la réserve pour des esprits mieux formés; on peut constater un procédé analogue dans l'*EGNaz.* [2] ou l'*ENect. cons.* [5], cela ne fait aucun tort au biblicisme basilien.

Faut-il rapprocher chronologiquement l'opuscule de ces épîtres où Basile, frais émoulu des académies athéniennes, fait montre de bel esprit? Tillemont, suivi par les auteurs, a voulu réserver entre la fin des études et

[65] PG 31: 1305-1308, n[os] 1-11.
[66] N. G. Wilson, *Saint Basil On the Value of Greek Literature* (London 1975).

la conversion ascétique une brève période d'enseignement de la rhétorique, et l'on y situerait volontiers notre opuscule. En fait, cette brève activité profane résulte d'un contresens, né peut-être de notre opuscule, dans lequel on a vu le fruit d'un cours systématique. On en a rapproché un mot de l'éloge funèbre de Basile par Grégoire de Nazianze,[67] selon lequel, avant de prendre au sérieux l'Évangile, les deux amis avaient "concédé un moment au monde et à son théâtre." Ce temps perdu, selon Grégoire, ce sont les études athéniennes elles-mêmes. L'*EEust. phl.* [1] de Basile ne laisse aucun intervalle entre le retour de l'université et la poursuite du "philosophe" Eustathe.[68] Par ailleurs, notre opuscule se présente comme adressé à ses neveux par un oncle aux cheveux blancs, à qui une longue vie a procuré expérience et sagesse. Concédons ici une fiction littéraire, les neveux sont là pour la forme, mais un blanc bec aurait-il emprunté cette perruque? Je croirais plus volontiers que, dans des circonstances qui l'y invitaient, l'évêque de Césarée a pu se distraire en retournant à ses classiques, pour justifier par eux aussi l'idéal austère et aristocratique qu'il avait adopté.

Dans les manuscrits byzantins, l'opuscule n'a pas du tout la place d'honneur que nous sommes habitués à lui réserver.

F. Les livres *De baptismo*

On s'était habitué à laisser dormir parmi les *Spuria* deux livres *De bapt.* U. Neri vient de les éditer critiquement,[69] et les a montrés liés, par chacune de leurs expressions, à l'œuvre de Basile, typiquement authentiques et par la forme et par le fond, quoique de rédaction peu soignée. Ils représentent la formation, par l'évêque, des catéchistes qui doivent préparer les catéchumènes, et sont transmis par une bonne partie des manuscrits ascétiques, dont les apparentements sont ainsi mieux connus. Le commentaire, rassemblant sur de nombreux points tous les textes majeurs de Basile, et les index afférents, peuvent rendre de précieux services pour le vocabulaire et la théologie de l'auteur. Un aspect important, qui n'était pas traité ailleurs, se révèle ici: la doctrine de Basile sur la situation de l'homme avant la grâce (et le baptême); on comprend mieux comment l'évêque de Césarée s'abstient (à la différence de Macaire et d'Augustin!) d'appliquer Rom. 7 aux baptisés. Même au point de vue purement

[67] PG 36: 529C.

[68] Voir J. Gribomont, "Eustathe le Philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée," *RHE* 54 (1959) 121.

[69] U. Neri, *Basilio di Cesarea, Il battesimo* (Brescia 1976).

linguistique, cet ouvrage "parlé" est significatif, car l'élégance étudiée des grandes œuvres falsifie en quelque façon leur témoignage sur le parler chrétien du IVe siècle.

Je ne me sens pas préparé à exprimer ici un jugement sur l'authenticité du **Enarr. in Is.* 1-16, que je connais mal, ou sur d'autres œuvres d'authenticité douteuse.

G. Les éloges funèbres à la mémoire de Basile

L'évêque de Césarée a été l'objet, dès son décès, d'une espèce de culte, dont nous conservons des reliques contemporaines: l'éloge funèbre, fort conventionnel, prononcé à Césarée, sans doute le 1er janvier 381,[70] par Grégoire de Nysse son frère, puis le fameux panégyrique écrit par Grégoire de Nazianze[71] pour le 1er janvier 382 (*Or.* 43). Quoique ce panégyrique soit incomparablement plus long que les autres discours de Grégoire, Bernardi n'en estime pas moins qu'il a été réellement déclamé, au cours d'une cérémonie d'apparat.

À ces deux pièces ont doit joindre, dans des genres assez divers, rarement faits pour favoriser des souvenirs confidentiels, objectifs et critiques, les mentions de Basile faites ailleurs par les deux Grégoire ou d'autres contemporains. En général, elles sont élogieuses, mis à part l'acerbe Jérôme ou l'arien Philostorge; du vivant du saint, Grégoire de Nazianze laisse pourtant échapper quelques plaintes à l'égard de l'autorité impérieuse qui caractérisait Basile, dès qu'il s'agissait des intérêts de l'Église.[72]

Ces notices ont évidemment leur intérêt, mais je crois devoir souligner les différences d'optique entre Basile et ses amis, qui peuvent rendre leur témoignage fort partial. Grégoire de Nazianze a eu trop d'influence sur les historiens, depuis Tillemont jusqu'aux *Historical Sketches* de Newman! Non seulement il avait un tempérament tout opposé à celui de son ami, mais sa politique ecclésiastique, orientée vers l'Égypte et l'Occident, sa culture plus conventionnelle, sa théologie plus attentive aux formules, l'entraînaient dans une direction contraire à Basile et à son Économie. Plus le concile de Constantinople 381 s'est laissé marquer par cette Économie accueillante à tous et centrée sur le groupe antiochien, plus Grégoire s'y est opposé, contraint finalement à remettre une démission

[70] Bernardi, *La prédication*, p. 313.

[71] Bernardi, ibid., p. 236.

[72] Voir S. Giet, *Sasimes. Une méprise de saint Basile* (Paris 1941) — le meilleur ouvrage de Giet sur saint Basile.

peu glorieuse. Une analyse attentive constate que Grégoire ne tient aucun compte, en particulier, du Symbole de Constantinople, destiné à devenir le principal Crédo œcuménique. Harnack et d'autres savants, appuyés sur cette observation, en étaient venus à nier l'origine constantinopolitaine du document. Ritter a tiré une conclusion bien différente:[73] par une interprétation attentive des poèmes de Grégoire, il discerne l'opposition profonde de celui-ci à toute tolérance dogmatique. Il n'ignore point, mais blâme ce Crédo peu rigoureux dans les titres données à l'Esprit.

On sait assez que Grégoire ne pouvait comprendre la réserve de Basile sur ce point que dans une perspective de prudence politique, désireuse d'éviter les menaces d'expulsion de la part de la police impériale; on sait aussi que cette explication ne satisfaisait aucunement Basile. Cette différence de vues oblige à n'utiliser l'éloge funèbre qu'avec un grand souci critique.

Bernardi a par ailleurs bien montré que le panégyrique de Basile forme dyptique avec le Discours 42, l'Adieu au Concile, "contre-attaque systématique contre l'épiscopat pris en bloc."[74] Deux ans s'étant déjà écoulés depuis le décès de Basile, le panégyrique est tout autre chose qu'un écho direct, car d'autres préoccupations sont intervenues, qui retiennent déjà l'attention de Grégoire. Bien des facteurs doivent donc être considérés, avant de prendre la rhétorique pour argent comptant.

Grégoire de Nysse avait une toute autre façon de différer de son frère. Il l'admire beaucoup, lui aussi, reprend sa polémique contre Eunome et poursuit sa réflexion sur l'*Hexaéméron* et sur la théologie ascétique. Mais c'est avec un changement presque radical d'orientation philosophique. Grégoire semble avoir l'impression que Basile traitait de haut, sobrement et quelque peu superficiellement, les problèmes discutés dans les écoles. Lui se donne le loisir de démarquer abondamment ses auteurs, sans trop craindre les contradictions; il espère sans doute éblouir son lecteur à force d'accumuler les lieux communs. Du vivant de Basile, il n'a presque rien écrit; dès sa mort, il multiplie les interventions. Nous savons positivement que Basile n'était pas sans faire des réserves sur la compétence de son jeune frère, et il ne l'encourageait peut-être pas à publier ce que certainement ils discutaient oralement dans l'intimité. Smets et van Esbroeck ont évoqué ces relations dans leur introduction aux homélies *Sur l'origine de l'homme.*[75] Tout cela invite à lire aussi d'un œil critique les confidences du Nysséen.

[73] A. M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965).
[74] Bernardi, *La prédication*, pp. 238 et 227.
[75] *Basile de Césarée* (supra n. 19), pp. 81-115.

H. Basile au centre des tensions et des crises

Avant tout, nous avions à passer en revue les œuvres de Basile, puis les sources contemporaines qui parlent directement de lui. Parmi les éléments les plus utiles à l'intelligence de son action, il faut pourtant compter la découverte des lignes majeures de l'histoire, du sens profond des crises où il fut mêlé.

À mon avis, les recherches sur l'ascèse et la doctrine d'Eustathe de Sébaste,[76] et sur les origines du messalianisme, représentent une condition nécessaire à une interprétation sociale et psychologique de l'œuvre spirituelle de Basile. La doctrine du saint n'a pas été élaborée dans le silence de la cellule ou de la bibliothèque, elle se définit peu à peu dans le dialogue, en fonction des réactions du public en face duquel il se trouve.

Il est peu indiqué de commenter les premières pages d'une œuvre basilienne en s'inspirant de ce qui suit, en escomptant que tout cela est déjà explicite dans les intentions de l'auteur. En fait, sa pensée va en se précisant; elle s'avère plus vivante, et plus aggressive, si je puis employer cet adjectif, si on la perçoit, dès le principe, dans sa dépendance à l'égard de la base scripturaire qui se manifestera plus loin, mais qui a été mise à la base de la réflexion. Il est sans doute normal qu'une chaîne d'affirmations bibliques soit prévue et commande la marche du discours. Mais les nuances de l'exégèse et de la polémique doivent être considérées comme un effort d'intelligence qui progresse avec l'exposé. Les analyses qu'en donnent les théologiens paraissent souvent pécher par excès de statisme, donnant trop d'importance à des prises de position relativement improvisées, dont il faut reconnaître le rôle dialectique.

C'est ce que nous avons constaté pour les grandes œuvres, la logique trinitaire du *C. Eun.* 1-3, le dialogue central du *De Sp. S.*, aussi bien que pour la casuistique de l'*Ascéticon* et la politique des *Lettres*, surtout lorsqu'une série de réponses se prolonge et approfondit un argument. Il est possible que pour les homélies, plus courtes et bien préparées, il en aille parfois autrement.

Je ne suis guère compétant pour interpréter l'évolution économique et les tensions sociales de la Cappadoce, et apprécier par là la mission et l'efficience de l'évangéliste et de l'évêque. Je voudrais discerner, en particulier, si sa fonction de protecteur des faibles s'est exercée en faveur du

[76] Je dois signaler à ce propos le travail très suggestif de G. Dagron, "Les moines et la ville. Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine," dans MT 4 (Paris 1970) 229-276. J'y reviendrai dans une conférence au cours d'un Colloque basilien à Chevetogne, en août 1979, à publier dans *Irénikon* [53 (1980) 123-144].

bien commun, ou si ses interventions, comme il le semble parfois, ont défendu des intérêts privés.

Sur le plan dogmatique, on ne peut comprendre Basile, et les Cappadociens, que dans le cadre de l'histoire de l'origénisme. Des études nouvelles sur Apollinaire et, évidemment, sur Eunome et sur Marcel d'Ancyre, seraient nécessaires pour mieux peser les interventions, en revisant les jugements proposés par les formes d'orthodoxie qui ont suivi immédiatement 380. Telles ont été les contributions de Dörries, Dehnhard, Staats. J. Rist nous a montré que l'histoire du Platonisme exige une critique rigoureuse. Celle de l'exégèse, des institutions canoniques, du droit civil ne peuvent être négligées, ni celle de la culture littéraire et des remous causés par le règne de Julien.

Un des instruments de travail qui rendrait le plus de services pour progresser dans le classement chronologique et l'interprétation des textes serait un lexique-concordance. J'espère publier une liste de plusieurs centaines de mots rares du vocabulaire basilien, avec l'indication des auteurs chez qui l'on retrouve ces mots. Mais ce sont les termes les plus fréquents que l'on devrait suivre dans leurs divers emplois. Le *De Spiritu Sancto* de Dörries, l'édition athénienne de l'*Apostoliki Diakonia*,[77] des volumes des *Sources chrétiennes* (Pruche, Smets-van Esbroeck) ou d'autres (Neri; *Commandements du Seigneur et libération évangélique*) offrent déjà des index qui ne demandent qu'à être utilisés. Le présent Symposium, les publications que promet P. Fedwick, les autres colloques basiliens de cette année centenaire stimuleront les efforts.

[77] J'ai en main le t. 53 de la BHP, troisième tome de s. Basile, Athènes 1976, édité par E. D. Moutsoulas et C. G. Papachristopoulos sous la direction générale de C. Bonis. Les index, dressés par P. Bezenitis et P. G. Nicolopoulos, sont remarquablement bien faits.

3

Manuscripts and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea

Stig Y. Rudberg
University of Lund

A. The Manuscripts

Ancient Greek and Latin literature as we can study it today has been compared to a vast field of ruins. Here and there a column or two remain upright, but most of the ancient buildings have disappeared for ever. This holds true to a great degree, e.g., for Greek lyric poetry and drama. But there are indeed exceptions to this rule. There is a kind of literature that has been copied thousands of times over the centuries with the utmost care and diligence, where the aim of the scribes has been to let nothing get lost but to preserve the text of the original as carefully as human weakness allows.

Of course this care of the scribes was first and foremost devoted to Holy Scripture on the part of the copyists of thousands of biblical manuscripts, many of which are still preserved. But in the second place, and not much less than in the case of the Bible, the monastic scribes made every effort to copy word for word and letter for letter the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and especially of the great Fathers of the fourth century, the three Cappadocians and saint John Chrysostom. And the owners of the manuscripts, monasteries, churches and individuals, were most anxious to preserve them properly and often provided them with precious and sumptous bindings. That is the reason why so many manuscripts of these categories have survived to our time and why we are still in possession of most works written by the great Fathers just mentioned. One may even

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 49-65.

say in a paradoxical way that we have more left than they ever wrote, because, as well as many other great names in ancient literature, they have attracted like magnets quite a lot of *dubia* and *spuria*.

After these preliminary remarks, now let us turn to our subject, the manuscripts and editions containing the works of Saint Basil of Caesarea, already during his lifetime called Basil the Great.

The manuscript tradition of the Basilian works is very extensive and complicated. The literary work of Basil can be divided into several *genres*. Following the disposition presented by Quasten's *Patrology*[1] we may distinguish between *Dogmatic*, *Ascetic* and *Educational* writings; further *Homilies* and *Sermons*, *Letters* and *Liturgy*. Of course further division can be made, e.g., homilies on the Psalms and the so-called moral homilies, letters of friendship, of recommendation, of consolation, etc.

We are happy enough to possess, since a few years back, an excellent reference work, the *Clavis Patrum Graecorum* by M. Geerard[2] listing all the works ascribed to Basil by the manuscripts, in all about 125 pieces. It also notes the *incipit* and the most recent editions of the different works and is thus a most useful *instrumentum studiorum*. Still earlier, in 1959 to 1961, Dom Gribomont had given us an excellent survey of the state of research in his *Introductio* to the reprint of the volumes 29 to 32 of Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*.[3] There he also expresses a well-founded opinion about the authenticity of several works that have come down to us by the name of St. Basil.

There exists no manuscript containing *all* the Basilian works. But among the great mass of manuscripts there are several types, each of which contains a *corpus* of Basilian writings. There are at least four such *corpora* that can be clearly distinguished:

1) The corpus of the *Hexaemeron*
2) The corpus of the *Moral Homilies* and the *Homilies on the Psalms*
3) The corpus of the *Ascetica*
4) The corpus of the *Letters*

The total number of manuscripts hitherto known and containing at least one of these four *corpora* amounts to a little less than 500. It is worth noticing that some of these are of a venerable age: two Basilian manuscripts were certainly, and two other ones were probably written

[1] J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 (Utrecht 1960) 204-236.
[2] M. Geerard, CPG 2835-3005.
[3] J. Gribomont, "In tomos 29, 30, 31, 32 Patrologiae Graecae ad editionem operum Sancti Basilii Magni Introductio" (Turnhout 1959-1961).

before the year 900. As a matter of fact, out of the nine still existing dated minuscule manuscripts from the ninth century,[4] two contain works of St. Basil, the Moscow GIM (Sinod.) 117 (with an ascetic corpus, type *S*) from 880, and the Glasgow HM v.3.5 (with a homiletic corpus) from 899. The two undated manuscripts are the Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 2066, written in uncials (with the *Hexaemeron* corpus), end of the ninth century, and Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1673 (mutilated homiletic corpus), end of the ninth or first years of the tenth century. There are half a dozen other manuscripts that were possibly written around the year 900 or even in the last years of the ninth century.

The *corpora* now mentioned include the great majority of Basil's writings. There remain however a few works falling outside the four *corpora*, the most important of which are the books *C. Eun.* 1-3 and the work *De Sp. S.* Certainly they sometimes appear in the *Hexaemeron* manuscripts, but in most cases they present their own manuscript tradition. In the view of most scholars, the so-called fourth and fifth books against Eunomius are inauthentic. Their manuscript tradition has recently been examined by Father W. M. Hayes.[5] May I add here that the lengthy *Enarr. in Is.* 1-16 ascribed to Basil by the manuscripts is mostly considered today as not authentic.

During the last decades there has been some research work done in all these four fields.

a. Concerning the *Hexaemeron* corpus it should first be pointed out that it appears in our manuscripts in three different forms that may be called the small, the normal and the great corpus respectively. i. The *small* corpus first comprises the nine homilies on the *Hexaemeron*, then the two anonymous homilies on the creation of man, to which is sometimes added the apocryphal homily on Paradise. ii. The *normal* corpus found in most manuscripts comprises first the nine homilies on the *Hexaemeron*, then the treatise of Gregory of Nyssa *On the Creation of Man*, to which is sometimes added his *Apology for Basil's Hexaemeron*. iii. The *great* corpus first comprises *Hex.* 1-9, then the anonymous *HCreat.* 1-2, to which is sometimes added the apocryphal *HParad.*, and finally the treatise of Gregory of Nyssa *On the Creation of Man*, to which sometimes is added his *Apology for Basil's Hexeameron.*[6]

[4] R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954) p. 32.

[5] W. M. Hayes, *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.) Basil's Adversus Eunomium Book IV-V* (Leiden 1972).

[6] In a few MSS the two anonymous homilies on the creation of man are called the homilies 10 and 11 of the *Hexaemeron* of Basil.

As to the manuscript tradition of the *Hexaemeron* homilies no work has as yet been published, but the late Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta and I in 1972 had already completed a book called *La tradition manuscrite directe des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron* to be published by the Berlin Academy in the series "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur" (volume 123). Owing to practical difficulties this work will not appear until later this year. All conclusions about the relationship of manuscripts are based upon collations for a new edition, comprising some 120 manuscripts. All the ones known to us and written before the year 1600 have been examined. The main result of this investigation is that they can be divided into two great *branches*, the first of which we consider as more genuine (closer to the archetype). Each branch can be divided into *groups*: to the first branch belong the groups ABCD, to the second one the groups EFGHI. Group E is a kind of *Vulgata* comprising some thirty manuscripts, group G is a *recensio docta*, aiming at a more Attic language. The last group (I) is the dumping-ground for the hopelessly contaminated manuscripts.

b. The *Moral Homilies* and the *Homilies on the Psalms* normally appear together in the manuscripts, thus forming one large corpus. The pioneer work on the manuscript tradition remains my thesis from 1953, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile*, supplemented by my edition of *HAtt.* [3] from 1962.[7] In my thesis I took as a model the method successfully employed by Bessières for the letters, i.e., to base my classification upon the order of the homilies as they appear in the different manuscripts. I thus managed to distinguish fourteen different types of corpora (plus four secondary types). In ten of the main types, the *Homilies on the Psalms* (fifteen to eighteen in number) occupy the first place and are followed by the other homilies. In four types (DEFH), they are divided into three or four groups, the *HPs. 1* usually being alone in the first place. The type A is a kind of *Vulgata*, consisting of some forty manuscripts. Its corpus contains 42 homilies (17 on the Psalms and 25 "moral" ones). Two of the types (FM) can be geographically localized: they no doubt originate from Southern Italy, because they consist of Italo-Greek manuscripts and contain elements — pseudo-Basilian pieces — which are scarcely to be found elsewhere.

A few years later, I was able to carry out the necessary check by means of collations while preparing my edition of the *HAtt.* [3]. These collations

[7] S. Y. Rudberg, *Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* (Lund 1953); idem, *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot "Observe-toi toi-même"* (Uppsala 1962).

comprised 137 manuscripts. Did they confirm the earlier classification? The answer was both "Yes" and "No," though with the emphasis on the positive valuation. About one-half of the types earlier distinguished showed such a striking degree of unity that some editing must be assumed. Generally speaking, the conclusion that could be drawn was, not very surprisingly, that manuscripts offering the same type of corpus are likely to offer the same text or, at least, a very similar one.

c. For the manuscript tradition of the *ascetic works* the real pioneer is Dom Jean Gribomont with his Louvain thesis (also 1953), *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de saint Basile*.[8] There he was able to distinguish six different recensions of the *corpus asceticum*, i.e., of the original Greek text — he also deals with several old translations, e.g., into Armenian, Syriac, Latin. He called these recensions *V* (Vulgate), *S* (Studite, originating from St. Theodore Studites), *N* (probably originating from the monastery of Grottaferrata, founded by St. Nilus), *O* (Oriental, precious survivor of the oldest tradition), *M* (Misogyne, because it excludes the monastic rules concerning women) and finally *B*, preserved today only by the manuscript Vatican BAV Barb. gr. 476, twelfth century. These recensions together are found in some 75 manuscripts, two thirds of which represent the recensions *V* and *S*.

As I had got the opportunity of studying *in situ* some manuscripts inaccessible to Dom Gribomont, I was able in my thesis to make some additions and corrections. This contribution of mine however by no means altered the results attained by him. The same is true for my collations of a number of ascetic manuscripts in view of the special edition of *EGNaz*. [2] included in my thesis. This letter and a few others are found also in ascetic manuscripts; as a matter of fact, *EGNaz*. [2] appears in all recensions except *B*.

d. As far as the *Letters* are concerned, modern research work started more than sixty years ago. The pioneer is the French Abbé Marius Bessières, who died in 1918. His posthumous work was originally published in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, and as a book in Oxford in 1923: *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de saint Basile*.[9] He excluded from his examination mutilated manuscripts and those presenting a choice of letters. He thus described a total of 27 manuscripts containing a full corpus of letters, the number of which varies from 200 to

[8] (Louvain 1953).

[9] With a preface and supplementary notes by C. H. Turner.

350 letters approximately. By examining the order of the letters he found that the manuscripts can be divided into two principal branches, A and B, the first of which presents three subdivisions or families (Aa, Ab and Ac), the second one four (Bo, Bu, Bx and Bz). Later on, two major contributions were made, both by Swedish scholars and quite naturally based upon Bessières' remarkable research: in 1944, Anders Cavallin published his thesis *Studien zu den Briefen des heiligen Basilius*, the main result of which is a confirmation and precision of Bessières' pioneer work, and in 1953, in the first part of my own thesis, I dealt with the manuscripts of the letters.[10]

A document of a most venerable age is the Berlin Papyrus 6795 from the fifth century containing excerpts from the *ENect. cons.* [5], *ENect. ux.* [6], *EIuln.* [293], *EAmph.* [150] and *EGNaz.* [2] (in that order).[11] In spite of the small number of letters, Bessières believed that he found there the order of the best family Aa,[12] which does not seem improbable. Both Bessières and Cavallin have thoroughly analysed the readings of the papyrus,[13] but — as was to be expected — with fairly little gain beyond the fact that the papyrus text seems to have some relationship to the Aa text. In some cases however, it comes closer to the Bo text. I think that the importance of the papyrus can be summarized by quoting Cavallin's words: "Überhaupt ist der Papyrus trotz seines beachtlichen Alters eine allzu schwache Grundlage, als dass man darauf bestimmte Schlüsse hinsichtlich der Hss bauen könnte."[14]

Cavallin's work was mainly devoted to textual criticism and to problems of authenticity, whereas I myself was happy enough to discover nine "new" manuscripts (i.e., not known to Bessières), six of which proved to belong to the branch A — three to each of the families Aa and Ab. Thus the total which present an epistolary corpus was brought up to 36 (27 plus 9). I also examined some twenty manuscripts presenting a choice of letters. In this connexion I want to touch upon a happy discovery mentioned in my thesis.[15] Two mutilated tenth century manuscripts, the Ayion Oros MML 299 (*Γ* 59) and the present Paris BN Suppl. gr. 678, revealed themselves as parts of the same codex. The

[10] Cavallin (Lund 1944); Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 20-53.

[11] First edited by H. Landwehr in *Philologus* 43 (1884) 110-136. A more recent and better edition is that of C. Schmidt and W. Schubart, *Altchristliche Texte* (Berlin 1910) pp. 21-37.

[12] The five letters are according to the order Aa: 20, 21, 47, 48, 3.

[13] Bessières, *La tradition*, pp. 124-127; Cavallin, *Studien*, pp. 12-15.

[14] Cavallin, *Studien*, p. 15.

[15] See Rudberg, *Études*, p. 29.

original manuscript contained two corpora of letters, by Gregory of Nazianzus and by Basil respectively. But the remaining parts of the manuscript only contain 66 of Gregory's letters and 40 of Basil's. The division probably took place in the eighteen forties.[16] On the whole, I shall not enter here upon the difficult question of authenticity. I just want to stress the fact that among the *Letters*, 368 in number, there are about forty that are certainly not genuine. Concerning a few of them, there still remains some doubt about the authorship. It is very much to be regretted that the most recent editor (Courtonne)[17] cares very little about this problem. As a matter of fact, he publishes several inauthentic letters without mentioning anything about the fact that they do not belong to Basil's genuine correspondence or by adding an unmeaning note like "Il n'est pas certain que cette lettre soit de S. Basile."[18] I shall return to Courtonne's edition a little later on. Already Cavallin in 1944 had clearly shown the inauthenticity of several letters. Concerning one of them, the *EGNys*. [38], a recent article by Paul Fedwick[19] has fully corroborated the conclusions of Cavallin, i.e., that this letter, or "commentary," as Fedwick rightly calls it, on the difference between *ousia* and *hypostasis* was written by Gregory of Nyssa.

The last thing I want to say about the manuscript tradition is that there are a number of pieces appearing among the letters in the editions but in reality belonging to more than one tradition. Almost thirty "letters" thus appear also in homiletic manuscripts; as a rule, they are not included in the proper *corpus* but in a "supplement" placed at the end of the collection.[20] On the other hand, about fifteen letters appear in the ascetic manuscripts, most of them identical with the above-mentioned "homiletic" letters. Among these letters should first be mentioned the *EGNaz*. [2][21], already written by about 359 to Gregory of Nazianzus. This enthusiastic praise of the solitary life is found in almost thirty homiletic and in nearly as many ascetic manuscripts. Firmly established in the homiletic tradition are likewise the *Ad virg*. [46], and ***EMon. laps*. [45], found in about sixty and fifty manuscripts respectively. These pieces, probably not genuine, are also presented by a smaller number of ascetic manuscripts.[22] The

[16] See ibid., p. 29 n. 1.

[17] Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, 1-3 (Paris 1957, 1961, 1966).

[18] Courtonne, 1: 109 about *EMon. laps*. [44] that is certainly not genuine (CPG 2900).

[19] "A Commentary of Gregory of Nyssa or the 38th Letter of Basil of Caesarea," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 31-51.

[20] Cf. Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 59 f., 67 f., 71, etc.

[21] PG 32: 224A-233B; Courtonne, 1: 5-13.

[22] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 308 ff. A quite special phenomenon found in ascetic

EOpt. [260] to the Bishop Optimus and *EItal.* [243] to the bishops of Italy and Gaul also belong to many homiletic corpora (or rather to the supplements attached to such corpora). *EOpt.* [260] is found in at least forty-five manuscripts, *EItal.* [243] in about thirty. The three so-called canonical letters (*EAmph.* [188, 199, 217]) have a manuscript tradition of their own and are found in a number of *Nomocanon* manuscripts. They often, together with some other letters and extracts from *De Sp. S.*, form a small *corpus canonicum.*[23]

As I said before, I shall not enter upon questions of authenticity. I just want to mention that among the letters the most difficult problems are raised by the correspondence between Basil and Libanius (letters 335-359) and by the letters 361-364 between Basil and Apollinaris. In CPG an account is given of modern research concerning these two groups of letters.[24]

B. The Editions

As far as the editions of St. Basil's works are concerned, we are happy enough to possess a remarkable work, published as a series of articles in the *Revue Bénédictine* from 1940 to 1946 under the title "Essai d'une histoire critique des éditions générales grecques et gréco-latines de saint Basile de Césarée."[25] The author is the great Basilian scholar, the late Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta. As is stated in the title, he is only dealing with editions claiming to publish the *Opera omnia* of St. Basil. It is obvious that what I can say here, in its essentials, is based on the articles of Amand de Mendieta.

The *editio princeps* was published by the printer Jerome Froben in Basle in 1532 on the initiative of Erasmus of Rotterdam who wrote the preface in a Ciceronian Latin where he calls Basil the "Christian Demosthenes." The editor obviously is very proud of presenting for the first time the original text, which is clear from the introductory words: "En amice lector, thesaurum damus inaestimabilem D. Basilium vere magnum sua lingua disertissime loquentem quem hactenus habuisti

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MSS is the conflation of *ETheod.* [173] and *De perf.* [22], ibid., pp. 297-299. [Now see also J. Gribomont, "Les Règles épistolaires de saint Basile: *Lettres* 173 et 22," *Ant* 54 (1979) 255-287. Ed.]

[23] See Rudberg, *Études*, p. 28 and n. 4, to which should now be added E. Honigmann, *Trois mémoires posthumes* (Brussels 1961) pp. 52-64, and F. van de Paverd, "Die Quellen der kanonischen Briefe Basileios des Grossen," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 5-63.

[24] CPG 2900, pp. 162-163; cf. Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 19-20.

[25] *RBen* 52 (1940) 141-161; 53 (1941) 119-151; 54 (1942) 124-144; 56 (1945-1946) 126-173.

Latine balbutientem." In this edition only 100 letters are included, but the greatest deficiency is the total absence of the ascetic writings. Only three years later, in 1535, this gap was filled by the *Venice edition* whose principal author was the cardinal Reginald Pole. After the ascetic corpus proper it also contains *C. Eun.* 1-3 and one homily already published three years earlier. Already in 1551, the *editio princeps* was published once again by Froben in Basle but this time in an amplified form. As a matter of fact, he had produced this second edition by simply bringing together the two editions just mentioned into one volume. The only novelty is the addition of the so-called books four and five against Eunomius. As for the manuscripts used for these editions, Dom Gribomont and I myself have made some special inquiries. In his thesis[26] Gribomont has proved that the Venice edition is based upon the present Paris BN gr. 504 and, partly, upon the three Venice manuscripts BNM gr. 62, 63, 64. In an article published in the Swedish classical review *Eranos*[27] I have shown — with some probability, I hope — that the manuscript used for the main part of the *editio princeps* is the present Munich manuscript BSB gr. 141 (earlier in Tübingen).

The next important year in the history of editions is 1618 when there were published in Paris two large volumes constituting together the first edition of Basil that presented a Latin translation printed opposite to the Greek text. It also contains precious notes by the two editors, the Jesuit Fronton du Duc and the learned Paris printer Fédéric Morel. The most important addition of this edition is a great number of letters. The English scholar Richard Montagu has the credit for this contribution. We cannot determine today the manuscripts collated for the 1618 edition, but we are sure about a few Paris ones, mostly from the fourteenth century.

Only twenty years later, in 1638, a Greco-Latin edition in three large volumes appeared in Paris. It has however no independent value; as Amand de Mendieta puts it, it is a "pure réimpression, moins correcte d'ailleurs."[28]

A Dominican scholar, François Combefis, had been preparing a new edition of St. Basil's works but died in 1679. In the same year was published posthumously his book *Basilius Magnus ex integro recensitus*. It contains a great number of readings and variants collected from Paris

[26] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 326-329.

[27] S. Y. Rudberg, "Welche Handschrift benutzte Erasmus für seine Editio princeps der Basilius-Homilien?" *Eranos* 58 (1960) 20-28.

[28] *RBen* 54 (1942) 124.

manuscripts and often difficult to identify. There is also printed the text of two ascetic opuscula that Combefis wrongly thought to be unpublished.

Where Combefis had failed, a Benedictine monk of the St. Maur congregation almost half a century later achieved a complete success by publishing the great edition in three folio volumes that still today, 250 years later, remains unsurpassed. His name is Dom Julien Garnier, and he had the satisfaction of seeing two volumes published in 1721 and 1722 before his death in 1725. The third volume, containing the *Letters* and the treatise *On the Holy Spirit*, therefore had to be published by his confrère Dom Prudentius Maran in 1730. Amand de Mendieta has been able to determine exactly the manuscripts used for this great edition. As was to be expected, it was based almost exclusively on Paris manuscripts. But even so the editors did not use by far all the ones accessible to them. The most regrettable omission concerns the *Moral Homilies*. Out of twenty-four Paris manuscripts they have only collated seven, thus neglecting seventeen, several of which date from the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. Here I think it suitable to quote Amand de Mendieta's own verdict: "*Garnier a donc négligé dix-sept manuscrits* ... conservés dans des bibliothèques parisiennes, qui lui étaient parfaitement accessibles. Peut-être a-t-il reculé devant le nombre imposant des manuscrits à faire collationner ou du moins à examiner? En tout cas, on ignore le critère qu'il a pu adopter dans la sélection faite parmi des manuscrits, dont il ne pouvait pas ne pas connaître l'existence."[29]

The editions published after the great Benedictine edition of 1721-1730 are in reality only reprints of it (with a few additions). In 1839, L. de Sinner published in Paris three volumes, adding three pseudo-Basilian writings taken from a Moscow edition of 1775. Technically this 1839 edition is of first-rate quality. The best known and most used edition is of course the one in Migne's *Patrologia graeca*, volumes 29, 30, 31 and 32, first published in 1857. It is technically inferior to the 1839 edition, and this is true to a much greater degree of the reprint of 1886 that presents a deplorable text with a large number of misprints.[30]

It is worth mentioning finally that several letters had already been published before the *editio princeps* of 1532. An *Aldina* of 1499 had in fact among other letters also published forty-four Basilian ones, evidently originating from a manuscript of the family Ab (and more precisely from

[29] *RBen* 56 (1945-1946) 139.

[30] Ibid., p. 152: "un texte grec déplorable, où foisonnent les coquilles et les fautes d'accentuation."

the younger group Es within that family).[31] In 1528 an edition printed in Grossenhain (Saxony)[32] published, together with letters of Gregory of Nazianzus, sixty-one Basilian letters. They are taken from a manuscript closedly related to the Oxford MS CCC gr. 284 (fourteenth century).[33] The 100 letters of the *editio princeps* (Basle 1532) are simply those published by the editions of 1499 and 1528 (44 + 61 = 105, but five are found in both editions).

A few words must be said also about the *selection* of Basilian works executed by Symeon Metaphrastes in the tenth century and divided into twenty-four chapter (*logoi*) of very different size.[34] This selection is preserved by a great number of manuscripts (a hundred at least) and was first included in an appendix to the 1618 Paris edition. It has been treated by me in a special article called "'Morceaux choisis' de Basile sélectionnés par Syméon Métaphraste"[35] (1964). The *editio princeps* of this selection was printed in Paris in 1556 and was based on the manuscript Paris BN gr. 507 (eleventh century). But, as I have shown in my article, there are several older manuscripts, the oldest of which, the Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1598, was probably written in the lifetime of Symeon Metaphrastes. I also believe I have shown that the present edition (PG 32: 1116-1381) ought to be entirely remade by making use of the oldest manuscripts and by identifying all the extracts, some of which are wrongly designated in the editions, while there are others that have not been identified at all.

Finally I want to mention a number of editions of separate Basilian works (I refer to the pieces according to their order in the CPG).

a. Stanislas Giet published the Greek text of the *Hex.* 1-9 (CPG 2835) accompanied by a French translation in 1950 as volume 26 of the well-known series, *Sources chrétiennes*. Immediately before his death in 1968 he was able to complete a new revised and augmented edition that was published posthumously in the same year.[36] As for the Greek text, Giet mainly reproduces Garnier's Benedictine edition of 1721. The translation

[31] *Epistolae Basilii Magni, Libanii rhetoris, Chionis Platonici, ...* (Venice: Apud Aldum Manutium, 1499). Cf. Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 48-50.

[32] *Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazanzeni* (sic) *theologorum epistolae graecae nunquam antea editae* (Haganoae [Grossenhain] 1528). Cf. Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 50-51.

[33] Gribomont, "In tomum 32," p. 3, and Fedwick, "A Commentary," p. 35 think that this MS is the immediate basis of the 1528 edition; as is already pointed out in my *Études*, p. 51, this conclusion cannot be drawn from my collations.

[34] CPG 2908.

[35] *Eranos* 62 (1964) 100-119.

[36] S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée, Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron* (Paris 1950; reprint, with supplementary notes, Paris 1968).

however is on the whole excellent and deserves to remain the standard French text.

b. The short piece *De spiritu* (CPG 2838), in the editions placed at the end of the so-called fifth book against Eunomius, was published by Paul Henry in his valuable work *Les états du texte de Plotin*[37] together with a section of Plotinus' *Enneads* that has obviously served as its source. The most recent edition by Hans Dehnhard in his book *Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin*[38] is entirely based upon Henry. Dehnhard also confirms his opinion about the authenticity of this opusculum.

c. The long treatise *De Spiritu Sancto* (CPG 2839) has also been included in the *Sources chrétiennes* series (vol. 17), first only in translation by Benoît Pruche, but in the second edition also giving the Greek text.[39] But just as Giet did in his edition of the *Hexaemeron* homilies, Pruche also mainly reproduces the Benedictine text. However while determining the text he also pays attention to the previous edition by C. F. H. Johnston that is based on collations of a number of manuscripts.[40]

d. I have already briefly mentioned my edition of the *HAtt.* [3] (CPG 2847), published in 1962, that was based on about 140 manuscripts. It also contains an Index verborum comprising some 1200 words that may be of some use to other editors and to those studying the language of St. Basil.[41]

e. Two others of the so-called moral homilies were published by Yves Courtonne in his thesis *Saint Basile, Homélies sur la richesse.*[42] With the Greek text he also gives a French translation of the two homilies *HDestr.* [6] and *HDiv.* [7] (CPG 2850-2851). The manuscript basis of this edition however is rather narrow: only three Paris manuscripts BN gr. 487, 497 and 498.

f. The most widely read and the most popular of all Basilian works is probably the treatise *Ad adolescentes de legendis libris gentilium*[43] (CPG

[37] (Brussels 1938) pp. 185-196.

[38] (Berlin 1964) pp. 6-12. Hayes, *The Manuscript Tradition*, p. 22, refers to this short piece as the 'lucubratiuncula' (Garnier's term, PG 29: ccxl).

[39] *Basile de Césarée, Traité du Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1947); with the Greek text, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1968).

[40] *The Book of St. Basil the Great On the Holy Spirit* (Oxford 1892).

[41] See above n. 7. The "Index graecitatis" is on pp. 130-143.

[42] (Paris 1935).

[43] See L. Schucan, *Das Nachleben von Basilius Magnus "Ad adolescentes"* (Geneva 1973). There are mentioned some forty printed Latin translations published before the *editio princeps* of the Greek original.

2867). Although it is not at all a homily, our manuscripts include this treatise in the homiletic corpus. However it is worth noticing that in several families of manuscripts the piece does not belong to the proper corpus but to a supplement added at the end.[44] There are two modern editions of the treatise, that of Fernand Boulenger[45] and that of Nigel G. Wilson.[46] Boulenger's edition, with French translation, in the well-known Budé-series, is based upon all manuscripts available in Paris, twenty-six in number, thirteen of which are used throughout the text. Wilson's text is virtually the same as Boulenger's, but he has the merit of having collated six manuscripts beyond the ones in Paris, among them the oldest dated one, the Glasgow manuscript from 899.[47] He also has paid attention to two old Syriac translations and has added a useful commentary.

g. Several small ascetic pieces have been edited by Jean Gribomont in his thesis (1953). He thus gives a special edition of the *EApokr. fus.* 16 based upon thirty-five manuscripts and also edits five small "regulae extravagantes," two of which had not been published before (CPG 2875). All five seem to be genuine. Finally he gives a new edition of the important *Hyp. Pr.* (CPG 2884), previously very poorly edited.[48]

h. A work of contested authenticity, the two books *De baptismo* (CPG 2896), has been quite recently edited by Umberto Neri.[49] The edition is based upon the study of thirty-four manuscripts, eleven of which have been used throughout. The editor himself is in favour of Basil's authorship.

i. As concerns the *Letters* (CPG 2900), I first want to mention that the correspondence between Basil and Libanius already mentioned is found also in the great Libanius edition by Richard Foerster.[50] These twenty-five letters (335-359) have been placed after all the Libanius letters, more than 1500 in number, together with a letter from Libanius to Basil not found in the Basilian collection.[51] Of Basil's letters there are two modern editions, the first of which in the well-known Loeb series by Roy J. Deferrari with an English translation has not improved the Benedictine text from 1730.[52]

[44] See Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 71, 75-77, 80.

[45] *Saint Basile, Aux jeunes gens sur la manière de tirer profit des lettres helléniques* (Paris 1935; several reprints).

[46] *Saint Basil On Greek Literature* (London 1975).

[47] Cf. above p. 51.

[48] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 210-214, 179-186, 278-282.

[49] *Basilio di Cesarea, Il battesimo* (Brescia 1976).

[50] See above p. 56. R. Foerster, *Libanius*, 1-11 (Leipzig 1903-1922).

[51] Foerster, *Libanius*, 11: 572-597. These twenty-six letters are numbered 1580-1605 (according to the old edition of J. C. Wolf [Amsterdam 1738]).

[52] *Saint Basil, The Letters*, 1-4 (London 1926-1934; several reprints).

But the most recent edition in the Budé collection by Yves Courtonne[53] has the merit of being based upon manuscripts belonging to the best family (Aa). However Courtonne has omitted one of the oldest Aa manuscripts (Ayion Oros MI 355, tenth century) and has not used a single manuscript of the good family Ab, as I have shown in a series of reviews in *Gnomon*.[54] Courtonne's French translation seems to me on the whole rather good. Finally, in order to make clear the relationship between the families of manuscripts, I gave in my "Études" special editions of three letters, *EGNaz*. [2], *EAmph*. [150] and *ETheod*. [173], the first one based upon 123 manuscripts, the others upon fifty and seventy respectively.[55]

j. There are also some modern editions of dubious and spurious Basilian works that ought to be mentioned in this connexion. The lengthy *Enarr. in Is*. 1-16 (CPG 2911) mostly considered as not authentic appeared in two volumes in the Italian series *Corona Patrum Salesiana*, edited by Pietro Trevisan.[56] The Greek text is merely a reprint of the Benedictine edition, but there is an Italian translation on the opposite pages. ***HVit. br*. [33] (CPG 5834) is found in eighteen manuscripts, all of them ascribing it to Basil, fifteen of which were collated by me for the special edition published in *Le Muséon* with a French translation.[57] The previous (and only) edition by Chr. Fr. Matthaei (Moscow 1774), reprinted in the Paris edition of 1839, was based upon one single Moscow manuscript presenting some noticeable lacunas. In all probability the author of this homily is the patriarch Proclus of Constantinople (dead in 446). ***HAq*. (CPG 2930) has been edited with an Italian translation by Salvatore Costanza[58] on the basis of the seven manuscripts indicated in my "Études."[59] The most interesting fact as concerns the manuscript tradition is that one manuscript, the Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 679 (eleventh century) attributes this short homily to St. John Chrysostom and presents a special type of text. ***HInc*. (CPG 5835) was first edited by David Amand[60] in the *Revue Bénédictine* on the basis of four manuscripts.[61] This *editio princeps* was supplemented by five other ones discovered by me and presented in

[53] See above n. 17.

[54] *Gnomon* 31 (1959) 123-128; 35 (1963) 262-264; 40 (1968) 776-778.

[55] See Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 151-168, 193-200, 203-207.

[56] *San Basilio, Commento al Profeta Isaia*, 1-2 (Turin 1939).

[57] S. Y. Rudberg, "L'homélie pseudo-basilienne 'Consolatoria ad aegrotum'," *Mu* 62 (1959) 301-322.

[58] *Ps. Basilii Εἰς τὰ ὕδατα καὶ εἰς τὸ ἅγιον Βάπτισμα* (Messina 1967).

[59] See Rudberg, *Études*, p. 116.

[60] From 1957 onwards known as Emmanuel Amand de Mendieta.

[61] E. Amand de Mendieta, "L'homélie pseudo-basilienne *Sur l'incarnation du Seigneur*," *RBen* 58 (1948) 223-263.

the same review,[62] thanks to which I was able to improve the text at certain points. Like the above-mentioned *HVit. br.* [33], this homily also seems to belong to Proclus of Constantinople. ***HVirg.* (CPG 2081) is, like the *Homily on the Incarnation*, ascribed to Basil by all manuscripts known to us. David Amand and Matthieu Ch. Moons published in the *Revue Bénédictine* the *editio princeps* of this curious *Homily on Virginity.*[63] The edition is based upon four manuscripts out of eight known to the editors. As for the date, they place it in the first half of the fourth century. It is impossible to ascribe it to a definite author. In his thesis from 1953 Jean Gribomont also edited three short sermons found in a minority of ascetic manuscripts, the *SFide*, *SVit.* and *SCal.* (CPG 2892-2894), obviously all spurious.[64] Lastly I want to mention two recent editions of the same text, *HCreat.* 1-2, belonging to the *Hexaemeron* corpus and in certain manuscripts called the tenth and eleventh homilies on the *Hexaemeron*. These two editions are an example of a great undertaking simultaneously performed by different scholars in different countries, which of course in point of principle should be avoided. In 1970, the two Jesuit scholars Alexis Smets and Michel van Esbroeck published their edition in the *Sources chrétiennes* series; they are inclined to regard the two homilies as an authentic work of Basil.[65] Two years later, in 1972, Dr. Hadwig Hörner published her edition as a supplementary volume of the Jaeger-Langerbeck editions of Gregory of Nyssa. This magnificent volume comprises the three textual recensions of the above-mentioned homilies plus the *HParad.*[66] Dr. Hörner's opinion about the authenticity is evident from the title of her edition: *Auctorum incertorum vulgo Basilii vel Gregorii Nysseni Sermones* etc.[67]

Just a few words should be said about the old translations of Basil's works. As appears, for example, from the material collected in the CPG, we know of ancient translations of Basilian writings into Latin, Syriac, Georgian, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic and Old-Slavic. In his thesis Dom Gribomont gives an account of translations of the ascetic writings into all

[62] S. Y. Rudberg, "Le texte de l'homélie pseudo-basilienne *Sur l'incarnation du Seigneur*," *RBen* 62 (1952) 189-200.

[63] "Une curieuse homélie grecque inédite *Sur la virginité*," *RBen* 63 (1953) 18-69; 211-238. Cf. Rudberg, *Études*, pp. 115-116.

[64] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 314-320.

[65] *Basile de Césarée, Sur l'origine de l'homme* (Paris 1970).

[66] *Gregorii Nysseni opera. Supplementum. Auctorum incertorum ... Sermones De creatione hominis, Sermo De paradiso* (Leiden 1972).

[67] These three homilies are listed in the CPG under the name of Gregory of Nyssa, 3215-3217. Cf. ibid., p. 168.

these languages except Coptic. There are even two Latin translations, the old one of Rufinus and a medieval translation executed by Angelo Clareno around 1300.[68] I for my part just want to call attention to two old Latin translations of homilies that are of importance also for the constitution of the original Greek text just because of their age. The *Homilies on the Hexaemeron* 1-9 were already translated into Latin, probably in Italy, by Eustathius by about 400, only twenty years after Basil's death. Amand de Mendieta and I published a new edition of this translation in 1958, based upon a dozen old manuscripts.[69] In many cases this Latin text has proved helpful to us while establishing the Greek text.

The well-known and most assiduous translator Rufinus from Aquileia, a younger contemporary of Basil,[70] translated the ascetic *Rules* mentioned above but also a number of homilies. In the first place, he seems to have translated six homilies — *HPs. 1*, *HAtt.* [3], *HDestr.* [6], *HInv.* [11], *HProv.* [12] and *HFide* [15]. A little later, he completed this series with two other texts, the *HPs. 59* and the *Ad virg.* [46], the text of which he had in all probability drawn from a collection of homilies.[71] These translations seem to have been almost contemporary with that of Eustathius just mentioned. Five other homilies were translated into Latin at different times and by anonymous authors, namely *HGrat.* [4], *HIul.* [5],[72] the *HIeiun.* 1-2 and the *HMart.* [19]; the last-mentioned however is abbreviated.[73] Of course every future editor of saint Basil's homilies must take these old translations into consideration.

Last of all, a few words about future editions. As for the *Hexaemeron* homilies, the new edition (for the Berlin corpus) is virtually finished. What remains to be done is above all to redact an *apparatus fontium et testimoniorum*, a very complicated task because of the fact that Basil never explicitly refers to his sources but most probably has drawn to a great extent from manuals and summaries. The new edition is based on eleven manuscripts from the ninth and tenth centuries representing the groups A B C E G; but in order to show more clearly the relationship of the

[68] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 91-107.

[69] *Eustathius, Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée* (Berlin 1958).

[70] On Rufinus and his work see M. M. Wagner, *Rufinus, the Translator* (Washington, D.C. 1945).

[71] See above p. 55. [Cf. p. 462. *Ed.*].

[72] E. Amand de Mendieta, "Une ancienne version latine inédite de deux homélies de saint Basile," *RBen* 57 (1947) 12-81.

[73] M. Huglo, "Les anciennes versions latines des homélies de saint Basile," *RBen* 64 (1954) 129-132.

manuscripts it is planned to give a special edition of the *Hex.* 6 (the longest one) based on all manuscripts — twenty-seven in number — from the ninth, tenth and tenth to eleventh centuries. The death of Emmanual Amand de Mendieta (in 1976) has delayed the final work. I hope however that the edition will appear within the next few years.

As for the *Moral Homilies* and the *Homilies on the Psalms*, no editorial work on a large scale is as yet under way. My edition of the *HAtt.* [3] has given some valuable hints as to the manuscripts on which a new edition should be based. But collations made for other homilies have shown that relationship between manuscripts found for one homily is not necessarily valid for other homilies.[74] The greatest enterprise to be mentioned in this field is that of the French Benedictine Dom Édouard Rouillard who, for a long time, has been preparing an edition of the authentic "moral" homilies to be published in the *Sources chrétiennes* series in four volumes, the first of which is to be expected in 1980-81. In some articles (from 1958 onwards) Dom Rouillard has given an account of his collations and classification of manuscripts.[75]

No new editions of the *Ascetic* writings and the *Letters* can be expected within the next years, as far as I know.

The subject treated here, "Manuscripts and editions of the works of Basil of Caesarea," is a very extensive one owing to the amazing literary activity of this great father of the Church during his comparatively short life that came to its end on the first of January 379. I hope however that this paper, which of course could have gone into much more detail, has still been able to give an idea of the richness of Basil's works and of the philological and editorial work devoted to it during the last decades.

[74] See now especially the edition of the *Ad adolesc.* by N. G. Wilson (above n. 5), pp. 73-75.

[75] E. Rouillard, "Recherches sur la tradition manuscrite des *Homélies diverses* de saint Basile," *RM* 48 (1958) 81-98; idem, "La tradition manuscrite des *Homélies diverses* de saint Basile," *SP* 3 (1961) 116-123; idem, "Peut-on retrouver le texte authentique de la prédication de saint Basile?," *SP* 7 (1966) 90-101.

4

Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου*, A Critical Analysis

Milton V. Anastos*
University of California, Los Angeles

A. Book 1 (On God the Father)[1]

Basil's treatise against Eunomius, usually cited as *C. Eun.* 1-3, is one of his most important works.[2] But it has never been published in a critical

It is a pleasure to express my gratitude to the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and the Congregation of Priests of St. Basil for the invitation to participate in their Symposium in honor of the sixteenth centenary of the death of St. Basil and for their generous hospitality, supplemented by many fruitful talks with the distinguished scholars who are associated with the Institute and with other members of the Symposium. I am indebted also to my colleague, Professor Gerhart B. Ladner, for his gracious suggestion that I take part in the Symposium and to Professors Reginald O'Donnell of the Institute and Arthur Gibson for their friendly co-operation. Special mention should be made of Dr. Paul J. Fedwick, the editor of this volume, for his many important contributions to Basilian studies.

I am most grateful for the indispensable assistance of Messrs. Nicholas Goodhue and Stephen Reinert, who not only were responsible for preparing the typescript of this paper under particularly trying conditions but also made many valuable suggestions of a substantive nature which have materially contributed to whatever merit it may have.

I am deeply obliged also to the University of California, Los Angeles, especially to Chancellor Charles E. Young for granting me adequate space in which to continue my work, to Vice Chancellor Harold W. Horowitz, Assistant Chancellor for Planning Adrian H. Harris, Assistant Executive Vice Chancellor Tallman H. Trask, and Senior Administrative Analyst Donald E. Buck for making the necessary arrangements, to Vice Chancellor Charles Z. Wilson (who has for many years contributed generously to the support of my researches), to Dr. Allen Yarnell, and to the Committee on Research of the Los Angeles Branch of the Academic Senate, which through the years has provided me with the research assistants without whom I could have made little progress with my projects.

[1] See glossary of Greek terms at the end of the article.

[2] On the text of the *C. Eun.* 1-3 as a whole, see CPG 2837. In my references to the *C.*

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 67-136.

edition or translated into any modern language. Nor has it been widely discussed or criticized. For these reasons, I hope that the following summary and critique will prove useful. A fuller presentation of the subject, with a suitable introduction, carefully annotated translation, and detailed examination of Basil's sources would make a substantial volume and should be undertaken soon. In this essay, however, I limit myself to

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Eun. 1-3 (PG 29: 497-670), I give the number of the book and the paragraph followed in parentheses by the number of the column in PG 29. Thus Book three, chapter five, in PG 29: 600A is referred to as 3.5 (600A). I refer to Eunomius' *Apologia* (PG 30) similarly, e.g., 1 (812C-813C), which is to be understood as PG 30: 812C-813C. In this essay, I confine myself to the first three books of the *Contra Eunomium*, since it is now generally agreed, as Walter M. Hayes has fully demonstrated, that the fourth and fifth books were probably written by Didymus the Blind, but certainly not by Basil: *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.) Basil's Adversus Eunomium, Books IV-V* (Leiden 1972). In 1970, Benoît Pruche, "Didyme l'Aveugle est-il bien l'auteur des livres contre Eunome IV et V attribués à S. Basile de Césarée?" *SP* 10 (1970) 151-155, still doubted that Didymus was the real author. Nevertheless, a critical examination of these later books is of great interest, as Elena Cavalcanti has shown: "'Excerpta' e temi sullo Spirito Santo in Ps.-Basilio 'Adv. Eunomium,' IV-V," in *Forma Futuri, Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin 1975) 1003-1021. Throughout this essay I have enclosed within square brackets words or phrases I have added to clarify the meaning of the texts quoted or paraphrased. On Basil in general the best guide is P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto 1979), who provides an excellent bibliography out of the vast store of information on Basil which he has accumulated; idem, "The Citations of Basil of Caesarea in the Florilegium of the Pseudo-Antony Melissa," *OrChrP* 45 (1979) 32-44; idem, "A Commentary of Gregory of Nyssa on the 38th Letter of Basil of Caesarea," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 31-51. Among others, note especially J. Verhees, "Mittelbarkeit Gottes in der Dynamik von Sein und Wirken nach der Trinitätstheologie des Basilius des Grossen," *OstkiSt* 27 (1978) 3-24; M. Aghiorgoussis, "Image as 'sign' (semeion) of God: Knowledge of God through the Image according to Saint Basil," *GOTR* 21 (1976) 19-54; idem, "Applications of the Theme 'Eikon Theou' (Image of God) according to St. Basil the Great," ibid., 265-288; K. G. Bonis (Μπόνης), *Βασίλειος Καισαρείας ὁ Μέγας (329/30-1.1.379), Βίος καὶ ἔργα, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλία* (Athens 1975); D. G. Tsamis, *'Η πρωτολογία τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου* (Thessaloniki 1970); U. W. Knorr, "Basilius der Grosse, sein Beitrag zur christlichen Durchdringung Kleinasiens" (Tübingen 1968); T. Špidlík, *La sophiologie de s. Basile* (Rome 1961). I have quoted Basil's letters from the Budé edition by Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile, Lettres*, 1-3 (Paris 1957-1966); see also idem, *Un témoin du IVᵉ siècle oriental, saint Basile et son temps d'après sa correspondance* (Paris 1973). Always indispensable are B. Altaner and A. Stuiber, *Patrologie; Leben, Schriften und Lehre der Kirchenväter* (Freiburg i.Br. 1978), and J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3: *The Golden Age of Greek Patristic Literature* (Utrecht 1960). In view of the many biblical texts cited by Basil, the following collections of texts illustrating the exegesis of the Bible by the Fathers and later Byzantine theologians are of some interest: J. Reuss, *Matthäus- Markus- und Johannes-Katenen* (Münster 1941); idem, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1957); idem, *Johannes-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1966); K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Münster 1933); cf. idem, *Die Pauluskatenen* (Rome 1926); and the materials assembled by J. A. Cramer, *Catenae Graecorum Patrum in Novum Testamentum*, 7 vols. (Oxford 1840-1843).

analyzing Basil's argument as clearly and briefly as I can, and give only a few references to his sources. In the book I hope someone will write on the *C. Eun.* 1-3 special attention should be devoted to a comparison with the relevant polemical writings of Gregory of Nyssa, to which I refer occasionally below, without attempting to deal with more than a very few of the many topics which should be discussed.

The major problem for the theologians of the Early Church was to explain how the three Persons of the Trinity could be regarded as one God, not three. The solution of the dilemma was found in the orthodox definition of the divine *ousia* with its three *hypostases*, and it was with this phase of the question that Basil concerned himself in the *C. Eun.* 1-3 as we shall see.[3]

In the fourth century, the arch heretic was Arius, the principal *fons et origo malorum*, because his insistence that Jesus Christ was created and not consubstantial with God the Father destroyed the unity of the Trinity, made of Christ a creature, and, as such, the orthodox argued, nothing more than a pagan idol. Worst of all, perhaps, by undermining the consubstantiality of the Trinity, the Arians in effect eliminated monotheism and fell back into pagan polytheism.[4] It was undoubtedly for this reason that they were attacked by all seven of the oecumenical councils and by leading Byzantine theologians in every age down to the fifteenth century. Even in the twelfth century, there was so much agitation in favor of the Arian interpretation of John 14.28 ("The Father is greater than I") that the Emperor Manuel I convoked a council in 1166 to deal with this question and to decide under his leadership, as Athanasius and the great theologians of the fourth century had maintained, that this text had reference to Christ's human nature, not to his divinity.[5]

[3] See nn. 84, 135 and 136 below.

[4] For the enormous literature on Arius and Arianism see M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Rome 1975); idem, *Studi sull'arianesimo* (Rome 1965); E. Boularand, *L'hérésie d'Arius et la "foi" de Nicée* (Paris 1972). For this particular point, see Athanasius, *C. Arianos* 3.15-16, PG 26: 353A-356B.

[5] See the text admirably edited (with valuable commentary) by C. Mango, "The Conciliar Edict of 1166," *DOP* 17 (1963) 315-330 (with seven plates). Cf. S. G. Mercati, "Sull'editto di Manuele I Comneno del 1166 inciso nel tempio di Santa Sofia," *RPAA* 3 (1925) 206-211, which I cite both for its own sake and in *pia memoria* of a generous and valued friend. (Parenthetically I note for the record, and with the deepest regret, that despite my devotion to Mercati's memory and my immediate subscription, with full payment, to this collection of papers, the publishers ineptly omitted my name from the list of *adesioni* at the end of the second volume.) For a summary of the theological issues involved and how the Emperor Manuel resolved them, see F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, 2.2 (Paris 1912) 644-652.

The most original and incisive of the followers of Arius was Eunomius,[6] the leader of the Anomoean party. After studying in Alexandria under Aetius,[7] he was ordained a deacon by the Arian bishop Eudoxius at Antioch in 358, and then was bishop of Cyzicus briefly ca. 360. It was apparently at about the time he entered Cyzicus as bishop that he wrote his *Apologia*, a copy of which Basil finally secured ca. 364[8] after many frustrations and promptly attacked in his *C. Eun.* 1-3. Eunomius' reply thereto (now known as the *Apologia Apologiae*) was not made public, Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa says, until after Basil's death (i.e., not until after 1 January 379), although according to the tradition recorded by the Eunomian historian, Philostorgius (fl. 430), it appeared before this date and upset Basil so grievously that he dropped dead as soon as he got hold of the first book (or, according to another version of the same tale, the first two books).[9]

[6] On Eunomius see especially: E. Cavalcanti, *Studi eunomiani* (Rome 1976), with excellent bibliography; eadem, "Y a-t-il des problèmes eunomiens dans la pensée trinitaire de Synésius?" *SP* 13 (1975) 138-144; L. Abramowski, "Eunomius," *RAC* 6 (1966) 936-947; H. Ch. Brennecke, "Stellenkonkordanz zum Artikel 'Eunomios' (*RAC* 6 [1966] 936-947)," *JAC* 18 (1975) 202-205; L. R. Wickham, "The Date of Eunomius' Apology: a Reconsideration," *JThS* 20 (1969) 231-240; W. J. W. Koster, "De Arii et Eunomii Sotadeis," *Mnemosyne* 16 (1963) 135-141; A. Benito y Durán, "El nominalismo arriano y la filosofía cristiana: Eunomio y San Basilio," *Augustinus* 5 (1960) 207-226; L. Bombay, "La portée d'argumentation scripturaire dans les écrits d'Eunome et l'*Adversus Eunomium*" (Diss. Rome: Gregorianum, 1959), which I have failed to obtain despite many efforts; J. Daniélou, "Eunome l'arien et l'exégèse néo-platonicienne du Cratyle," *REG* 69 (1956) 412-432; E. Vandenbussche, "La part de la dialectique dans la théologie d'Eunomius, 'le technologue'," *RHE* 40 (1944-1945) 47-72; F. Diekamp, "Literargeschichtliches zur Eunomianischen Kontroverse," *BZ* 18 (1909) 1-13, cf. 190-194 (review of Martin Albertz cited below); idem, "Ein angeblicher Brief des heiligen Basilius gegen Eunomius," *ThQ* 77 (1895) 277-285; M. Albertz, *Untersuchungen über die Schriften des Eunomius* (Wittenberg 1908). Cf. also in general the two anomoean homilies published by J. Liébaert, *Deux homélies anoméennes pour l'octave de Pâques* (Paris 1969), and M. Meslin, *Les Ariens d'Occident, 335-430* (Paris 1967).

[7] On Aetius, see Altaner-Stuiber, *Patrologie*, pp. 310, 613; L. R. Wickham, "The *Syntagmation* of Aetius, the Anomoean," *JThS* 19 (1968) 532-569; G. Bardy, "L'héritage littéraire d'Aétius," *RHE* 24 (1928) 809-827; V. Grumel, "Les textes monothélites d'Aétius," *EO* 28 (1929) 159-166; V. Ermoni, "Aétius," *DHGE* 1 (1912) 667-668. See also Wickham, cited in note 18 below, and Gregory's account of Aetius' life, *C. Eun.* 1.36-58, Jaeger, 1: 34.18-42.15 (PG 45: 260C-268A).

[8] On the date, I follow Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 5, 140, against earlier authorities, who usually put the *C. Eun.* ca. 369.

[9] Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* 8.12, GCS 21: 114.1-5.22-26 (PG 65: 565A-B); Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.1, Jaeger, 1: 22-23 (PG 45: 248A) and *passim*; for the date of Basil's death, see G. Rauschen, *Jahrbücher der christlichen Kirche unter dem Kaiser Theodosius dem Grossen* (Freiburg i.Br. 1897) pp. 476-477.

The refutation of Eunomius' treatise was then undertaken by Gregory of Nyssa, from whose hand we have a series of twelve books against Eunomius, which were written at various times. The first of these was directed ca. 380 against the first book of Eunomius' above-mentioned *Apologia apologiae*. The second is a rebuttal of the second book of the same *Apologia apologiae* and was until recently regarded as the second part of book twelve. In books 3-12a (ca. 381-383), Gregory refuted a new attack by Eunomius on Basil. Then, finally, he wrote a separate work attacking the *ἔκθεσις πίστεως* Eunomius had presented to the Emperor Theodosius I ca. 383.[10]

In what follows, I will present the argument in the form in which it appears in the *C. Eun.* 1-3 usually without referring to the text of the *Apology* of Eunomius, which is to be found in some manuscripts as a separate work, independent of, and unconnected with, Basil's reply thereto.

Before we go on to consider Eunomius' special brand of Arianism, it may be instructive to review briefly the leading Arian principles, which, as we shall find, Eunomius also espoused, although he tried to formulate them with greater subtlety than his predecessors and in a less vulnerable form. Despite all the argumentation and detail on both sides, Arianism can be stated simply in the words of the anathemas of the Creed of 325:

> As for those who say that there was a when when he was not, and that before he was begotten he was not, and that he was created out of nothing, or that the Son of God was of a different *hypostasis* or *ousia* or created or mutable or changeable — these the apostolic and catholic Church anathematizes."[11]

[10] For details, see Werner Jaeger's preface to his edition, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*, 2: *Contra Eunomium* (Leiden 1960), summarized by Altaner and Stuiber, *Patrologie*, p. 304; and Quasten, *Patrology*, 3: 257-258.

[11] Of the innumerable editions, perhaps the most convenient is H. Denzinger's *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, 33d edition by A. Schönmetzer (Freiburg/Rome/New York 1965), No. 126, p. 53: *τοὺς δὲ λέγοντας "ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν" καὶ "πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν" καὶ ὅτι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων ἐγένετο, ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὑποστάσεως ἢ οὐσίας φάσκοντας εἶναι ἢ κτιστὸν ἢ τρεπτὸν ἢ ἀλλοιωτὸν τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ, τούτους ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀποστολικὴ καὶ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία*. The *Enchiridion* unaccountably omits *τούτους* without explanation, although it appears in the 26th edition (1947), for example, No. 54, p. 30, which, however, lacks any mention of *κτιστόν*. I reproduce here the critical text edited by E. Schwartz, *ACO* 1.1.7: 65.24-26. For discussion see the works cited in note 4 above, and G. L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli, edizione critica* (Rome 1967) pp. 236-241, who cites the earlier literature. Many authorities omit *ἢ κτιστόν*. On this point, see my note in "The Immutability of Christ and Justinian's Condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia," *DOP* 6 (1951) 143, note 68, reprinted in my *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History*, 7 (London 1979). Basil quotes the anathemas along with the Creed of 325 but without *ἢ κτιστόν*: *EEust.* [125] 2, Courtonne 2: 32 f.

Eunomius was the subtlest and profoundest theologian who ever attempted to defend the Arian cause. But, in the end, wily and ingenious as he indubitably was, he did not succeed in making Arianism acceptable. Nevertheless, the orthodox realized that he was a most formidable opponent. This can be seen not only in Basil's *C. Eun.* 1-3 and in the much more detailed polemics by his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, but also in the number and variety of other treatises on the same subject. For example, as Photius reports in his *Bibliothēkē*, Theodore of Mopsuestia (the "spiritual" father of Nestorianism [d. 428]), wrote twenty-five books against Eunomius, whom he is said to have refuted practically word for word, and to have proved to have been not only very ignorant of pagan learning, but even less well versed in Christian theology. Photius characterizes Theodore's treatise as not altogether brilliant (οὐ πάνυ λαμπρός) but very compact (λίαν πυκνός) and rich in biblical citations. A shorter work on the same subject by a certain Sophronius, who is not further identified but presumably was not the dyothelite Patriarch of Jerusalem (634-638), is pronounced to have been clearer and more concise than that of Theodore. In Photius' opinion Sophronius confined himself to essentials and wrote in a pleasing aphoristic style that was adorned by logic.[12]

Photius does not refer to Apollinaris' attack on Eunomius, which is no longer extant, but he does mention two *pragmateiai* by Gregory of Nyssa against Eunomius, both of which he praises for brilliance and beauty of composition. In the second of these, he says, Gregory assailed Eunomius on logical grounds and made a shambles of his system. He describes all four of these treatises (those by Theodore, Sophronius, and the two by Gregory) as written in defense of Basil.[13] In codex 137, he deals with a book by Eunomius, presumably the *Apologia* we are about to examine, which in his judgment Basil completely demolished.[14] According to Photius, Eunomius spent several Olympiads writing an answer to Basil, and then hid it in fear that Basil might come upon it and tear it to pieces by argument. This makes an interesting orthodox contrast to Philostorgius' comments on the same set of facts.[15] But eventually, it was discovered by

[12] Photius, *Bibliothēkē*, codd. 4-5, Henry, 1: 7-8. See E. Bihain, "Le 'contre Eunome' de Théodore de Mopsueste, source d'un passage de Sozomène et d'un passage de Théodoret concernant Cyrille de Jérusalem," *Mu* 75 (1962) 331-355; L. Abramowski, "Ein unbekanntes Zitat aus Contra Eunomium des Theodor von Mopsuestia," *Mu* 71 (1958) 97-104.

[13] Codd. 6-7, Henry 1: 8-9. On Apollinaris' writings against Eunomius we have only the merest references: see Altaner and Stuiber, *Patrologie*, p. 314; Quasten, *Patrology*, 3: 308.

[14] Cod. 137, Henry, 2: 105-106.

[15] Above n. 9.

the three theologians mentioned above, who, in Photius' rather pungent language, laid violent hands upon it and returned it as a malodorous corpse to its author. Photius, who could not abide heretics, deemed Eunomius to be difficult to understand, a poor stylist, and unsuccessful in the use of logic, despite his pretentions in this field.[16]

What Eunomius set out to do was to present Arian doctrine in a new and more convincing form. He must have hoped that he would be more successful than his predecessors had been in winning acceptance for his views, although he seems to have been reluctant to expose them to scrutiny by orthodox theologians, who apparently had had some difficulty in getting access to his works, if Photius' remarks on this subject can be depended upon.[17] The most astute of the multitude of ingenious arguments on which Eunomius relied was his insistence that *agennēsia* was God's *ousia*. He apparently first learned this term from his teacher, Aetius.[18] But he made exceedingly effective use of it. Like the earlier Arians, he took *agennētos* and *agenētos* as synonyms (although the orthodox contrasted tham as signifying "unbegotten" and "uncreated," respectively), so that in his vocabulary there was little or no difference between them, since in his judgment "unbegotten" was just about the same as "uncreated." Nor did he distinguish, as the orthodox did,[19]

[16] Cod. 138, Henry 2: 106-108. Photius also mentions a collection of about 40 letters, which are otherwise unknown.

[17] Cod. 138.

[18] The idea that God's *ousia* was *agennēsia* is clearly to be found in Aetius' *Syntagmation* 12 (*εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγέννητον τὴν ὑπόστασιν τοῦ θεοῦ παρίστησιν*, where *ὑπόστασιν* is a synonym for *οὐσίαν*), 16 (*εἰ τὸ ἀγέννητον οὐσίας ἐστὶ δηλωτικόν*), 30 (very much like 16). But Aetius hardly ever uses the word *agenēsia* itself (cf. ibid., 32 [bis]). See Wickham's edition (note 7 above), pp. 541, 542, 543-544, with translation and notes (pp. 546, 548, 557-558, 559-560, 566, 567), and idem, "Aetius and the Doctrine of Divine Ingeneracy," *SP* 11 (1972) 259-263.

[19] The most complete analysis of patristic theology on the difference between these two concepts is by P. Stiegele, *Der Agennesiebegriff in der griechischen Theologie des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i.Br. 1913). For later contributions of great interest, see G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London 1936, reissued in 1956), pp. 28-54, 136-141, 150-156, who gives an admirable survey, marred only by his failure to refer to the bibliography of the subject; idem, "*Ἀγέν[ν]ητος* and *γεν[ν]ητός*, and Kindred Words in Eusebius and the Early Arians," *JThS* 24 (1922-1923) 486-496; idem, "*Ἀγέν[ν]ητος* and Cognate Words in Athanasius," *JThS* 34 (1934) 258-265; J. Lebreton, "*Ἀγέννητος* dans la tradition philosophique et dans la littérature chrétienne du IIe siècle," *RSR* 26 (1926) 431-443, who cites the essential literature. Among the most important texts to be noted are Athanasius, *De decr.* 28-30, Opitz, 2.1: 24.16-27.8, with notes on parallel passages, etc. (PG 25: 468B-473A); idem, *C.Ar* 1.56-59; 2.3-5, 20, 57-61, 71; 3.60, PG 26: 129A-137B, 152B-157B, 188C-189C, 268B-277C, 297A-300A, 488C-449C; idem, *De syn.* 46-48, 51, Opitz, 2.1: 271.13-273.10, 274.25-275.26, with notes, PG 26: 776A-780B, 784A-785B. Cf. also *PGL*, see the words *ἀγένητος*, *ἀγέννητος*, *γενητός*, *γέννημα*, *γεννητός*. Cyril of Alexandria also deals with this problem in his *Thesaurus*, PG 75: 24 ff., at 29A-B. At first, the Fathers were

between *gennētos* (begotten) and *genētos* (created), both of which he understood as meaning "created." He did not attempt to define these terms but made the definition he had in mind clear by his use of the word *agennēsia*. For, as both Basil and Gregory of Nyssa pointed out, by insisting that the Father's *ousia* was *agennēsia*, he thought he could prove not only that the Son, as begotten, differed from the Father in *ousia* and that the Father was prior to the Son, but also that the latter was created out of nothing.

Moreover, despite his frequent reference to God as having begotten Jesus, and to Jesus as *gennēma* or *gennētos*, he denied that the Father could have had anything to do with begetting, and, by exploiting the concept of *agennēsia* to the full, he was able to derive from it all the familiar Arian propositions. He differed from Arius, however, and the earlier Arians in two important respects. In the first place, he rejected the adoptionism of some Arians according to which the Son attained his high rank by merit, and assigned him a place just below God in the heavenly scheme — created, but not in time.[20] Secondly, because his contention that *agennēsia* was the *ousia* of God required him to do so, he abjured the Arian denial that it was possible to know the *ousia* of God.[21]

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inconsistent in their spelling and use of these terms. But is is clear that, even when they were inaccurate in terminology, the orthodox theologians of the fourth century and later repudiated the Arian argument that God, the unbegotten, alone was uncreated — or, in other words, that ἀγέννητος (unbegotten) was synonymous with ἀγένητος (uncreated) — and always insisted that Christ, though γεννητός (begotten), was also ἀγένητος (uncreated). Note that Leonard Prestige, who is designated as the author of the articles in the *JThS* cited above, is identical with G. L. Prestige (*sic*), who wrote *God in Patristic Thought*, as he obliquely confesses on p. 151.

[20] See n. 97 below.

[21] On Arius' adoptionism, see Boularand, *L'hérésie d'Arius*, 1: 168-174. Simonetti, however, *La crisi ariana*, p. 54, says that "il subordinazionismo radicale di Ario si colloca perfettamente agli antipodi dell'adozionismo monarchiano di Paolo" [of Samosata]. But, it must be said, Athanasius held a contrary opinion and denounces the Arians for what we should call adoptionist views (*C. Arianos* 1.37-44, PG 26: 88B-104C, and *passim*; *De sent. Dion*. 23, PG 25: 513A), which he ascribes to Paul of Samosata (*C. Ar.* 1.38; 3.26, 51, PG 26: 89D, 377A, 429B). For example, he attacks Arius and his followers for taking Philippians 2.9-10 ("Wherefore God has also highly exalted him and given him a name which is above every name," etc.) and other similar passages to mean that if Christ was exalted, received grace, and was anointed, etc. (as these texts stated), he was being rewarded for his conduct (1.37, PG 26: 88C: *μισθὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως ἔλαβε*: for this meaning of *προαίρεσις* see *GEL* s.v., 6) and, accordingly, was neither God nor the eternal Son of God. Athanasius refused to accept this exegesis because, he said, if the Arians were justified in drawing this conclusion, and if Christ acquired what he had [i.e., being Son of God, etc.] because of his virtue and moral improvement (*ἐξ ἀρετῆς ... καὶ βελτιώσεως ταῦτα ἐσχηκώς ... εἴ γε τοῦτο τῶν ἔργων ἔπαθλον ἔσχε καὶ προκοπῆς*, PG 29: 89A, 89B), he could not have been truly God or Son or of the *ousia* of the Father, as of course he was, but only a man by nature and

Basil begins by saying that, if people would only abstain from tampering with the truth of the Gospel and be satisfied with the tradition of the Apostles and the simplicity of the faith, it would not be necessary for him to break his cherished silence. But since the enemy of the truth, as he calls Eunomius, not only denied the divinity of the *Monogenēs* (the "Only-Begotten"), but also brought confusion to the uncomplicated teaching of the Holy Spirit by drawing upon the vain wisdom of the pagans and misled the simple folk with specious arguments, it became necessary for him, Basil says, to rally behind the truth and refute falsehood, though he claims he was inexperienced in this kind of writing.

As far as he knew, he says, Aetius of Syria was the first to maintain that the Son was unlike God the Father in essence.[22] He was then followed by

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nothing more. This, Athanasius objects, is not the doctrine of the Church but that of [Paul of] Samosata (PG 29: 89C-D), for Christ was not a man who became God but God who became man (*C. Ar.* 1.39, PG 26: 92C-93A). The Biblical texts cited by the Arians, Athanasius and the Nicene theologians maintained, had reference not to Christ's *ousia*, which was identical with that of the Father, but to his human nature (*C. Ar.* 1.41, PG 26: 96C: *καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον νῦν, ὑπερύψωσεν, οὐ τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Λόγου ὑψουμένην σημαίνει · ἦν γάρ ἀεὶ καὶ ἔστιν ἴσα Θεῷ · ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀνθρωπότητός ἐστιν ἡ ὕψωσις. οὐ πρὶν γοῦν εἴρηται ταῦτα, εἰ μὴ ὅτε γέγονε σάρξ ὁ Λόγος, ἵνα γένηται φανερὸν ὅτι τὸ ἐταπείνωσε* [i.e., as in Philippians 2.8] *καὶ τὸ ὑπερύψωσεν* [as in Philippians 2.9] *ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου λέγεται...*). By similar reasoning Athanasius refutes the Arian thesis that Luke 2.52 ("And Jesus increased in wisdom and stature and in favor with God and man") and similar Biblical authorities prove that Jesus Christ was not truly God's pre-existent Son, who was consubstantial with the Father: *C. Ar.* 3.26, 51-53, 55 and *passim*, PG 26: 377A-380B, 429B-436B, 437B-440B. So far as I can see, Simonetti makes no attempt to deal with the Nicene analysis of the Arian adoptionist arguments in his valuable book, which is by far the fullest and most thorough treatment of Arianism. On the Arian doctrine of the unknowability of God, see Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 1.6, PG 26: 24A: ... *καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ ὁ Πατὴρ ἀόρατος ὑπάρχει, καὶ οὔτε ὁρᾶν, οὔτε γινώσκειν τελείως καὶ ἀκριβῶς δύναται ὁ Λόγος τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Πατέρα...*; *De syn.* 15, PG 26: 708B: ... *τῷ Υἱῷ ὁ Θεὸς ἄρρητος ὑπάρχει ... ὥστε οὐδὲν τῶν λεγομένων κατά τε κατάληψιν συνίει ἐξειπεῖν ὁ Υἱός. ἀδύνατα γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Πατέρα τε ἐξιχνιάσαι ὅς ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ, αὐτὸς γὰρ ὁ Υἱὸς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ οὐσίαν οὐκ οἶδεν. τίς γοῦν λόγος συγχωρεῖ τὸν ἐκ Πατρὸς ὄντα αὐτὸν τὸν γεννήσαντα γνῶναι ἐν καταλήψει ; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι τὸ ἀρχὴν ἔχον τὸν ἄναρχον, ὡς ἔστιν, ἐμπερινοῆσαι ἢ ἐμπεριδράξασθαι οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν.* On the historical origins of the concept of the unknowability of God, see H. A. Wolfson, "The Knowability and Describability of God in Plato and Aristotle," *HarvClassPhil* 56-57 (1947) 233-249; idem, *Philo, Foundations of Religious Philosophy in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*, 2 (Cambridge, Mass. 1947) 94-164. See also F. Graffin – A. M. Malingrey, "La tradition syriaque des homélies de Jean Chrysostome sur l'incompréhensibilité de Dieu," in *Epektasis* (Paris 1972) pp. 603-609.

[22] In his *Hist. eccl.* 3.10.7, Hussey, 1: 415.5-6 (PG 67: 408A), Socrates quotes a letter from Bishop Sophronius of Pompeiopolis in Paphlagonia, who specifically states that Aetius was the first to formulate this doctrine: *Ἀέτιος δὲ ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ παραχαράξας εἰσήγαγε τὸ κατ' οὐσίαν ἀνόμοιον.* Aetius is also so described by Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 3.19.7, 4.12.1.4, 5.14.3, 6.26.12, GCS 50: 133.22-27, 154.15-16, 154.21-155.1, 213.9-11, 274.11-14 (PG 67: 1097B-C, 1141A-C, 1255C, 1365B). See also Epiphanius, *Panarion* 56 (76).2.5.9; 3.4 (on Aetius), GCS 37: 342.13-14, 27-28; 343.20-21 (PG 42: 517D, 520D, 525A):

Eunomius, who carried this impiety to its ultimate conclusion and aspired to be known as the initiator and chief of the entire heresy.[23]

Basil's first specific criticism is that Eunomius had pretended he was writing an *Apologia* so as to be able to claim that he had formulated his doctrine in order to defend himself against attack, and had not set out on his own initiative to win fame for introducing novel ideas. In this way, Eunomius had thought, he could avoid censure as an innovator and at the same time curry favor with his listeners, since it is natural for people to be attracted to the cause of those who are under attack. By this device he hoped to blame his critics for what he himself had written.[24] Furthermore, Basil quotes Eunomius as adding, accusations were made by the malicious and the quarrelsome, but it was men of discretion who were deeply concerned over the welfare of the multitudes and who refuted false charges.[25] There was no truth in this contention, Basil replies, which was a mere pretext intended by Eunomius to protect himself from suspicion as one responsible for innovations. Nor had Eunomius even been able to name any of these accusers, as he surely would have done, had there been any.[26]

Then, in the next passage reproduced by Basil, Eunomius urges that truth should not be distinguished from falsehood by majority vote, as if the truth lay with the greater number. Nor, says he, should we be confused by the attitude of men of rank or close our ears to men of later times because we have already been convinced by their predecessors. If we were to heed this advice, Basil rejoins, we should be preferring Eunomius' sophistries and impieties to the entire Christian tradition from the time of the Gospels. Scorning Eunomius' boast that he would set forth the "naked truth," cost what it might, Basil denounces him as arrogant and the "father of falsehood."[27]

Then, in introducing the creed quoted by Eunomius (to be considered below), Basil says that the latter submitted it for two reasons, as Arius had

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ἐτόλμησε γὰρ εἰπεῖν, ἀνόμοιον τὸν υἱὸν τῷ πατρὶ ὑπάρχειν, καὶ οὐ ταὐτὸν εἶναι τῇ θεότητι πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα, κτλ. Cf. also the texts cited by Bardy, "L'héritage," pp. 823-826.

[23] 1.1 (500C-501A).

[24] 1.2 (501B-D). Wickham, "The Date," argues that Eunomius' *Apologia* was not a mere literary device, as Basil and Gregory of Nyssa claimed, but was actually presented by Eunomius, presumably at the Council of Constantinople of 360. S. Giet, "Saint Basile et le Concile de Constantinople de 360," *JThS* 6 (1955) 94-99, at 95, 96-97, would presumably not disagree with this conclusion.

[25] 1.2 (504A).

[26] 1.2 (504A-505B).

[27] 1.3 (505B-508).

once done with the same innocuous text which, formulated by the ancient Fathers, was couched in simple, untechnical language and avoided controversial matters. First, Arius [and Eunomius] hoped in this way to avoid criticism as innovators since they could claim that they had given their approval to the doctrine of the Fathers. Secondly, they both knew that they would have an opportunity to slip in some notion of their own while pretending to expound the teaching of the Fathers, and thus not be detected in impiety. But, Basil adds, if they were caught, they would seem to be guiltless, since they were allegedly only interpreting the theology of the Fathers and not making any contributions of their own.[28]

Eunomius states his creed in a form which no one could criticize:

> We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, by whom are all things, and in one only begotten Son of God, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and in one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete.

This, he says, is an adequate summary of Christian dogma for all who wish to be or to appear to be Christians;[29] and so at first it would appear. But, Basil explains, this simple credo was used as a bait to catch the unwary who would not realize what Eunomius really intended. For, having disarmed criticism in this way, Eunomius then goes on to explain that the one God whom the Fathers proclaimed was created neither by himself nor by anyone else,[30] since, he says, that which creates exists before that which is created, and the created is subsequent to that which creates. No one can be before or after himself. Nor can there be anything prior to God: for, if there were, it then would hold the place of God.[31]

To this pseudo-Aristotelian language, Basil objects that, although Eunomius begins by maintaining that it was obvious that God was unbegotten, he now sets forth to prove this statement, which requires no proof. He is like a man who at high noon would prove to men endowed with good vision that the sun is the brightest star in the heavens. For no pagan or Christian would doubt the ingenerateness of the unbegotten. There is no need for the syllogisms of Aristotle or Chrysippus to prove that the unbegotten is not begotten, or that he was created neither by

[28] 1.3-4 (508C-509C).

[29] 1.4 (512A): *πιστεύομεν εἰς ἕνα Θεὸν Πατέρα παντοκράτορα, ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς ἕνα μονογενῆ Υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ, Θεὸν Λόγον, τὸν Κύριον ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα· καὶ εἰς ἓν Πνεῦμα ἅγιον, τὸ παράκλητον.* See n. 190 below.

[30] 1.5 (513D): *μήτε παρ' ἑαυτοῦ μήτε παρ' ἑτέρου γενόμενος.*

[31] 1.5 (513D-516A): NB: *τὸ ποιοῦν τοῦ γινομένου προϋπάρχειν, καὶ τὸ ποιούμενον τοῦ ποιοῦντος εἶναι δεύτερον.*

himself nor by another, and that he is neither older nor younger than himself.[32]

His real purpose in laboring the obvious in this way, however, Basil says, is to show himself to be an agile thinker and also, after having established these propositons, to be able to argue that, since "the maker exists before what is made," the Son came into being subsequent to the Father, and hence that the Son was begotten out of nothing.[33] Furthermore, Basil adds, although he agrees that the term *agennētos* for the Father is perfectly in accord with his own opinion, he believes it should be avoided because it does not occur in the Bible. For this reason he prefers to use the term Father, both because it means the same as *agennētos* and because it adds the idea of his relationship to the Son. For he who truly is the sole Father has no source of origin (*ἐξ οὐδενός ἐστι ἑτέρου*), and that which has no source of origin is unbegotten. Therefore God should be designated as Father, not as the unbegotten, unless we are to amend Matthew 28.19, "Go forth and baptize in the name of the Father," etc., to read "Go forth and baptize in the name of the unbegotten."[34]

Continuing his argument that nothing could exist before God, Eunomius argues that, if neither he himself nor anything else is anterior to him, *ἀκολουθεῖ τούτῳ τὸ ἀγέννητον*. These last four words can be taken to mean simply: "the attribute of being unbegotten [or "ingenerateness"] follows him [God]." But this literal rendition is not suitable here, as the context shows. For Eunomius had been insisting to Basil's great discomfiture that God was not made by himself or by anyone else, primarily so as to provide a basis for the major principle of his theological system. This was, as he formulates it, "Since it has been established that neither he himself [i.e., God] nor anything else existed before him, his ingenerateness is then the logical consequence"[35] [of this lack of sources for his being]. What he meant was that, since there was nothing before God, his *ousia* was *agennesia*. In other words, God's *agennēsia* follows inevitably from his being *anarchos* (which both the orthodox and the

[32] 1.5 (516B-C): *ὁ ἀγέννητος οὐ γεγέννηται, οὔτε αὐτὸς ὑφ᾽ ἑαυτοῦ, οὔτε ὑφ᾽ ἑτέρου, καὶ οὔτε πρεσβύτερος, οὔτε νεώτερος αὐτός ἐστιν ἑαυτοῦ.*

[33] 1.5 (516 C-D); NB: *τὸ ἐκ μὴ ὄντων τὸν Υἱὸν γεγεννῆσθαι.*

[34] 1.5 (516D-517A). Cf. Gregory of Nyssa *C. Eun.* 1.535-618, Jaeger, 1 : 181.12-204.21 (PG 45: 416D-441B).

[35] 1.5 (517B). Eunomius, *Apologia* 7 (PG 30: 841C): *οὐκοῦν εἰ μήτε αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, μηθ᾽ ἕτερόν τι αὐτοῦ προϋπάρχειν δέδεικται, πρὸ δὲ πάντων αὐτός· ἀκολουθεῖ τούτῳ τὸ ἀγέννητον· μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτός ἐστιν οὐσία ἀγέννητος.*

Arians understood as meaning "without beginning or origin"). That is, God was *anarchos*; ergo, he was unbegotten and his *ousia* was *agennēsia*.

But Basil, as well as Gregory in defense of his brother, takes *ἀκολουθεῖ τούτῳ τὸ ἀγέννητον* literally as signifying that "ingenerateness follows" God in a physical way or at least externally, from outside his *ousia*. Accordingly, Basil argues, "If ingenerateness follows God, it indubitably comes to him from outside. But what is external to God is not his *ousia*."[36] That is, they maintain, Eunomius has fallen into a contradiction by insisting that ingenerateness is God's *ousia*, since what follows God was inevitably external to God, and as such, could not be his *ousia*. For that which follows is universally recognized to be different from that which is followed. Realizing this difficulty, Basil says, Eunomius sought to eliminate it by adding after *ἀκολουθεῖ τούτῳ τὸ ἀγέννητον* the words *μᾶλλον δὲ αὐτό ἐστιν οὐσία ἀγέννητος* ("Rather, ingenerateness is his actual *ousia*"), in order, Basil believed, to fortify in this way his contention that ingenerateness was God's *ousia*, which the Son, being begotten, could not share, and that consequently the latter was unlike the father in *ousia*.[37]

Actually, however, as the text translated above[38] proves, Eunomius did not intend the last sentence (*μᾶλλον δὲ*, etc.) to modify or correct what he had already written, but merely to add his conclusion that not only was God *anarchos* and *agennētos*, but also that his very *ousia* was *agennētos*. Hence, I think Basil (and Gregory too) misrepresented what Eunomius had in mind at this point. For it is clear that Eunomius was using the verb *ἀκολουθεῖ* here in a metaphorical sense, as I have just explained. (Actually, to judge from Gregory's reply on this point, Eunomius objected in his *Apologia apologiae* that Basil had failed to understand what he had in mind.)[39]

I doubt that Basil was dishonest in attacking Eunomius in this way. It is more likely that he was merely conforming to the regular Byzantine method of refutation word by word (apparently in the manner of the diatribe by Theodore of Mopsuestia described by Photius).[40] This type of argumentation involved a great deal of captious and pointless criticism, as can be seen, for example, in the iconophile polemic against the

[36] 1.5 (517B-C): *εἰ γὰρ ἀκολουθεῖ τῷ Θεῷ τὸ ἀγέννητον, ἔξωθεν αὐτῷ παρέπεται δηλονότι. τὸ δὲ ἔξωθεν τοῦ Θεοῦ οὐχ οὐσία αὐτοῦ ἐστιν.*

[37] 1.5 (517C-520B). Gregory's analysis of Eunomius, *Apologia* 7, is to be found in *C. Eun.* 1.655-665, Jaeger, 1: 214.21-217.25 (PG 45: 453A-456C).

[38] See n. 35 above.

[39] Gregory, *C. Eun.* 1.652-657, Jaeger, 1: 213.25-215.12 (PG 45: 452C-453B).

[40] Photius, Henry, 1: 7-8.

iconoclastic *horos* of 754 during the Council of 787.[41] On the whole, however, it is fair to add, Basil's analysis of Eunomius' *Apologia* does not often exhibit lapses of this kind.

Having defined God's *ousia* as *agennēsia*, Eunomius goes on to say that, in describing God as *agennētos*, we do this, not just to honor him with a name κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρωπίνην ("by a human conception"), but to offer him what is most urgently due him (ἀναγκαιότατον ὄφλημα) — the confession that he is what he is. For what is said *kat' epinoian* has no existence except in words and their pronouncement, and is bound to perish with the sound itself.[42] Eunomius resorts to this argument, Basil says, in order more easily to assert that *agennēsia* is the *ousia* of God, and hence that the Son is unlike the Father in *ousia*. Accordingly, Basil examines the meaning of *epinoia*. Eunomius is mistaken, he holds, in contending that words cease to exist after they are uttered. For even with fanciful notions and myths of centaurs, and the like, the false ideas remain in the mind.[43]

Many things which seem simple and indivisible can be analyzed only by the exercise of thought (*epinoia*). For example, a body (*sōma*) on first encounter seems to be simple but by careful examination is resolved into its constituent parts, such as color, form, hardness, size, etc. Nevertheless, Eunomius makes no reference to this or any other such matter, Basil says, nor would he admit that names have significance or subsist apart from their vocal expression (ἐκφωνήσει). Actually, however, Basil maintains, the concepts derived by *epinoia* do not vanish with the sound of the words by which they are described but survive in the memory of the person who defined them.[44]

Applying this method of analysis to the New Testament, Basil says that Jesus, in describing God's love for mankind (φιλανθρωπίαν) and the grace bestowed upon men by the incarnation, spoke of himself as the door, the way, the bread, the vine, the shepherd, and light, each of which has a different significance, but all refer to the same subject or person (ὑποκείμενον) and one *ousia*. By designating himself as the light of the world, for example, he indicated the unapproachableness of the glory of the

[41] J. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 13 (Graz 1960) 205-364.

[42] 1.5 (520c): ἡ τοῦ εἶναι ὅ ἐστιν ὁμολογία: literally: "the confession of his being what he is," or better, "the confession that he is what he is." Gregory of Nyssa discusses the problem of *epinoia* in great detail, *C. Eun*. 2.11-66 *passim*, Jaeger, 1: 229.29-245.16 and frequently (PG 45: 913B-932C). Cf. now M. S. Troiano, *VetChr*. 17 (1980) 313-346.

[43] 1.5-6 (521A-C).

[44] 1.6 (521C-524C).

godhead, and the illumination he brought by the splendor of knowledge to those who are purified in the eye of their souls. It would be absurd to say that these ideas expire as soon as they are discussed. Why then is it inappropriate to attain some notion of God by way of human thought, especially concerning God's being unbegotten?[45]

Thus, we speak of God as being *aphthartos* and *agennētos* to express various notions. When we turn backwards and see that God is beyond all beginning, we say that he is *agennētos*. Then, as we look into the future and realize that he is without limit or end, we describe him as *aphthartos*. Both of these terms are the outcome of human contemplation (*τῇ ἐπινοίᾳ θεωρούντων ἡμῶν ἑκάτερα*), and no one would deny that they constitute a confession of what God truly is. Eunomius, however, distinguishes between what is said as a result of human thought and a "confession that God is what he is."[46]

Therefore, holding uncompromisingly to his principle that it was improper to honor God by ideas of human origin, Eunomius insisted that, in fulfillment of an obligation (*ὀφλήματος ἔκτισις*) to God, men should simply confess that *agennēsia* was God's *ousia*. This was the "confession that God is what he is," to which he frequently alludes, in part, perhaps, because this formula seemed to him to resemble the Aristotelian *τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι*. He means by this that he deemed the idea of *agennēsia* to be divine and not derived from human speculation. If then, Basil asks, Eunomius is unwilling to consider any theological problem in intellectual terms, as he says, does he limit this restriction solely to the term *agennēsia*, or is he willing that it should apply to other attributes of God as well? If he is willing to do so, Basil says, he would then be admitting that every one of the attributes indicates God's *ousia*.

Basil's reasoning here is somewhat abstruse. What he means is that, since Eunomius pronounces *agennēsia*, which is only one of the many attributes of God, to be the *ousia* of God, although he can offer no proof of this proposition, it would only be fair to acknowledge that all of God's attributes also designate his *ousia* — unless, of course, we should attempt to deal with this question from the point of view of human reason, the applicability of which to these matters Eunomius categorically denied. If Eunomius would concede this point — that is, that ideas about God cannot be put in concepts of human origin — the result would be that all the attributes would designate the same thing. Then there would be no

[45] 1.7 (524C-525B); NB: *Τί οὖν ἄτοπον οὕτω καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῶν ὅλων λαμβάνεσθαί τινα κατ' ἐπίνοιαν καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο πρῶτον, περὶ οὗ ὁ σύμπας ἡμῖν κεκίνηται λόγος ;*

[46] 1.7 (525B-C). See n. 42 above.

more difference among them than there is between the names Simon, Peter, and Cephas (i.e., in the New Testament), all of which designate the same person.[47]

Basil demands these conclusions as part of his *reductio ad absurdum* of Eunomius' principal dogma and does not fail to point out that it would be absurd to claim that God's role as creator, for example, or his foreknowledge, as well as his immutability, *agennēsia*, invisibility, incorruptibility, etc. all indicate his *ousia*, and that, in disregard of "current usage and the teaching of the Spirit," these attributes are not to be distinguished from each other. Furthermore, Basil says, by identifying the divine attributes (*τὰ ἐπιλεγόμενα τῷ Θεῷ* or *ὀνόματα*) in this way, Eunomius would completely overturn his own position. For, once it is admitted that immutability, incorruptibility, indivisibility, and the like all indicate *ousia*, then it becomes clear that these same attributes indicate the *ousia* of the Son as well, since he too was immutable, incorruptible, etc. Or, as Basil puts it, the Eunomians would then be showing that, so far from being unlike the Father in *ousia* because he differed from the Father in respect to only one attribute, *agennēsia*, he was like the Father because for the most part he and the Father had the same attributes.[48]

As Basil remarks, Eunomius gives no reason for holding that *agennēsia* alone among the attributes of God satisfies the demands of piety and is the only one which contains the "confession that he is what he is." Nor does he explain why he is willing in other cases — i.e., apart from *agennēsia* — to honor God by concepts [i.e., incorruptibility, indivisibility, etc.] which are the products of human reason. Thus, Basil concludes, Eunomius is caught in his own devices.[49] This rather complicated and tortuous reasoning requires some commentary. In the first place, it should be said, Eunomius apparently readily acceded to the inferences Basil was trying to force upon him. For we learn from Gregory's *Contra secundum librum Eunomii* that, in his reply to Basil, Eunomius had said that "neither [God's] righteousness nor his wisdom nor his power nor his goodness nor any of the [other] attributes of God was different from those already mentioned" [i.e., incorruptibility, endlessness, etc.], and that no term should be understood in its own special significance, but that there should

[47] 1.8 (528A-D). On nn. 47-52, see n. 233 below.

[48] 1.8 (529A-B); NB: *οὐ γὰρ μᾶλλον διὰ τὸ ἐν μιᾷ προσηγορίᾳ διάφορον ἀνόμοιον κατὰ τὴν οὐσίαν ἀποδεικνύειν ἕξουσιν, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἐν τοῖς πλείοσι κοινωνίαν ὅμοιον ὁμολογεῖν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς ἀνάγκης τῶν δεδομένων ἐκβιασθήσονται.*

[49] 1.8 (529B-C). Garnier in a lengthy note (59) cols. 530-532, vigorously defends the reading *μὴ παραιτεῖσθαι* (in my paraphrase "is willing"). I am in complete accord with him.

be one meaning for the entire list of attributes and one form of description should suffice as a definition for each of them.[50]

This means, Gregory points out, "if you are asked for the meaning of the term 'judge,' answer with the definition of '*agennēsia*,' and if you are required to give the definition of 'righteousness,' be ready to give 'incorporeal' as your answer. If you are asked what 'incorruption' means, say it has the same meaning as 'mercy' or 'judgment.' Thus, let all the attributes be convertible terms, since there is no specific sense in which one differs from the other."[51] In another passage, Gregory quotes Eunomius as stating that all the attributes of the divine nature agree in meaning with one another, and that there is no difference among them.[52]

Then Gregory goes one step further than Basil by arguing that since "Father" is one of these attributes, the conclusion is inevitable that God was always the Father from all eternity. Or else, he adds, if Eunomius is unwilling to make this concession, which would overturn his whole system [because it would necessarily mean that the Son was co-eternal with the Father], he will then have to admit that each of the attributes has a meaning of its own.[53]

[50] Section 472. Jaeger, 1: 364.9-15 (PG 45: 1068D): *δοκεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τὸν τῆς δικαιοσύνης λόγον ἕτερον παρὰ τὰ εἰρημένα τυγχάνειν μηδὲ τὸν τῆς σοφίας καὶ τὸν τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ τὸν τῆς ἀγαθότητος, καὶ ἑκάστου τῶν θεοπρεπῶν ὀνομάτων, καὶ μηδεὶς ἔστω λόγος κατὰ τὸ ἰδιάζον νοούμενος, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ παντὶ τῷ καταλόγῳ τῶν ὀνομάτων, ἓν ὑποκείσθω τὸ σημαινόμενον, καὶ εἷς ὑπογραφῆς λόγος τὸν περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν λεγομένων ὅρον ἀποπληρούτω.*

[51] Ibid., 472-473, 1: 364.15-23 (PG 45: 1068D-1069A): *κἂν ἐρωτηθῇς τὸ τοῦ κριτοῦ σημαινόμενον, τὴν τῆς ἀγεννησίας ἑρμηνείαν ἀπόκριναι, κἂν τῆς δικαιοσύνης δέῃ τὸν ὁρισμὸν ἀποδοῦναι, τὸ ἀσώματόν σοι πρόχειρον εἰς τὴν ἀπόκρισιν ἔστω. τί δὲ σημαίνει ἡ ἀφθαρσία, ὅπερ ἡ τοῦ ἐλέου πάντως ἐρεῖς ἢ ἡ τῆς κρίσεως σημασία παρίστησιν. οὕτω καὶ τὰ καθ' ἕκαστα πάντα πρὸς ἄλληλα μεταχωρείτω, μηδεμιᾶς ἰδιαζούσης ἐμφάσεως τὸ ἕτερον τοῦ ἑτέρου διαστελλούσης.* I have borrowed a few felicitous phrases from the admirable translation by M. Day in the NPNCF 5 (New York/London 1893) 297, who, however, gives only a paraphrase of the passage translated at n. 50 above.

[52] Gregory, ibid., 494, 1: 370.19-23 (PG 45: 1076B): ... *κατασκευάζει πάσας τὰς ἐπιλεγομένας τῇ Θείᾳ φύσει προσηγορίας κατὰ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἀλλήλαις συμφέρεσθαι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐν αὐταῖς εἶναι διαφοράν....* According to Eunomius, Gregory explains, meaningful designations [i.e., in this instance, for divine attributes] derive their significance from the underlying realities which they indicate. Different designations are applied to different realities, and the same to the same. Hence, necessarily, either the reality described is different (if the designations are) or the designations do not differ. *C. Eun.* 1.481, Jaeger, 1: 366.18-25 (PG 45: 1072A-B): *τῶν γὰρ ἀληθῶν φησι λόγων ἐκ τῶν ὑποκειμένων καὶ δηλουμένων πραγμάτων λαμβανόντων τὴν ἐπίκρισιν καὶ τῶν ἑτέρων ἑτέροις πράγμασι συναρμοζομένων, ὥσπερ αὖ καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης δεῖ δυοῖν εἶναι θάτερον, ἢ καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα τὸ δηλούμενον πάντως ἕτερον, ἢ μηδὲ τὸν δηλοῦντα λόγον ἕτερον.* It is for this reason that Eunomius in the passages discussed above insists that all the attributes of the divine *ousia* are interchangeable and have the same meaning. In *Apologia* 18-19 (PG 30: 853A-D; and see n. 84 below), he argues that if the names differ so do the *ousiai*.

[53] Gregory, ibid., 494-496, 1: 370.23-371.5 (PG 45: 1076B-C), in continuation of the passage quoted in n. 52.

At the bar of orthodox opinion, therefore, it would seem, Eunomius stands convicted, at least on these points. If, however, we should attempt to rehabilitate him for the sake of any modern Eunomians there might still be among us, we could perhaps plead in Eunomius' defense that he was justified in making an exception for *agennēsia* because that was the chief *idiōma* or property which distinguished the *hypostasis* (i.e., person) of the Father from the other two members of the Trinity. But even this plea falls to the ground, of course, because *agennēsia* was not the peculiar *idiōma* of the Father alone, since the Holy Spirit, which proceeds from the Father (John 15.26 etc.), is also unbegotten.

Then, Eunomius goes on to say, God cannot be known by negation, i.e., by terms expressing the lack of faculties or possessions which he should by nature have anymore than he can be known by the process of human thought, as he had previously argued.[54] Basil heatedly repudiates Eunomius' reference to privatives because, he says quite rightly, it is based upon Aristotle's *Categories*,[55] and not upon the Spirit (by which, as frequently, he means the Bible). But realizing that it would not be sufficient to denounce Eunomius merely for depending upon pagan sources, Basil directs his attack against the argument itself. There are many privative terms, he says, which are used in describing God, such as *aphthartos, athanatos, aoratos. Agennētos* also is an epithet of this same sort. When God is called *aphthartos*, e.g., we mean there is no decay in God. When we say he is *aoratos*, we mean he cannot be perceived by the eyes. And incorporeality (τὸ ἀσώματον) indicates that his *ousia* is not three dimensional. When we say he is *athanatos*, we mean he is not subject to dissolution. Similarly, when we say God is *agennētos*, we mean birth was not one of his attributes (γέννησιν αὐτῷ μὴ προσεῖναι).

Actually, Basil says, there is no reason to prefer *agennētos* to any of these terms as a confession of God's being what he is. Eunomius chose *agennētos* because it was the only one which would serve as the basis for his impiety [i.e., it was the only one which does not apply equally well to both the Father and the Son]. Hence, Basil concludes, if we say with Eunomius that it is not proper to describe God by terms derived from human reason or by privatives, but that *agennētos* is a term which is free of these defects, we must also concede that the other attributes of this sort (*aphthartos*, etc.) are no less appropriate than *agennētos* as descriptions of God.[56]

[54] 1.9 (532A).
[55] *Categories* 10 (12a26-b25 and *passim*).
[56] 1.9 (532A-533C).

The fact is, however, Basil continues, there is no single designation which is adequate to explain God's nature. Of the many terms which we use, some indicate qualities which God has, others those which he lacks. From the latter we learn what characteristics should not be ascribed to God. The former (good, just, creator, judge, etc.) designate those which are appropriate to him.[57] *Agennētos* simply means that God was not born. But being a negative term, it clearly does not reveal what his *ousia* was.[58] Then going further in his analysis of this term, Basil argues that God's *ousia* is *agennētos* but that *agennēsia* is not his *ousia*, and he asks Eunomius how he knows that *agennēsia* is God's *ousia*. He could not have learned this from common opinion, he says, which indicates only that God is but not what he is, or from the Spirit, or from David, who confessed (Psalm 138 [139].6) that "Such knowledge is too wonderful for me. It is high, I cannot attain unto it," or from Isaiah (53.8: "... who shall declare his generation?"). Even Paul, in whom Christ spoke and who was raised to the third heaven, confessed that God's "ways are past finding out" (Romans 11.33).

If Paul did not know, how does Eunomius, who cannot even tell what the *ousia* of the earth is? From Genesis 1.1 ff. we learn only that God made heaven and earth, and that the earth was "without form and void," but nothing at all about its *ousia*. We know the qualities of the earth — its color, mass, weight, density, and varieties of form, etc. — but none of these discloses what its *ousia* is. Nor has its *ousia* been disclosed in any book by wise or pious men.[59]

God said that he was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and that "this is my name forever" (Exodus 3.15; 6.2-3). But he did not disclose his name further than this or his *ousia*. Apparently, even his name was beyond the capacity of human ears. But to Eunomius, it seems, he revealed not only his name but also his *ousia*, with the unfortunate result that this great mystery (*aporrēton*), which was never made known to any of the saints, Eunomius publishes in his books and spouts out to all men indiscriminately, being unwilling to admit that the *ousia* of God is beyond all human comprehension.[60]

Actually, this knowledge exceeds not only the powers of men but also of all rational nature (πᾶσαν λογικὴν φύσιν). For no one knows the Father

[57] 1.10 (533C-536B).

[58] 1.10 (536B-C).

[59] 1.11-13 (537A-541B). Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.25, 29, 33-34, 174-177, Jaeger, 1: 233.25-27, 235.5-8, 236.4-20, 275.18-276.11 and *passim* (PG 45: 917C, 920C, 921A-B, 968B-D).

[60] 1.13 (541C-544A).

but the Son and the Holy Spirit (Matthew 11.27; 1 Corinthians 2.10-11). If Eunomius and his followers really did know the *ousia* of God, what capacity did they then leave to the Son or to the Holy Spirit? Man can know of God only his goodness and his wisdom, which he revealed to them.[61] Furthermore, Basil continues, what is written about the *ousia* of God by the theologians is in the form of allegories. Like the pagans, the Hebrews had a material idea of God's *ousia* as well as many other false and conflicting notions about it. Therefore, it is better to give up the hopeless search for the *ousia* of God, he said, and take the advice of Paul, who said, "... he who comes to God must believe that he is, and that he rewards those who diligently seek him" (Hebrews 11.6). For salvation is gained not by the search to discover what God is, but confession that he exists.[62]

Having demonstrated that the *ousia* of God is incomprehensible and a mystery (*aperinoētos* and *aporrētos*) for men, Basil proceeds to determine what *agennēsia* is and how it is to be understood. The mind, he says, finding that there is no cause above God, describes his lack of a beginning as *agennēton*.[63] For when, in speaking of men, we say that so and so was born of someone, we have in mind not what he is, but of whom he was born. Similarly, the expression *agennētos* indicates not what he is, but his lack of origin.[64] Thus Luke, in his genealogy of Christ (3.23-38), working back from Joseph to Adam, and then to God, did not indicate the *ousiai* of the persons mentioned, but their order of succession from one to the other. So we, in asking what the source of God was, conclude that "he had no source." This means that which is without beginning and hence the unbegotten. Just as we are not inquiring about *ousia* when we ask *ἐκ τίνος* in the case of men, so also in discussing God, ingenerateness (which is the equivalent of saying *ἐξ οὐδενός*) has nothing to do with *ousia*. Hence from the word "unbegotten," we learn not what God's *ousia* (Basil wrote *physis*, which is a synonym of *ousia*) is, but rather how he came to be.[65]

[61] 1.14 (544A-C). On the unknowability of God, see Wolfson, works cited in n. 21 above. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.97-124 and *passim*, Jaeger, 1: 255.1-262.15 (PG 45: 944A-952C).

[62] 1.14 (544C-545A).

[63] 1.15 (545B): *ὁ νοῦς ... τὸ ἄναρχον αὐτοῦ τῆς ζωῆς ἀγέννητον προσηγόρευσεν.*

[64] Ibid.: *ὅταν λέγωμεν ὅτι. 'Ο δεῖνα ἐκ τοῦδε γέγονεν, οὐ τὸ τί ἐστιν ἑκάστου, ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅθεν γέγονε διηγούμεθα · οὕτω καὶ ἐν τοῖς περὶ Θεοῦ ἡ ἀγέννητος φωνὴ οὐ τὸ τί ἀλλὰ τὸ μηδαμόθεν αὐτοῦ σημαίνει.*

[65] 1.15 (545C-548B): when we ask, *ὁ δὲ Θεὸς ἐκ τίνος ;* the answer is *ἐξ οὐδενός. τὸ δὲ ἐξ οὐδενὸς τὸ ἄναρχόν ἐστι δηλονότι · τὸ δὲ ἄναρχον τὸ ἀγέννητον. ... τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν συμβαίνει ἐκ τῆς τοῦ ἀγεννήτου φωνῆς τὸ ὅπως τοῦ Θεοῦ μάλλον ἢ αὐτὴν τὴν φύσιν διδασκομένοις.*

Going on next in his treatise to attack the idea that Christ was begotten of God, Eunomius claims that the *agennētos* would never admit (*πρόσοιτο*) *gennēsis* so as to share his own nature with that which is begotten, and avoids all comparison or association with the begotten.[66] Accordingly, he prefers to designate God as *agennētos* rather than as Father, and Christ as *gennētos* rather than Son. This he did, Basil explains, in order to prove the Son unlike (*anomoios*) God the Father, and also so that, when his impiety was unmasked, he might seem not to have blasphemed but only to have concocted his heretical scheme to satisfy the demands of the argument.[67] But, Basil protests, in denying any *synkrisin* ("comparison") between the Son and the Father, or any *koinōnia* ("community" [in *ousia*]) between the begotten and the begetter, Eunomius rejects the New Testament. For in John, Jesus had said, "He that hath seen me hath seen the Father" (14.9; 12.45), and "all mine are thine [i.e., the Father's] and thine are mine" (17.10). To the same effect, Paul had pronounced Christ to be not only "the image of the invisible God" (Colossians 1.15), who was "in the form [which Basil takes to be a synonym of *ousia*] of God" (Philippians 2.6), but also "the express image of his Person" (Hebrews 1.3). These and other pronouncements of "the Holy Spirit" are set at naught, Basil says, by Eunomius' blasphemy.[68]

Then carrying his point about the lack of communion between the unbegotten and the begotten one step further to one of his major conclusions, Eunomius denies that there was a common *ousia* of the unbegotten and the begotten, since in order and privilege of time, one was first and the other second.[69] Basil begins his reply by noting that he too would deny that there was a common *ousia* for Father and Son if this were understood to be pre-existing matter, which was cut up and divided between them. This view was no less reprehensible, he believed, than that according to which the Son was unlike the Father. But, he adds, he would accept the idea that there was such a common *ousia* if this were taken to mean that the Father and the Son shared the same type of being, as, for

[66] 1.16 (548C): *πᾶσαν σύγκρισιν καὶ κοινωνίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸ γεννητόν.*

[67] This was apparently one of Basil's favorite arguments (as in what he says about Eunomius' choice of *Apologia* as the title of his treatise).

[68] 1.17-18 (552A-553B). On the meaning of *εἰκών*, see H. J. Sieben, *Voces, eine Bibliographie zu Wörtern und Begriffen aus der Patristik (1918-1978)* (Berlin/New York 1980), s.v.; Aghiorgoussis, articles cited in n. 2 above; G. B. Ladner, "Eikon," *RAC* 4 (1959) 771-786; idem, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *DOP* 7 (1953) 3-34; T. Camelot, "La théologie de l'image de Dieu," *RSPhTh* 40 (1956) 443-471. See also nn. 110, 141, 143 below.

[69] 1.19 (553C-D).

example, if it was held that light constituted the *ousia* of both the Father and the Son. Accordingly, there would be a single divinity on account of the unity of the *ousia*. The difference [between the Father and the Son] would be in number and in the individual properties which distinguished one from the other.[70]

Furthermore, according to the obvious orthodox reply, which Basil does not fail to make, since there was a common *ousia*, there was no need to have subordination in order (*τάξει ὑποβεβλῆσθαι*) or for one to be second to the other chronologically. For, he says, it was not possible for God not to coexist eternally with his own timelessly illuminated image (Hebrews 1.3) and not have a union (*συνάφειαν*) with it which transcended all time and the ages. For Christ was described as the "brightness" [of his glory] precisely in order to bring to mind his union [with God], and he was called the express image of his person to indicate his consubstantiality with God (Hebrews 1.3).[71] This passage is notable because it is one of only five in the *C. Eun.* 1-3 in which Basil uses the word *ὁμοούσιος*, and it is the only one in which the term is applied to the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son. It is well known, of course, that the Holy Spirit is never described as *ὁμοούσιον* by Basil in any of his extant works.[72]

In writing of order and priority, Basil remarks, Eunomius preferred to refer to the order (*taxis*) in rank and number, etc., where one comes literally and physically (*ἐκ τῆς παρ' ἡμῶν θέσεως*) before another. For this reason he said that it was improper to speak of *taxis* in connection with God [i.e., to put God in a series with others], for *taxis* is also later than the one who brings it into being. But, Basil objects, there is another kind of *taxis*, the natural one, in which the cause comes first and is followed by the effect, as in fire and the light which comes out of it. The order here is logical and involves no interval (*διάστημα*). It comes about not by physical placement, but as a consequence of their nature.[73] Thus, in causal relationship the Father comes before the Son in order — not by difference of nature or in time.

Eunomius' next point is that, since God is altogether simple (or, *πάντῃ συνθήκης ἐλεύθερος*), his *ousia* can include no form, mass, or quantity.

[70] 1.19 (556A-B): *εἰ δὲ οὕτω τις ἐκλαμβάνοι τὸ τῆς οὐσίας κοινόν, ὡς τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐπ' ἀμφοῖν θεωρεῖσθαι, ὥστε καὶ εἰ καθ' ὑπόθεσιν φῶς ὁ Πατὴρ τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ νοοῖτο, φῶς καὶ τὴν τοῦ Μονογενοῦς οὐσίαν ὁμολογεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅνπερ ἂν τις ἀποδῷ ἐπὶ τοῦ Πατρὸς τὸν τοῦ εἶναι λόγον, τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον καὶ τῷ Υἱῷ ἐφαρμόζειν, ... δεχόμεθα....*

[71] 1.20 (556C): in line 7 of C, read *χρόνων* for *χρόνον*.

[72] See pp. 129-134 below.

[73] 1.20 (557B): *οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν θέσιν, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνυπαρχούσης ἀκολουθίας*. On *diastēma*, see the article by Verghese cited in n. 95 below.

Accordingly, he argues, since no such thing can be combined with the *ousia* of God, it is impossible to liken the begotten to the unbegotten. For likeness in *ousia* [to the unbegotten] or comparison [with] or participation [in it] leaves no superiority or difference [i.e., to it] and obviously makes for equality, and equality indicates that the one likened or compared is unbegotten. But, he says, no one would dare say that the Son is equal to the Father, since it is clear (John 14.28) that "the Father who sent me is greater than I."[74] [Eunomius' unexpressed assumption here is that the begotten includes an element of mass or quantity, etc.]

Basil replies that this argument is characteristic of Eunomius, who always begins by making statements that command general assent in the hope that in this way disputants might be inveigled into accepting other more dubious propositons which he sets forth as consequences thereof. Here, Basil points out, everyone would agree that there could be no form, mass, or quantity in the *ousia* of God. But then, he says, Eunomius adds his blasphemy, for this generalization does not lead to the conclusion that the Son has no likeness to the Father, since [according to Basil and his followers] the Son also is devoid of form, mass, etc. For this reason, there is no impiety, Basil maintains, in comparing the Son, who is also *asynthetos* ("uncompounded"), with the Father, since they share these same qualities.[75]

Furthermore, Eunomius says, continuing the argument interrupted by Basil, God, who is without quantity or form (*aposos* and *aneideos*), cannot be equal to or like [anyone else].[76] This is precisely the point, Basil replies. The Son is also *asynthetos*; and the similarity of the Father and Son rests not in identity of form (*τοῦ εἴδους ταὐτότητα*) but in the *ousia* itself. Things which have form and shape (*morphē* and *schēma*) are alike because of an identity of form. But that which is without form or shape (*aneideos* and *aschēmatistos*) has likeness in the *ousia*. Equality is reckoned not in the calculation of bulk but in identity of *dynamis*. Since Christ was the *dynamis* and *sophia* of God (1 Corinthians 1.24), all of his Father's power dwelt within him. Hence, whatever he sees the Father do, the Son does likewise.[77]

To Eunomius' objection on this point, that likeness in *ousia*, comparability, and *koinōnia* (sharing of *ousia*) leave no difference or superiority

[74] 1.22 (561A-B): NB: *τῆς κατ' οὐσίαν ὁμοιότητος, ἢ συγκρίσεως, ἢ κοινωνίας, μηδεμίαν ὑπεροχὴν ἢ διαφορὰν καταλιπούσης, ἰσότητα δὲ σαφῶς ἐργαζομένης, μετὰ δὲ τῆς ἰσότητος ἀγέννητον ἀποφαινούσης τὸν ὁμοιούμενον, ἢ συγκρινόμενον.*

[75] 1.22-23 (561B-C).

[76] 1.23 (564A).

[77] 1.23 (564A-B).

for the Father, and would make the Son equal to the Father, Basil replies that there is a difference arising from the causal relationship, and that Eunomius was like the Jews, who objected to Jesus because he made "himself equal to God" (John 5.18).

Moreover, Basil says, when Eunomius quoted John 14.28, he overlooked Philippians 2.6 ("he thought it not robbery to be equal to God"). At this point, Basil mentions Eunomius' idea that the term Father indicates *energeia* ("activity, operation") rather than *ousia*. If we should accept this view, Basil says, and if the Father is greater than the Son, as Eunomius contends, then in this case the *energeia* is greater than the *ergon* ("deed, performance achieved"). But every *energeia* should produce results that are commensurate with it. That is, a great *energeia* leads to *megala erga*, small to small. But if the Father is greater than the Son, that would mean that the *energeia* was not commensurate with its product (*ἀσύμμετρος τῷ ἔργῳ*), that God exerted himself in vain to produce a result that matched the magnitude of his *energeia*, and that he was unable to produce a result equal to his *energeia* (*οὐ δυνηθέντα τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ παρισῶσαι τὸ τέλος*). Hence, Basil concludes, the Eunomians will have to choose one of two alternatives. Either they will have to admit that the term "Father" does not indicate *energeia* but *ousia*, and will then have to abandon their view that the Son resembles the Father in *energeia*. Or else, they will have to give up the dogma that the Father is greater than the Son.[78]

Going on then to consider the general proposition that the Son was inferior to the Father, Basil says one thing is said to be greater than another either as a (a) cause, or (b) in power, or (c) in rank, or (d) in size.

[78] 1.23-24 (564C-565B). On this passage from Philippians, see W. Foerster, "*Οὐχ ἁρπαγμὸν ἡγήσατο* bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern," *ZNW* 29 (1930) 115-128. On Philippians 2.6-11 in general see K. Gamber, "Der Christus-Hymnus im Philipperbrief in liturgiegeschichtlicher Sicht," *Biblica* 51 (1970) 369-376 (deals solely with the *form* of the passage); A. Louf, "Une ancienne exégèse de Phil. 2.6 dans le K^eTābâ d^e Masqâtâ (Livre des Degrés)," in *Studiorum Paulinorum Congressus Internationalis Catholicus 1961*, 2 (Rome 1963) 523-533; Bo Reicke, "Unité chrétienne et diaconie, Phil. II.1-11," *Neotestamentica et Patristica, Supplements to Novum Testamentum* 6 (1962) 203-212; P. Henry, "Kénose," *DBS* 5 (1957) 7-161, esp. 79, with full bibliography; L. Cerfaux, "L'hymne au Christ-Serviteur de Dieu (Phil. 2.6-11 = Is. LII.13-LIII.12)," in *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux*, 2 (Gembloux 1954) 425-437 (treats of the New Testament only); E. Lohmeyer, *Kyrios Jesus, eine Untersuchung zu Phil. 2.5-11*, *SAH* 4 (1927-1928); H. Schumacher, *Christus in seiner Präexistenz und Kenose nach Phil. 2.5-8* (Rome 1914-1921), esp. 1: 31-32, 139. That is, the Eunomians will either have to give up the notion that the term Father indicates *energeia* (since they cannot thereby prove the Son's inferiority) or else admit that the Son (if he resembles the Father in *energeia* as they say) could not be inferior. Basil does not here prove that "Father" denotes *ousia* (cf. n. 34 above) nor would he ever concede that the Father could be superior to the Son in *ousia* (nn. 77, 78, 80, and 81).

The last of these (d) he rules out as inapplicable to beings that lack magnitude or size. (B), he says, is contradicted by John 10.30 ("I and the Father are one"), in which he takes one (*ἕν*) to mean equality in power. Then, as for (c), Christ's position at the right hand of the Father shows that he had *τὸ ὁμότιμον τῆς ἀξίας* (i.e., that he had rank as high as that of the Father). But the Father is greater as being the cause (a) and beginning of the Son. Basil denies, however, that *μείζων* in John 14.28 as thus understood indicates *τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπεροχήν*. For, he says, both the Eunomians and Basil agree *οὐσία οὐσίας ... μείζων καὶ ἐλάττων οὐ λέγεται.*[79] Here Basil is undoubtedly referring to Aristotle's *Categories*: "Substance does not appear to admit of variations of degree ... no single substance admits of varying degrees within itself ... so that substance does not admit of variation of degree."[80]

The next point Basil takes up is that God cannot be compared with the Son, since the Father is incomparable (*asynkritos*). If this be so, Basil asks, how is his superiority to be understood? For that which is greater is considered to be so as a result of comparison with things which are surpassed. How, then, can the same person be greater (*μείζων*) and incomparable (*ἀπαράθετος* or *ἀσύγκριτος*)? When Eunomius wishes to prove that the *ousia* of the Father is greater than the Son's, he uses the comparative, *τὸ μεῖζον*. But when he sets out to reduce the Son to the level of a created object, he says the Father is incomparable. In exalting the Father and diminishing the glory of the Son, Eunomius loses sight of John 5.23 ("He who does not honor the Son, does not honor the Father"), and Luke 10.16 ("He who rejects me rejects him who sent me").[81]

Then Basil concludes the first book of his treatise with a summary of the previous discussion of the contradictory arguments advanced by Eunomius as noted above. What is incomparable, he now adds, is equally unapproachable and inaccessible to all, and the Son would then be surpassed by the Father as much as everything else is. Hence, since the Son is by this reasoning as inferior to the Father as everything else is, he must be equal to the other inferior beings. This means then that the Son

[79] 1.25 (565c-568c). On the patristic interpretation of these texts, see T. E. Pollard, "The Exegesis of John X.30 in the Early Trinitarian Controversies," *NTS* 3 (1956-1957) 334-349; idem, "The Exegesis of Scripture and the Arian Controversy," *BJRL* 4 (1958-1959) 414-429, who, however, does not refer to Basil.

[80] *Categories* 5 (3b33-37): *δοκεῖ δὲ ἡ οὐσία μὴ ἐπιδέχεσθαι τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ τὸ ἧττον ... ἀλλ' ὅτι ἑκάστη οὐσία τοῦθ' ὅπερ ἐστίν, οὐ λέγεται μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον.* Ibid. (4a8-9): *ὥστε οὐκ ἂν ἐπιδέχοιτο ἡ οὐσία τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον.* I have used with only one very slight change the translation by E. M. Edghill, *The Works of Aristotle Translated into English*, 1 (Oxford 1928).

[81] 1.26 (569A-B). Basil's conclusions as stated below go too far.

would not be superior to the angels, the heavens, the animals, the plants, etc., which he created, and would not any longer have his special relationship to him who begot him, which is proved by John 10.30 ("I and my Father are one"). On the other hand, if this were so [as, of course, Basil would not grant], it is absurd to say that the Father is incomparable. For then there would be no way of discerning the difference between him and the Son.[82]

B. Book 2 (On the Son)

At the beginning of Book 2, Basil addresses himself to Eunomius' claim that the Fathers had declared Jesus to be both *gennēma* and *poiēma*. Taking up the latter epithet first, Basil examines Acts 2.36, the one text which he suspects the Eunomians might possibly have had in mind. According to this passage, the Apostle Peter had said that "God made (ἐποίησεν) him Lord and Christ." In the first place, Basil objects, these words are irrelevant because nothing is said here about Jesus' having been a *poiēma*; and this noun cannot be inferred by the use of the verb "ἐποίησεν." *Poiēma* does occur in other contexts in the New Testament, but never as a designation for Jesus, and this fact must be taken as proof that *poiēma* was not deemed appropriate for him. Moreover, *Kyrios* designates power, not *ousia*. Most important of all, in this passage ἐποίησεν refers not to Christ's origin, but to his manhood and to the dominion over the universe that was intrusted to him.[83]

Similarly, Basil argues, Eunomius is mistaken when he contends that a difference of names [i.e., God or Father and Christ] betokens a difference of *ousia*. Peter, Paul, etc. have different names but are of the same *ousia*. In most respects all men are alike; each differs from the other only in characteristics or properties (*idiōmasi*), not in *ousia*. Names do not indicate *ousia* but the individual qualities which characterize each person. If difference in names signified difference in *ousia*, Peter and Paul would be ἑτερούσιοι whereas they are ὁμοούσιοι. Similarly, if Eunomius were correct on this point, those who have the same designation would have the same *ousia*, and those who are perfect and are said to have been deemed worthy of being called God (Ps. 81.6 [LXX]) would be ὁμοούσιοι with God.[84]

[82] 1.27 (569C-572B).

[83] 2.1-3 (573A-577B). On Acts 2.36 see Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 2.11-12, PG 26: 168C-173A.

[84] 2.4 (577C-580C). On this point see D. L. Balás, "The unity of human nature in Basil's and Gregory of Nyssa's polemics against Eunomius," *SP* 14 (1976) 275-281. See nn. 135, 185 below.

Accordingly it is clear, Basil continues, that since the names represent *idiōmata*, not *ousia*, the designations "Father" and "Son" have nothing to do with *ousia*. Furthermore, he says, Eunomius contradicts himself again. For, if *poiēma* and *gennēma* differ from each other, and Jesus was both, the conclusion [in Eunomius' theory] would be that Christ would have had two different *ousiai*. This is, of course, absurd, Basil maintains, and it is obvious that Eunomius could cite no authorities to prove that Jesus was called *poiēma*. If he could have done so, he would. Then, addressing himself to Eunomius' claim that he had to deal with those who mistakenly believed that Christ's *gennēsis* was of a corporeal nature, Basil replies that no one, on reading of the divine *gennēsis*, would think it had reference to the result of carnal relations between a man and a woman. Instead, Basil comments, of contending against the misguided few who would suppose that Christ's birth was of a physical nature, Eunomius should have refuted those who refer to Christ as a *poiēma*. But he refrained from doing so because [as we have seen] this concept was essential to his conviction that the Son was altogether to be differentiated from the Father.[85]

Nevertheless, Eunomius insisted that Christ was a *gennēma* and that this was his *ousia*. His object, Basil notes, in making this point, was to prove in this way that the Father and the Son differed in *ousia*. But, Basil protests quite correctly, this term was never used for Jesus in the Bible, despite Eunomius' insistence that it was. It is often said that the Father *gegennēkenai*, but never is Jesus described as *gennēma*, not even by Peter in his famous confession, when he said "Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God" (Matthew 16.16), not "Thou art the *gennēma*." Nor does Paul ever use this term for Jesus. Moreover, common usage of the verb ἐγέννησε with God as its subject does not justify the designation *gennēma* for Christ. Since in translating the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, the translators were careful to reproduce the divine names like Sabaoth, Adonai, and Eloi with great accuracy, it behoves us to be equally prudent with regard to the names of the Lord.[86]

God said, "Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee" (Psalm 2.7), and did not use *gennēma*, although, if Eunomius were right, he might very well have done so because of the verb γεγέννηκα. Therefore, Basil concludes, we must avoid doing this because we cannot assume the awesome responsibility of imposing our own nomenclature upon him to

[85] 2.5-6 (580C-584A). Basil's argument at nn. 86-87 is somewhat captious.

[86] 2.6-7 (584A-585A). Γέννημα had often been used by the orthodox for the Son before the Arians made it a synonym for κτίσμα. Even thereafter Basil, the two Gregories, and others redefined it in an orthodox sense. See *PGL*, s.v. For Eloi see Mark 15.34 (Psalm 21.2 LXX, variant [King James version, 22.1]).

whom God gave a name above every name. Nor dare we add anything to what has been handed down by the Spirit [i.e., the Bible] and the saints. Parents refer to a child as *τέκνον* or *υἱός* (the proper terms for *ἔμψυχα*), not as *gennēma* (Matthew 21.28; Genesis 22.8; 27.18; Proverbs 3.11), which is not appropriate for this purpose. Actually *gennēma*, which is used for the unformed fetus in abortions, is suitable for fruits as in Matthew 26.29 ("I will not eat of the fruit [*genēma*] of the vine"), or for serpents (*γεννήματα ἐχιδνῶν* [Matthew 23.33]), but not for children, and for this reason has been rejected by common usage, by Paul, and by the Bible in general especially with reference to the Son of God.[87]

Eunomius held fast to his theory that it was not possible to distinguish between *ousia* and that which is revealed [or signified] by it (i.e., its name) since the designation indicates the *ousia*.[88] After objecting that Eunomius offers no proof of this proposition, Basil shows that *gennēma* belongs to the class of nouns that designate not what something actually is (like man, horse, cow), but a relationship with the noun with which it is connected (like son, slave, friend). Thus, *gennēma* means an offspring of someone and conveys no idea of *ousia*, but only that it has a connection with someone.[89]

Accordingly he vigorously opposes Eunomius' dogma that *gennēma* was the *ousia* of Christ. For, he argues, if the *ousia* is *gennēma*, and if every *gennēma* is *ousia*, this would mean that all *gennēmata* are consubstantial (*ὁμοούσια*), and hence that the creator[90] would have the same *ousia* as all other creatures which are born.[91] For Eunomius cannot prove that *gennēma* signifies *ousia* only for the Son but not for others. Furthermore, if Eunomius' reasoning is pursued to its necessary conclusion, it would upset his own position. For, since everyone would agree that a *gennēma* can only be the *gennēma* [i.e., offspring] of someone, and since *gennēma* is the *ousia*, as Eunomius contended, then Christ as God's *gennēma* would be God's *ousia*.[92]

[87] 2.8 (585B-588A).

[88] 2.9 (588B): *ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἕτερον μέν τι τὴν οὐσίαν νοεῖν, ἕτερον δέ τι παρ' αὐτὴν τὸ σημαινόμενον, ἀλλ' αὐτὴν εἶναι τὴν ὑπόστασιν, ἣν σημαίνει τοὔνομα, ἐπαληθευούσης τῇ οὐσίᾳ τῆς προσηγορίας*. Here, as on 584A and 588D, *ὑπόστασις* means *ousia*, and is not used as a synonym for *πρόσωπον*.

[89] 2.9 (588C-D-589A): *τὸ γὰρ γέννημά τινος λέγεται γέννημα. ὅ μέντοι οὐχ ὑποστάσεώς τινος ἔννοιαν ἐμποιεῖ, ἀλλὰ μόνην τὴν πρὸς ἕτερον σχέσιν ἀποσημαίνει.*

[90] Basil had Christ in mind here, although both God and Christ were regarded as responsible for creation.

[91] 2.10 (589A-B): *ὁ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὅλων πᾶσι τοῖς γεννήσεως μετειληφόσι τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχων οὐσίαν ἀναφανήσεται.*

[92] 2.10 (589B-592A). NB 589C: *ἐκείνου ἔσται οὐσία, οὗ καὶ γέννημα λέγεται.* That is, since

In Basil's opinion, however, this discussion of Christ as the *gennēma* was only a prelude and preparation for Eunomius' chief heresy. This blasphemy, as Basil calls it, was the doctrine that the Son's *ousia* had no existence before its formation and that it was begotten by the will of the Father before all things.[93] Not daring to declare openly that the Son was begotten *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, Basil charges, Eunomius took refuge in the subterfuge that the Son's *ousia* did not exist before it was begotten, although he really meant that the Son himself was begotten *ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων*, and that the Father was not Father from the beginning but only subsequently.[94]

Basil then pursues the question of the fatherhood of God along conventional Athanasian lines by asking, if it is fitting for God to be Father, why should he not have been Father from the beginning? God had no beginning and never began to be, but always was Father from infinity (*ἐξ ἀπείρου*), and his fatherhood (*πατρότης*) was coextensive with his eternity. Similarly, the Son, *πρὸ αἰῶνος ὢν καὶ ἀεὶ ὤν*, never began to be, but coexisted with the Father (*ἀφ' οὗ Πατήρ, καὶ ὁ Υἱός*), and the idea (*ennoia*) of the Son is co-eval with that of the Father (*συνεισέρχεται*), since it is obvious that *qua* Father he was Father of a Son.[94a] The Father had no beginning and was not prevented by lack of power to do what he wished, nor did he have to wait, as men and animals do, until he was mature enough to beget. Why then was not the Son from the beginning [i.e., "before his formation," as the Eunomians would have it], since there is nothing thought of as coming before him except him from whom he derives his being who preceded him not by any interval but by priority of cause?[95] Since, therefore, the Son's community (*κοινωνία*) with the Father has been proved to be eternal (*ἀΐδιος*), and since our mind moves from Son to Father through no void and joins the Son to the Father without separation (*ἀδιαστάτως*), he could not have been created out of nothing.[96]

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gennēma is the offspring of someone and *gennēma* is *ousia*, the *ousia* will be his of whom he is said to be the *gennēma*.

[93] 2.11 (592B): *τὴν οὐσίαν τοῦ Υἱοῦ γεγεννῆσθαι μὲν οὐκ οὖσαν πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας συστάσεως, εἶναι δὲ γεννηθεῖσαν πρὸ πάντων γνώμῃ τοῦ Πατρός.*

[94] 2.11 (592B-593A).

[94a] 2.12 (593B): Greek text on p. 123 below.

[95] 2.12 (593C): *πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἦν τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς (τοῦτο γάρ ἐστι τὸ πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας συστάσεως ἐν σοφίσμασι λεγόμενον παρὰ τούτων), ὁ μηδὲν ἔχων προεπινοούμενον ἑαυτοῦ, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐξ οὗ ἔχει τὸ εἶναι, οὐ διαστήματι ὑπερέχοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ αἰτίᾳ προτεταγμένον;* On *diastēma* and similar words in notes 96-103, see T. Verghese, "*Διάστημα* and *διάστασις* in Gregory of Nyssa. Introduction to a Concept and the Posing of a Problem," in *Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie*, ed. H. Dörrie, et al. (Leiden 1976) pp. 243-260, esp. at 253.

[96] 2.12 (593C).

Moreover, Basil taxes the Eunomians with not realizing that, when they say the Son is younger than the Father, they are logically putting a *διάστημα* of some sort between the Father and the Son — that is, the measure by which the Father is older than the Son. This can be nothing but an intervening period of ages or time, which itself would then be older than the Son. If this be so, the Bible is deceiving us when it says that it was through Jesus that God made *τοὺς αἰῶνας* (Hebrews 1.2) and that *πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο* (John 1.3). So, though the Eunomians *say* that Christ was *πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων*, they are in effect denying that he was. For the designation for the interval *ὅτε οὐκ ἦν* must be either *χρόνος* or *αἰών*.[97] But, Basil insists, there never can be a concept older than the existence of the Son.[98]

Gregory carries Basil's analysis of this problem one step further by drawing attention to a paradox. If, he says, any intervening finite[99] period is interspersed between the Father and the Son, the result will be that the Father also will be proved to have had a beginning in time and therefore could not have existed from all eternity, as we know he did. Gregory demonstrates this paradox by a number of illustrations. If, for example, we say that man was created the fifth day after the heavens, we must assume that before the same number of days the heavens did not exist either. Or, if we say that the Law given by Moses was 430 years later than the promise to Abraham, we are bound to admit that before that date

[97] In this section (2.13 [596B]), Basil says every interval is commonly understood in terms of [literally, is subject to] either *χρόνος* or *αἰών*. The former of these is applicable to the world of sense, the latter to the regions above this world: *ἡ μὲν γὰρ κοινὴ συνήθεια ἢ χρόνοις ἢ αἰῶσιν ἅπαν διάστημα ὑποβάλλει · ἐπειδὴ ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς αἰσθητοῖς ὁ χρόνος, τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ὑπερκοσμίοις ἡ τοῦ αἰῶνος φύσις ἐστίν*. That is, he distinguishes between time and *aion*. In other words, he was prepared to admit that the realm of the *αἰῶνες* was beyond time and stood outside of temporal creation. Gregory of Nyssa made a similar distinction between time and the *αἰῶνες*. But their point was, of course (here as well as below at nn. 114, 116), that the *αἰῶνες* also were created by, and subsequent to, Christ. At the same time, it is only fair to add, it was this concept of the difference between *χρόνος* and *αἰών* which led to the Arian (and Eunomian) "subterfuge" (if Eunomius was guilty as Basil charged) that Christ was not *προαιώνιος* but generated along with, or in the realm of, the *αἰῶνες*. According to this scheme, there never was a *time* when Christ was not, but there was an interval of some sort before he came into being: *ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν* (see n. 11 above). As we shall see (at nn. 98-103), the Cappadocians fought this notion bitterly but seemed to be unaware that they themselves were guilty of making a very similar argument. For Gregory's view of this relationship between *χρόνος* and *αἰών* (*C. Eun.* 1.359 ff., at 370-371, Jaeger 1: 136.8 ff., at 136.8-22 [PG 45: 364A-368B]), see H. F. Cherniss, "The Platonism of Gregory of Nyssa," *UCalifClass* 11 (1930) 27, 73. For the vast bibliography on *αἰών* see under the word in: *Lexikon der alten Welt* (Zurich/Stuttgart 1965), *Der kleine Pauly* 1 (Stuttgart 1964); *RAC* 1 (Stuttgart 1950); G. Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, 1 (Stuttgart 1933). Cf. *PGL*, p. 55: *αἰών* B and C. See also Sieben, *Voces*, s.v. *αἰών* (pp. 25-26).

[98] 2.13 (596A-C).

[99] An infinite interval would have been inconceivable and absurd.

God's promise did not exist. Or, to put it another way, if we have two measuring rods, one of which is longer than the other, we can see that the shorter one is, let us say, "x" centimeters shorter than the other. But if we place one of the rods on top of the other so that the difference in their sizes is readily apparent, it will be clear not only that one is longer than the other but also that the longer one *begins* at a certain point. In order to maintain the eternity of the Father, therefore, Gregory argues, we must eschew all attempts to impose a beginning in time for the Son. Between them there is no prior or posterior. All we can do is to recognize that the Father is before the Son causally, but not temporally. (This concept that there is no past or future in eternity is reminiscent of Plato, *Timaeus* 37e-38a, which may be dependent upon Parmenides 8.1-43.)[100]

[100] On this point see E. P. Meijering, "*Ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ Υἱός*: A Discussion on Time and Eternity," *VigChr* 28 (1974) 161-168, at 163 n. 15; A. E. Taylor, *A Commentary on Plato's Timaeus* (Oxford 1928) pp. 188-189; M. Baltes, *Die Weltentstehung des platonischen Timaios nach den antiken Interpreten*, 2 (Leiden 1978) 110-114; L. Tarán, *Parmenides* (Princeton 1965) pp. 82-142, 175-201; W. K. C. Guthrie, *A History of Greek Philosophy*, 2 (Cambridge 1965) 26-31; 5 (1978) 299; F. M. Cornford, *Plato and Parmenides* (London 1939) pp. 35-39. Guthrie (2: 31) quotes Aristotle *Phys.* 191a30-31: *οὔτε γὰρ τὸ ὂν γίγνεσθαι — εἶναι γὰρ ἤδη — ἔκ τε μὴ ὄντος οὐδὲν ἂν γενέσθαι* ("What is does not come into being, for it is already; and nothing could come into being from what is not"). Cf. W. D. Ross, *Aristotle's Physics* (Oxford 1936) pp. 471-472. On the use made of Platonic texts by Gregory of Nyssa, see Cherniss (as cited in n. 97), pp. 35-36, 79-80 (*C. Eun.* 3.1.79-82, Jaeger 2: 31.26-32.17 [PG 45: 593C-D]): *ἀλλὰ μὴν πατὴρ ὁ θεός. οὐκοῦν ἐξ ἀϊδίου ἐστὶν ὅπερ ἐστίν · οὐ γὰρ ἐγένετο, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πατήρ · ἐπὶ θεοῦ γὰρ ὃ ἦν, καὶ ἐστὶ καὶ ἔσται. εἰ δέ τι ποτε μὴ ἦν, οὔτε ἐστὶν οὔτε ἔσται … ἐν γὰρ τῷ εἰπεῖν ποτε μὴ εἶναι τὸν κύριον οὐχ ἁπλῶς δώσεις τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ εἶναι λέξεις τὴν δύναμιν, τοῦ πατρὸς τῆς δυνάμεως. οὐκοῦν ἡ τοῦ μὴ εἶναί ποτε τὸν υἱὸν διὰ τοῦ σοῦ λόγου κατασκευὴ οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἢ παντὸς ἀγαθοῦ ἐρημίαν περὶ τὸν πατέρα κατασκευάζει.* Cf. n. 111 below. Note that when it is said that there is no future in eternity, the point is, not that what is will not continue to be, for it is and will never cease to be, but that, as Gregory put it, if what is ever was not any thing or other, it never will be that thing; i.e., it *is* and will never change. Eternity is changeless and can admit neither of subtractions nor additions. This aspect of the divine essence is stressed by Gregory (see Cherniss as cited above) in the second book of his *C. Eun.*: *ἡ ἄκτιστος φύσις … πέρας οὐκ ἔχει … ὑπερεκπίπτει πᾶσαν διαστήματος ἔννοιαν … οὔτε ἀρχὴν οὔτε τέλος προσίεται, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τὸ ἐν ἑκατέρῳ σημαινόμενον πέφυκεν ἀεὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχουσα … οὔτε μείζων οὔτε ἐλάττων ἐκ προσθήκης ἢ ὑφαιρέσεως γίνεται* (*C. Eun.* 2.69-70, Jaeger, 1: 246.15-247.1 [PG 45: 933A-B]): "the uncreated nature ... has no limit ... it transcends every idea of interval [scil., in space or time; see Verghese as cited in n. 95 above] ... is subject to [i.e., has] no beginning or end but, being always the same, is by nature superior to the idea expressed by each of these words." Cherniss, p. 35, ascribes Gregory's view of the unchangeableness of God to Plato, *Republic* 380d-381c. No detailed attempt has as yet been made to connect Gregory's concept of eternal being with Parmenides. But the chief element of the former's ideas on this subject often seem to echo what the latter had said. Thus, according to Parmenides, Being is ungenerated and indestructible (all references are to Tarán's edition: p. 82.3: *ἀγένητον … καὶ ἀνώλεθρον*). "For what origin would you seek for it?" (82.6: *τίνα γὰρ γένναν διζήσεαι αὐτοῦ ;*). [It is not possible] for it to come into being

While we cannot fail to applaud Gregory for his ingenious use of the idea of eternity, it should be recognized that he did not exploit it adequately. What he should have done was to explain more fully the consequences of his conception of the *ἄκτιστος φύσις* ("the uncreated nature"), by which he meant the godhead, i.e., the members of the Trinity, who were the only beings in the universe that were not of a created nature. According to him, uncreated nature had neither beginning nor end.[101] Consequently he should have objected that on the basis of this axiom Eunomius' system was unsatisfactory because it denied that the Son was co-eternal with the Father and assigned him a beginning — whether in time or before time.[102]

Gregory was, of course, aware that the argument so far as he had made it could be turned against him, and that he would have to show why creation should not, like the Son, be declared co-eternal with the Father. This he does by arguing that, as far as created things are concerned, we push our way back through the *aiōnes* until we come to the point at which they began: *τῇ τῶν αἰώνων καταβολῇ*. All this is the realm of time, and we cannot go beyond it to the *ousia* which is above time and creation — and cannot be traversed by the human intellect.[103]

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or cease to be (82.13-14: *οὔτε γενέσθαι οὔτ' ὄλλυσθαι*). "It is or is not" (83.1: *ἔστιν ἢ οὐκ ἔστιν*). "How could Being be hereafter? and how could it have come into being? For, if it came into being, it is not, not even if it will be in the future" (83.19-20). Hence, coming into being and ceasing to be are inconceivable (83.21: *τὼς γένεσις μὲν ἀπέσβεσται καὶ ἄπυστος ὄλεθρος*), "It is without beginning or end since coming to be and destruction are far removed from it" (83.27-28: *ἔστιν ἄναρχον ἄπαυστον ἐπεὶ γένεσις καὶ ὄλεθρος τῆλε μαλ' ἐπλάχθησαν*). "It remains the same and in the same..." (83.29: *ταὐτόν τ' ἐν ταὐτῶι τε μένον*), "It is complete in all dimensions" (84.42-43: *τετελεσμένον ἐστὶ πάντοθεν*). The quotation marks above indicate my free translations, which are in large part, but not altogether, dependent upon Tarán's; the other versions are paraphrases. For exegesis, etc., see Tarán. The similarity of ideas is striking. But it should be noted that some, like Tarán, doubt that Parmenides held the "notion of atemporal eternity." It is significant for the Cappadocian theology that Gregory (note also Basil: the last few lines of 1.20 [557B-C]) was committed to the view that the "uncreated nature" had neither beginning nor end. I am grateful for the valuable contribution of Mr. Nicholas Goodhue in preparing this note.

[101] See n. 100.

[102] See further at nn. 192-217 below.

[103] *C. Eun.* 1.342-364, Jaeger, 1: 128.17-134.26 (PG 45: 357C-365A) (fifth day of the heavens and the law of Moses: 129.22-130.9 [PG 45: 360A-B]; the measuring rods: 130.24-131.9 [PG 45: 360D-361A]; conclusion about the Son's being co-eternal with the Father: 131.9-133.7 [PG 45: 361A-364A]; on why Creation is not also co-eternal with the Father: 133.8-134.26 [PG 45: 364A-365A]). See the analysis by Balás, "Eternity," pp. 128-155. See also G. May, "Einige Bemerkungen über das Verhältnis Gregors von Nyssa zu Basilios dem Grossen," in *Epektasis*, pp. 509-515. Cf. E. Mühlenberg, *Die Unendlichkeit Gottes bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Göttingen 1966) pp. 106-107, 111-112, 141-142. Athanasius (*C. Ar.* 1.13 [cf. 1.14] [PG 26: 37C-41D]) makes a similar objection to the Arian view. Cf. Meijering

To return, now, to Eunomius' treatise, we find that, in effect, all that he leaves to Jesus Christ by way of dignity, Basil objects, is that he was begotten before the things he himself created, although he says that God begat Christ *οὐκ ὄντα*. The Son could not have been in existence when he was begotten, Eunomius claims, because what exists has no need of being born.[104] In coming to this conclusion, Basil retorts, Eunomius is interpreting the birth of Jesus in animal and human terms, but he overlooks John 1.1 ("In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God and the word was God").[105] This text, Basil maintains (along with John 1.4 and 9), excludes the possibility that Christ ever did not exist, since there is nothing prior to the beginning, and it proves the existence from all eternity, the impassible generation, the consubstantiality with the Father and the majesty of Christ's nature.[106] Taken with Revelation 1.8 (according to which the Lord was *ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν*), it means that Christ was both everlasting and timeless (*ἀΐδιος ὁμοίως καὶ ἄχρονος*).[107]

At this point, Basil makes a brief digression in which he denounces those who claim that they know what precedes the Son.[108] Maintaining that no one can conceive of anything before the Son,[109] he warns everyone who has even slight regard for the truth to abstain from defiling the concept of God with carnal and material fantasies, and to cleave instead to the teaching of the Holy Spirit that the generation of the Son is worthy of God, impassible, indivisible, inseparable and timeless. It should be understood also that the Son is the image of the invisible God, not in the sense of having been manufactured subsequently as a copy of the prototype [i.e., God], but as coexisting and subsisting with him — not

(see n. 100 above), pp. 161-168, at 161-162, 164-165; J. Daniélou, *L'être et le temps chez Grégoire de Nysse* (Leiden 1970) p. 29; H. A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) 198-232. J. F. Callahan, "Greek Philosophy and the Cappadocian Cosmology," *DOP* 12 (1958) 29-57, at 56, n. 101, touches upon Gregory's idea of past and future but does not discuss the question at issue here. Neither does B. Otis, "Gregory of Nyssa and the Cappadocian Conception of Time," *SP* 14 (1976) 327-357; idem, "Cappadocian Thought as a Coherent System," *DOP* 12 (1958) 95-124. None of the above-mentioned scholars nor, so far as I can see, anyone else has drawn attention to what I take to be a major flaw in the arguments Basil and Gregory of Nyssa made against Eunomius in the matter of the timeless generation of the Son (see n. 100 above and at nn. 192-217 below).

[104] 2.14 (597A-B); NB: *τῷ γὰρ ὄντι οὐ δεῖ γεννήσεως*.

[105] 2.14 (597B-C).

[106] 2.15 (601B-C): *τὴν ἐξ ἀϊδίου ὕπαρξιν, τὴν ἀπαθῆ γέννησιν, τὸ συμφυὲς τῷ Πατρί, τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς φύσεως*.

[107] 2.14 (600B).

[108] 2.16 (604B): *μάταιός ἐστι νοῦς καὶ τετύφλωται, τῷ ὄντι μηδὲν ἐπιστάμενος, ὁ τὰ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς πρεσβύτερα κατειληφέναι φρονῶν*.

[109] Ibid.: *τὰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τὸν Υἱὸν οὐ νοεῖται*.

being a mere reproduction produced by imitation that carries the impression of the entire nature of God as in a seal.[110]

Admitting that some of his arguments may not appear to be altogether apposite for the divine and eternal subjects with which he is dealing, they nevertheless serve, Basil claims, to refute those who cannot understand the impassible birth of Christ. But he takes it to be obvious that, since Christ was not only the image and the splendor of the glory of God, but also his *sophia*, *dynamis*, *ousia* and righteousness — not merely as a habit or disposition (ἕξις) or tendency (ἐπιτηδειότης) — but as living and active *ousia* — he must be co-eternal with God who could never be imagined as subsisting without these qualities.[111]

To Eunomius' objection that, if Christ had already existed, he would not have been begotten (οὐ γεγέννηται), Basil replies that, since Christ was begotten, he existed (ἦν), not as unbegotten, but as co-eternal with the Father, who was the cause of his being. The biblical texts (like Psalms 109.3 [LXX]) which refer to Christ's having been begotten indicate that he was caused, and others (like John 1.1) prove his timeless existence before the ages.[112]

In defense of his thesis that the *ousia* of the Son was created by the Father and that the Son was, therefore, subsequent to, and different in *ousia* from, the Father, Eunomius had advanced what he thought was a *reductio ad absurdum* of the orthodox position. That is, he claimed that, if the Son existed before his generation (πρὸ τῆς γεννήσεως), he must have been *agennētos*. Basil dismisses τὸ πρὸ τῆς γεννήσεως τοῦτο as either nonexistent or a figment of the imagination altogether devoid of substance. But if it has any sense, he says, it raises the question of the αἰῶνες ("the ages").[113] Since, however, they are later than the Son and were created by him, it is pointless to seek anything older than his *ousia*. This is like asking if the Father existed before his formation (before he came into existence),[114] since the Son was with the Father from all eternity. Similarly, asking what existed before the birth (γεννήσεως) of the eternal is like asking what will happen after the death of the immortal one. Since the Eunomians describe the Father as *anarchos* and *aïdios*, and equate these

[110] 2.16 (604C-605A). This passage has proved very difficult for the editors. On 605A, line 4, I read ἀλλ' ὥσπερ instead of ὥσπερ. See nn. 68, 141, 143.

[111] 2.17 (605B).

[112] 2.17 (605C-608A); NB: ἄχρονον καὶ προαιώνιον ὕπαρξιν. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.618-651, Jaeger, 1: 204.21-213.24 (PG 45: 441B-452C). See n. 192 below.

[113] See nn. 97 and 103 above.

[114] 2.17 (608B): πρὸ τῆς ἰδίας συστάσεως.

two epithets, they will not concede that the Son, who is not *agennētos* [i.e., not *anarchos*], is *aïdios*. But there is a great difference in the meaning of these terms, Basil holds. *Agennētos* means to have no beginning and no cause of being. But *aïdios* signifies what is in being prior to all time and *aion*.[115] Hence, the Son, though not *agennētos*, was *aïdios*. Some say that the *aiōnes* are also *aïdioi* (eternal) because the word *aiōn* means being forever. But Basil condemns the notion that creation is *aïdios* (eternal) as insane, as is the denial that Christ, the Creator of the universe, was eternal.[116]

Continuing with his argument that the Son was subsequent to the Father, Eunomius denied that the Father's *ousia* admitted *gennēsis* or that there was any other *ousia* which underlay the *gennēsis* of the Son, since he did not exist before he was begotten. Basil rebuts these allegations by appealing to the voice which addressed Moses from the burning bush, saying "*ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὤν*." This was the Son, who is represented (Exodus 3.2-14), Basil maintains, both as the angel who appeared in the burning bush and as God speaking to Moses. In this passage, God the Logos, i.e., the Son, reveals himself to have been with God at the beginning.[117] In the next paragraph Basil denounces Eunomius for "blasphemously asserting that the Son once did not exist, i.e., that he did not exist in his own nature, but was created by the grace of God."[118]

Then Eunomius is quoted as denying that the Son and that which he creates are of the same *ousia* since, according to him, non-being (*τὸ μὴ ὄν*) (out of which the Son fashions the universe) is not *ousia*. He also "assigns" (*νέμομεν*) Christ the same superiority [in the universe] (*ὑπεροχήν*) which the creator has over his creatures. Basil ignores Eunomius' theory that *τὸ μὴ ὄν* cannot be regarded as *ousia*, which, philologically and even metaphysically, is quite reasonable. For how can "non-being" ever be regarded as "being" (one of the literal meanings of *ousia*)? Nevertheless, taking no note of this point,[119] Basil prefers to call attention to Eunomius' arrogance in presuming to make assignments to Christ. This is probably captious criticism. But Basil then goes on to argue that Eunomius would in effect be holding Christ to be of the same *ousia* as that which he creates.

[115] See n. 97 above.

[116] 2.17 (608C).

[117] 2.18 (608D-612A); NB: *τὸν ἐν ἀρχῇ ὄντα πρὸς τὸν θεόν*.

[118] 2.19 (612A-613A); NB: *μὴ εἶναί ποτε τὸν Υἱὸν βλασφημοῦντες, ὡς τῇ μὲν ἑαυτοῦ φύσει μὴ ὄντα, χάριτι δὲ εἰς τὸ εἶναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ παραχθέντα.*

[119] Basil regularly uses *ousia* to signify "essence" or "substance" but never, so far as I can see, as an equivalent for our nouns "being" or "existence," i.e., as the antonym for "non-being" (*τὸ μὴ ὄν*).

He arrives at this conclusion by reasoning firstly that the Father, being *agennētos*, must be regarded by Eunomius as different from what he creates (τὰ γεννητά). Here Basil accepts *gennēta* in the Eunomian sense as a synonym for *genēta* (created objects).[120] He argues secondly that all created things, being produced out of nothing (ἐκ τῶν μὴ ὄντων), are of the same *ousia*, which, overlooking the literal meaning of "being," he takes in the sense of "substance" or "stuff" or "matter." Thirdly he concludes that, since Eunomius says the Son was created by God, he too must logically in the Eunomian system be of the same *ousia* as other creatures. It makes no difference, he says, that Eunomius ranks the Son above the things he creates, because artisans, for example, though superior to the things they fashion, are nevertheless *homo-ousioi* with them, as is the potter with the clay and the shipwright with the wood he uses.[121]

Next Eunomius proceeds to define *Monogenēs* as meaning him who alone was begotten and created by one alone, by the power of the unbegotten, and who became the most perfect assistant (ὑπουργός). Basil rejects this definition as unsatisfactory, since in current usage *Monogenēs* signified "the only one who was begotten" (i.e., "of the Father," the indispensable phrase here, which Basil strangely omits, probably because it was obvious). He then repudiates Eunomius' use of the word κτισθείς in conjunction with γεννηθείς as an attempt to show that the designation of the Lord as "begotten" was intended in a physical sense, as in Isaiah 1.2 ("I have begotten and raised up children"), Exodus 4.22 ("Israel is my first-born Son"), and, above all, Proverbs 8.22 ("The Lord created me": Κύριος ἔκτισέ με). The last of these had been one of the chief biblical authorities to which the Arians always appealed as proof that Christ was a *ktisma*. But Basil rejects their interpretation for three reasons: first, because this expression occurs only once in the entire Bible; second, because the Book of Proverbs is so full of parables, obscurities, and

[120] See n. 19 above.

[121] 2.19 (613B-C). This peculiar statement about the consubstantiality of artisans with the products of their labor is based by Basil on the fact that the artisans as well as the objects they produce are all σώματα, αἰσθητά, and γήινα (613C: i.e., bodies or corporeal entities of some sort, perceptible, and earthly). The argument is not affected by the fact that Basil says the Eunomians took created objects and the Son to be of the same nature because they are all created ἐκ μὴ ὄντων. The context makes it clear that Basil means the Eunomians, despite their terminology, were putting the Son in the same class as created objects. His use of ὁμοούσιοι at the end of the passage removes all possible doubt, and, of course, φύσις is a synonym for οὐσία. On these points, see J. Lebon, "Le sort du 'consubstantiel' nicéen" (second part), *RHE* 48 (1953) 632-682, at 635, 641-643. But, a few pages later, Basil reversed himself and denied that it was possible to determine the *ousia* of a person from what he produces; see p. 110 below.

enigmas that it is not possible to derive any clear or precise doctrine from it; and third, because other versions of the original Hebrew read not ἔκτισε but ἐκτήσατο, which in other texts as, e.g., in Genesis 4.1, means begot.[122]

Basil promised to give a more detailed exegesis of this celebrated passage, but seems never to have done so. Gregory discusses it in detail several times. His three principal conclusions can be summarized, as by van Parys, as: first, there is no proof that this text was intended to refer to Jesus Christ; second, ἔκτισε is not a correct translation for the original Hebrew; and third, even if ἐκτήσατο is substituted for ἔκτισε, the meaning of the passage is by no means clear.[123]

Taking *monogenēs* to mean, not "only begotten Son" (that is, sole son), but "begotten by only one," Eunomius interprets *gennētheis* as *ktistheis*, and thus reduces Jesus to a *ktisma*, who, he adds, "became a most perfect minister" [or "assistant"]. In attacking this bold pronouncement, Basil concentrates upon the meaning of *monogenēs* and Jesus' designation as an *hypourgos*. If we accept Eunomius' definition of *monogenēs*, Basil says, we shall have to change our terminology radically and define *monogenēs* to mean generation from only one parent, rather than one who has no brothers [or sisters]. Then he argues that God, ὁ θελήματι μόνῳ δημιουργῶν, has no need of the ὑπουργία which Eunomius is providing. But Basil's chief objection at this point is that, if Christ were a *hypourgos*, "begotten and created," as Eunomius maintains, he would be nothing more than any number of the "ministering spirits" and would not differ from other members of the created world.[124]

Eunomius' object in denying, as he does, that there was any similarity between the generation of the Son by God the Father and the generation of human beings was, as Basil points out, to eliminate the concept that God was the Father of Jesus Christ, and that they shared the same *ousia*. But the doctrine that Jesus was the Son of God was the most important feature of Christianity which distinguished it from the religion of the Jews and the pagans. All kinds of heretics agree that God is creator and

[122] 2.20 (613D-617A).

[123] M. J. van Parys, "Exégèse et théologie dans les livres *Contre Eunome* de Grégoire de Nysse," in *Écriture et culture philosophique dans la pensée de Grégoire de Nysse*, ed. M. Harl (Leiden 1971) pp. 179-186; idem, "Exégèse et théologie trinitaire, Prov. 8.22 chez les Pères Cappadociens," *Irénikon* 43 (1970) 362-379 (pp. 364-366 on Basil, 366-367 on Gregory of Nazianzus, and 368-378 on Gregory of Nyssa. See also A. Meredith, "*Proverbes*, VIII.22 chez Origène, Athanase, Basile et Grégoire de Nysse," in *Politique et théologie chez Athanase d'Alexandrie*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1974) pp. 349-357, who ignores the work of van Parys cited above, but promises what should be a valuable work on Gregory's *Contra Eunomium*.

[124] 2.21 (617A-620A): τελειότατος γέγονεν ὑπουργός. Cf. p. 91 above.

demiourgos, but we do not recognize as a Christian anyone who thinks it makes no difference whether we confess Father or creator, Son or *poiēma*. For we do not believe, Basil says, in the *demiourgos* and the *poiēma*, but by the grace of baptism we were sealed in the belief in the Father and the Son.

What Eunomius should have done, therefore, Basil contends, was to eliminate all human elements from the concept of divine generation, which was impassible, and not to reject the whole idea of the generation of the Son by the Father. For Father means that he gave another the origin of being in a nature like his own, and Son means that he acquired the beginning of being by being begotten.[125] Furthermore, Basil argues, just because God is said to have been the Father of all creation, we are not to believe, as the Eunomians do, that he was the Father of Jesus Christ and of created beings in the same way. Nor is it correct to take such Scriptural expressions as "the first born of all creation" and the like (Colossians 1.15; Romans 8.29) to mean that Jesus Christ was created. So, he concludes, just as we who have by the grace of adoption been deemed worthy to call God our Father, it is fitting that God be called the Father of him who is his Son in nature, and who came forth from his *ousia*.[126]

As he proceeds in his argument, Basil claims, Eunomius changes his approach. When he says that, because the terms Father and Son are used, we should not conceive of the Lord's generation in human terms, he is not seeking to show that the generation of the Son by the Father was impassible but rather to deny that he begot the Son at all. But, Basil asks, if the Father did not beget the Son, how could the latter have been a *gennēma*, as Eunomius had argued? This Eunomius did when he was trying to demonstrate that, because of the difference between the unbegotten and the begotten, *gennēma* was the Son's *ousia*. But, later, realizing that the word "generation" indicates a community of *ousia*, he denies that the begotten was begotten. Eunomius claims that he rejects the idea of generation by the Father because it introduced passion (*pathos*) into the Godhead. But the same objection could be made to the act of creation, Basil replies, which involves effort (*κόπος*), as do all physical activities. It is no less impious to attribute physical exertion of this kind to God than to say he took part in the act of generation. The point is, however, that God was impassible in both creation and generation.[127]

[125] 2.22 (620A-621B). See n. 194 below for the Greek text.

[126] 2.23 (621B-624B); note from the last sentence: *τίς ἀφαιρήσεται λόγος τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν Υἱοῦ, καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ προελθόντος, μὴ οὐχὶ πρεπόντως αὐτὸν Πατέρα προσαγορεύεσθαι ;*

[127] 2.23 (624C-625A); NB: *εἰ δὲ ἀπαθῶς κτίζει, ἀπαθῆ εἶναι δέξασθε καὶ τὴν γέννησιν.*

Moreover, Basil continues, the metaphorical language of the Bible, according to which God is said to sleep or be angry or fly, is not to be taken literally. Nor should we inquire about the generation of Christ and ask how it could be. Though it is a mystery and altogether beyond human comprehension, we nevertheless do not abandon our firm faith in the Father and the Son. For, he goes on, if we try to measure everything by the standards of logic and intelligibility and leave nothing to faith, we should be like the heathen and unworthy of Christian blessings.[128]

Then, as Basil remarks, Eunomius advances two contradictory propositions, maintaining both that identity of title or designation does not involve identity in *ousia* (when he is trying to defend his use of *poiēma* for Christ) and also that difference of designation necessarily betokens difference in *ousia*. In the next section, Basil deals with Eunomius' objection (which he deems to be his chief error) to the Nicene doctrine that Christ was the begotten light, shining forth from the *agennēton phōs*, life itself, and goodness itself proceeding from the life-giving source of the Father's goodness. Realizing that this concept that the Father and Son are both light and that the idea of light is one and the same would lead inevitably to the conclusion of kinship of *ousia*, Eunomius says that the *agennēton* and the *gennēton phōs* etc. are not comparable and have no relationship to each other.[129] Specifically, to deal with this problem, Eunomius raises what he takes to be fatal objections to the Nicene theology by suggesting two alternatives. In the first place, if light (*phōs*) and the unbegotten differ from each other, then God the Father would be composite (*synthetos*). But this he says is impossible; for the unbegotten cannot be composite. On the other hand, if the light and the unbegotten are identical, then the unbegotten and begotten light, life, and power (*dynamis*) will differ as the begotten differs from the unbegotten.[130]

[128] 2.24 (625B-628B). On the generation of Christ, Basil says (625D-628A), *καὶ μή μοι λέγε· τίς δὲ ἡ γέννησις; καὶ ποταπή; καὶ πῶς ἂν γένοιτο αὕτη; οὐ γάρ, ἐπειδὴ ὁ τρόπος ἄῤῥητος καὶ ἀπερινόητος παντελῶς, ἤδη καὶ τὸ πάγιον τῆς εἰς Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν πίστεως ἐκβαλοῦμεν.*

[129] 2.24-25 (628C-629C). See F. J. Dölger, "Sonne und Sonnenstrahl als Gleichnis in der Logostheologie des christlichen Altertums," *Antike und Christentum* 1 (1929) 271-290. The Nicene definition of Christ as "light from light" is probably derived from Philo. Cf. F. N. Klein, *Die Lichtterminologie bei Philon von Alexandrien und in den hermetischen Schriften* (Leiden 1962). Basil attacks two different opinions as Eunomius' major heresy, which he describes as *τὸ κεφάλαιον τοῦ κακοῦ* and *τὸ κεφάλαιον τῶν κακῶν*, respectively. See at n. 93 above.

[130] 2.25 (629C). As the editor of the Migne text rightly shows, *γεννητόν* in the second line of Eunomius' proposition here must be emended to *ἀγέννητον* (and the parallel Latin *genitum* to *ingenitum*).

Basil opens his onslaught on Eunomius' idea of the begotten and unbegotten light by asking what degree of measurement divides the unbegotten from the begotten. Is it small or large? Is there any point at which they come together or not?[131] He then rebuts Eunomius by pointing out that the antithesis to light is not light, but darkness. The unbegotten, he argues, might seem to be opposite to the begotten, not in reality, but in the form of the words [i.e., since they are different words]. But light is identical with light in pronunciation and meaning; and it is impossible to demonstrate that there is a light different from light, or that one differs from the other in the same degree that the unbegotten differs from the begotten. Eunomius' purpose in arguing this way about the difference between unbegotten and begotten light as matching the difference between the unbegotten and the begotten was to show that the Son's *ousia* differed from that of light (so as not even to be called or thought of as light) and consequently that the Father's *ousia* was in all respects alien to the Son's.

On this point, Basil claims, Eunomius was directly refuted by John 1.9, which pronounces the Son to be "the true light," as also with regard to life by John 14.6 ("I am the life"), and with regard to power by 1 Corinthians 1.24, according to which Christ is God's power. Here again, Basil notes, Eunomius had made the mistake of representing life and power as the opposites of life and power, although the correct antonyms thereto are death and weakness.

The orthodox position on the distinction between the unbegotten Father and the begotten Son, Basil says, is that of the good Son of the good Father, the eternal light which shone forth from the unbegotten light, the life-giving source which proceeded from the true life, and the power of God, emerging from that which is itself power. On the other hand, darkness, death, and weakness have their place with the prince of this world, the rulers of darkness, the spirits of evil, and with every power that is hostile to the divine nature. None of these was destined by its *ousia* to oppose the good (for that would reflect discredit upon the Creator), but they fell away into evil by their own choice and by lack of the good. This is the category to which Eunomius had sought to place the Son.[132]

In defining the orthodox conception of the relation of the unbegotten to the begotten, Basil begins by denying that it is as between the greater and

[131] 2.25 (629D-632A).
[132] 2.26-27 (632B-636B).

the less, or between intensity and slackening.[133] Nor, he continues, is it correct to speak with Eunomius of one *ousia* as opposed to another. The pagan philosophers had agreed that this was impossible; but the Eunomians were accustomed to disregard ancient thought when it did not support their position.[134] According to Basil, the correct view was that the differences between Father and Son are indicated by characteristic traits which are aspects of the *ousia* and lead to a clear and unconfused conception of the Father and the Son. These distinguishing properties mark the distinctions in the common *ousia* shared by the Father and the Son without damaging the consubstantiality. That is, the divinity is common to both persons, but the individual properties are Fatherhood and Sonship. Thus, from the combination of both these elements [i.e., the common *ousia* and the individual traits of each of the two Persons], we can reach a sound understanding of what Basil calls the truth. That is, when the unbegotten light is mentioned, we think of the Father, and when we hear of the begotten light, we know that the Son is intended. So far as light is concerned, there is no difference between them; the difference is between unbegotten and begotten. But the distinctions thus defined do not affect the oneness or unity of the *ousia*.[135]

[133] 2.28 (636C): *τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ πρὸς τὸ γεννητὸν οὐχὶ κατὰ τὸ μᾶλλον καὶ ἧττον ἡ διαφορά, ὡς τῷ ἐλάττονι φωτὶ πρὸς τὸ πλεῖον, ἀλλ᾽ ὅση ἡ τῶν πάντη ἀλλήλοις ἀσυνυπάρκτων διάστασις.* 636C-637A: *τὸ δὲ ἀγέννητον οὐχὶ ἐπίτασίς ἐστι τοῦ γεννητοῦ· οὐδὲ μὴν τὸ γεννητὸν ὕφεσίς τίς ἐστι τοῦ ἀγεννήτου.*

[134] 2.28 (637A).

[135] 2.28 (637A-D); see n. 84. The *locus classicus* for the Cappadocian analysis of the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis* is the so-called 38th Letter, which is included in the corpus of Basil's works, but has now been proved to have been written by Gregory of Nyssa: P. Fedwick, "A Commentary of Gregory of Nyssa" (cited in n. 2 above); R. Hübner, "Gregor von Nyssa als Verfasser der sog. *Ep.* 38 des Basilius, zum unterschiedlichen Verständnis der *οὐσία* bei den kappadozischen Brüdern," in *Epektasis* (Paris 1972) pp. 463-490. Despite differences in detail between Basil and Gregory, Basil's understanding of the relation between the divine *ousia* and the three *hypostases* was in essential agreement with that of his brother. The best and most detailed analysis of these concepts as used by Basil is by Lebon, "Le sort du 'consubstantiel' nicéen," (see n. 121 above). See also E. Bailleux, "Le personnalisme trinitaire des Pères grecs," *MSR* 27 (1970) 3-25; Wolfson, *Philosophy of the Church Fathers*, 1: 337-346 (with important discussion of the pagan background); H. Dörrie, "Zum Ursprung der neuplatonischen Hypostasenlehre," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 331-342; F. Erdin, *Das Wort Hypostasis, seine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Entwicklung in der altchristlichen Literatur bis zum Abschluss der trinitarischen Auseinandersetzungen* (Freiburg i.Br. 1939); S. Gonzáles, *La fórmula Μία οὐσία τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις en San Gregorio de Nisa* (Rome 1939); M. Gomes de Castro, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa* (Freiburg i.Br. 1938); A. Grandsire, "Nature et hypostases divines dans saint Basile," *RSR* 13 (1923) 130-152; L. Rougier, "Le sens des termes *οὐσία, ὑπόστασις* et *πρόσωπον* dans les controverses trinitaires postnicéennes," *RHR* 73 (1916) 48-63; 74 (1917) 133-189; S. Schlossmann, *Persona und πρόσωπον im Recht und im christlichen Dogma* (Kiel 1906). See now also Sieben, *Voces*, under the words *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις*; and Cherniss, "The

Against Eunomius, who held that if the unbegotten and light were not the same God would be proved to be composite, Basil maintains that unbegotten (like begotten) was a distinguishing characteristic of the *ousia*, not a part of it. Without these distinctive traits, Basil says, it would be impossible to form a distinct idea of the Father or the Son. But these modes of revealing the characteristics of the *ousia* do not alter the simplicity of the *ousia*.[136]

Pushing the Son as far away from the Father as possible, Eunomius declared that the *ousia* of the Son was separated from that of the Father by the law of nature (*νόμῳ φύσεως*). This meant, Basil explains, that even if he wished, God was prevented from admitting the Son to community with his *ousia*, and had to have an *ousia* that was different from the Son's. According to Eunomius' pronouncement, God did not have control over himself, and was under the same compulsion as fire, for example, which produces heat by nature, not by exertion of will, and necessarily is the antithesis of cold. On the contrary, Basil retorts, the laws cf nature do not separate the Father from the Son, but produce a necessary and unbreakable communion between them.[137]

In attacking the judgment of those who would compare the *ousia* of God with that of the Son, which he declares to be subject to control [by the Father], Eunomius now refers to the Father's *ousia* as subject to no Lord, superior to all causation, and free of all regulation.[138] This was inconsistent, Basil observes, with Eunomius' previous assertion of God's subjection to the law of nature and could only reduce the Son to a created object.[139]

Basil then turns to Eunomius' assertion that the activity (*energeia*) of God's *ousia* is the consequence of his exalted position (*axiōma*: literally, "rank" or "honor") and appropriate [or related] to it [or in keeping with it].[140] Basil seizes upon this statement as a confirmation of his own position. For, he argues, if the Son is the image [or reflection] of God's activity, and the activity is an image of God's exalted position, and the

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Platonism," p. 38; cf. my "Nestorius was Orthodox," *DOP* 16 (1962) 124, n. 12, reprinted in my *Studies in Byzantine Intellectual History*, 6 (London 1979).

[136] 2.29 (640A-B). In Basil's definition, *τὸ δὲ γεννητὸν καὶ ἀγέννητον γνωριστικαί τινές εἰσιν ἰδιότητες*, and he describes the hypostases in general as *ἰδιώματα* or *οἱ δεικτικοὶ τῆς ἰδιότητος αὐτοῦ τρόποι*, etc.

[137] 2.30 (641A-644A).

[138] 2.31 (644B): *τὴν ἀδέσποτον καὶ πάσης μὲν αἰτίας κρείττονα, πάντων δὲ νόμων ἐλευθέραν οὐσίαν*.

[139] 2.31 (644B-D).

[140] 2.31 (644D-645A): *ἀκόλουθον καὶ προσήκουσαν τῷ ἰδίῳ ἀξιώματι … τὴν ἐνέργειαν*.

exalted position is an image of God's *ousia* (for, as Eunomius had put it, *agennēsia* [which he equated with God's *ousia*] is an *axiōma* [645A]), then the Son will be an image of God's *ousia*.[141]

This argumentation is complicated and obscure. But, as Basil explains, God's *axiōma* is a consequence of his *ousia*, and his activity is analogous to, i.e., in proportion with, the *axiōma*. This is only an involuted way of saying that God's exalted rank is inevitably dependent upon his *ousia*. In other words, what God is (his *axiōma*) is the result of his *ousia*, and his activity is also what it is because of what his *ousia* is. Consequently, the Son, as the *energeia* — or image [or reflection] — of God, also reflects [i.e., "is an image of"] God's *ousia*.

In this context Basil apparently takes *εἰκών* to mean something like "reflection" or "consequence." More in keeping with his own position, however, was his statement that, since the *energeia* was (in Eunomius' words, which Basil repeats five times)[142] the consequence of God's *axiōma* and appropriate to it, and since the Son was God's *energeia*, the Son was therefore akin to, or related to, the *ousia* of God.[143] This is not quite the equivalent of an unambiguous declaration that the Son was *homo-ousios* with the Father. But it enabled Basil at least to claim that, in spite of himself, Eunomius had to concede that the Son was not unlike (*anomoios*) the Father and was comparable with him (i.e., that the Father was not *asynkritos*).[144]

This conclusion could have been set forth much more concisely and without ambiguities. But Basil followed the tortuous path of the argument outlined above (although he takes pains to disclaim Eunomius' premises) in order to show that Eunomius' own statements, properly analyzed and interpreted, came close to supporting the orthodox doctrine of the relation of the Son to the Father's *ousia*.

In further exploitation of his theory of the significance of the *energeia*, Eunomius had advanced the thesis that, if one studied created objects, and moved from them to consideration of *ousia*, he would not only find the Son to be the creation (*poiēma*) of the Unbegotten, and the Holy Spirit to

[141] The principal passages analyzed in the text above are: 645A: *ἀξίωμα μέν ἐστιν ἡ ἀγεννησία, ὡς Εὐνομίῳ δοκεῖ· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ οὐσία κατὰ τὸν τούτων λόγον, ἐνέργεια δὲ τοῦ Θεοῦ ὁ Μονογενής. ἢ ἐνεργείας εἰκών....* 645B: *τῇ οὐσίᾳ* [says Eunomius], *τοῦ Θεοῦ ἀκολουθεῖ τὸ ἀξίωμα· τῷ ἀξιώματι ἀναλογοῦσά ἐστιν ἡ ἐνέργεια ... εἰ τῆς μὲν ἐνεργείας ὁ Μονογενὴς εἰκών, ἡ δὲ ἐνέργεια τοῦ ἀξιώματος, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῆς οὐσίας, ὁ Μονογενὴς ἔσται τῆς οὐσίας εἰκών.*

[142] See previous note.

[143] 2.31 (645B): *ἀκόλουθος δὲ καὶ προσήκουσα τῷ ἀξιώματι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ ἐνέργεια, αὕτη δέ ἐστιν ὁ Χριστὸς κατὰ τὴν τούτων ὑπόληψιν, οἰκεῖος ἄρα καὶ προσήκων τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἔσται τοῦ Θεοῦ.*

[144] See at nn. 66, 68, 81 and 82 above, and 150 below.

be that of the Son, but also would prove from the superiority of the Son [i.e., with regard to the Holy Spirit] the difference in activity, and thus obtain indisputable proof of the difference in *ousia*.[145] To this Basil replies that normally it would be possible to draw conclusions from created objects only about the *dynamis*, wisdom, and skill [of the Creator], not about his *ousia*.

For it is possible that the Creator may not have exerted all of his strength (ἰσχύν) in a particular act of creation and may have used only a portion of it. Even if he did draw upon all of his *dynamis*, we could then gauge his strength from what he created without learning thereby what his *ousia* was. But if, because of the simplicity and uncompounded character of the divine nature, Eunomius assumes that the *dynamis* and *ousia* would be identical, and that, on account of God's goodness, the whole of the Father's *dynamis* was utilized in the generation of the Son, and the whole of the Son's power in the production of the Holy Spirit, so that the Son's *dynamis* and *ousia* could be seen in the Spirit, and the Father's *dynamis* and *ousia* in the Son, then the result would be the opposite of what Eunomius had contemplated.

For we can learn nothing about the *ousia* of the artisan from the work of his hand, and it is not possible to determine the *ousia* of the builder from the house he built. But we can learn about the *ousia* of the begetter from the child he has begotten. Therefore, if the Son was a created thing (δημιούργημα), he would not reveal the *ousia* of the Father. But if he does through himself make the Father known to us, he is no creature but the true Son and image of God and the "express image of his Person" (Hebrews 1.3).

Or, in other words, Basil meant to say, the Son, being begotten of the Father, reveals the *ousia* of the Father in himself and also his resemblance (ὁμοιότητα) to the Father. Here,[146] Basil twice uses ὁμοιότης to describe the relation between the Father and the Son, although his argument had led naturally to the conclusion that the Son was shown to be of the same *ousia* as the Father — or, as a Nicene theologian should have said, ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί.[147] On the other hand, he seems not to have realized that his remarks about the relation of the workman to what he produces flatly contradict what he had already said on this subject.[148] In his own mind, he might have been able to resolve this difficulty. But he gives no

[145] 2.32 (645C-648D).
[146] In 2.32 (648B-C).
[147] For Basil's attitude towards this term see nn. 71 above and 222-229 below.
[148] See n. 121 above.

indication that he was aware of it, and it is probable that this is another example of his inability to avoid inconsistencies.[149]

Then Eunomius, scorning, as Basil puts it, the minatory language of the Gospels warning those who blasphemed against the Holy Spirit, claimed that the Holy Spirit was a created thing (*dēmiourgēma*), almost going so far as to call it an animal (ζῷον). Just as the Son was the creature (*poiēma*) of the unbegotten, Eunomius maintained, so the Paraclete was that of the Son. He even did not hesitate to add that, since the Holy Spirit was an inferior being, the Son was not revered for being his creator, nor was he deemed worthy of comparison with the Father.[150]

Basil denounces this doctrine of the Holy Spirit as not only blasphemous in itself but also in conflict with the basic theological principle that no activity of the Son can be isolated from the Father, since there is nothing that is the Son's that is not the Father's and nothing that is the Father's that is not the Son's (John 17.10). He also repudiates Eunomius' notion that the Son alone was the cause of the Holy Spirit and that this particular act of creation should be regarded as demeaning. Though everything was created by the Son, he adds, the Father is none the less the cause of all things. Moreover, the New Testament proves that the Spirit belongs to both the Son (Romans 8.9: "If any man has not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his") and to the Father (1 Corinthians 2.12: "We have received, not the spirit of the world, but the spirit which is of God"). Basil concludes that Eunomius attributed the origin of the Spirit to the Son alone in order to diminish the glory of the Son. But he does not discuss at this point the inappropriateness of designating the Spirit as a creature.[151]

C. Book 3 (On the Holy Spirit)

Near the end of the second book, Basil remarks that he intended to discuss the Holy Spirit as soon as he had the opportunity to do so. The editor of the Migne text takes this as an indication that the third book was not issued by Basil along with the first two, and that he intended to take up this subject at some later time.[152] This seems to be a reasonable conjecture.

[149] For a more serious lapse see at nn. 190-195 and 218 below.

[150] 2.33 (649A-D): NB: *ἐπειδὴ γὰρ τοῦ Πνεύματος, φησί, ποιητὴς ὁ Υἱός ..., τοῦτο δὲ τοιοῦτόν ἐστιν, ὡς μηδεμίαν σεμνότητα τῷ δημιουργήσαντι προστιθέναι, διὰ τοῦτο οὐδὲ συγκρίνεσθαι τῷ Πατρὶ ἄξιος, ἐκ τῆς ὧν ἐποίησεν εὐτελείας τὸ ὁμότιμον τῆς ἀξίας ἀφῃρημένος.*

[151] 2.34 (652A-C).

[152] 2.34 (652A): *καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτου κατὰ σχολὴν ἐροῦμεν.* On Basil's treatment of the subject, see Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 174-202 *passim*. *Inter alia* see: M. S. Orphanos, *'O*

The third book Basil finally did write for his *Contra Eunomium* is devoted to the Holy Spirit, and was presumably completed not much after 364. It begins with a refutation of what he calls Eunomius' blasphemy that, just as the Holy Spirit is third in dignity and order (*ἀξιώματι καὶ τάξει*), it is also third in nature. In the first place, Basil replies, none of the saints supported this doctrine, despite Eunomius' claim that he was relying on their authority. Basil admits that the Son, for example, is second in rank, because the Father is his *ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία*. Nevertheless, he is not second in nature because there is one divinity in both of them.[153]

Υἱὸς καὶ τὸ Ἅγιον Πνεῦμα εἰς τὴν Τριαδολογίαν τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου (Athens 1976); J. Verhees, "Pneuma, Erfahrung und Erleuchtung in der Theologie des Basilius des Grossen," *OstkiSt* 25 (1976) 43-59; idem, "Die Bedeutung der Transzendenz des Pneuma bei Basilius," ibid., 285-302; Kei Yamamura, "The Development of the Doctrine of the Holy Spirit in Patristic Philosophy: St. Basil and St. Gregory of Nyssa," *VladQ* 18 (1974) 3-21: an article based upon dubious premises, which reaches the bizarre conclusion that Gregory's thought is "a pure philosophy of personal dialogue"; P. Petit, "Émerveillement, prière et esprit chez Saint Basile le Grand," *ColCist* 35 (1973) 81-107, 218-238; a series of articles on Basil's doctrine of the Holy Spirit by B. Bobrinskoy, P. C. Christou, J. M. Hornus, and T. F. Torrance in *VCaro* 89 (1969) 1-99; B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1968): the best edition and translation with lengthy introduction; idem, "Autour du traité sur le Saint-Esprit de Saint Basile de Césarée," *RSR* 52 (1964) 204-232; W. D. Hauschild, *Die Pneumatomachen, eine Untersuchung zur Dogmengeschichte des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Hamburg 1967); G. A. Tsananas, "*Τὰ ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ χαρίσματα τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος κατὰ τὸν Μ. Βασίλειον*," in *Θεολογικὸν συμπόσιον, Χαριστήριον Π. Κ. Χρήστου* (Thessalonike 1967), pp. 121-140; A. Heising, "Der Heilige Geist und die Heiligung der Engel in der Pneumatologie des Basilius von Cäsarea," *ZKTh* 87 (1965) 257-308, esp. 283-290; H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto, der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluss des trinitarischen Dogmas* (Göttingen 1956); S. de Boer, "Basilius de Grote en de 'homoousie' van de Heilige Geest," *NedThT* 18 (1963-1964) 362-380; B. Capelle, "La procession du Saint-Esprit d'après la liturgie grecque de Saint Basile," *OrSyr* 7 (1962) 69-76; Th. Schermann, *Die Gottheit des Heiligen Geistes nach den griechischen Vätern des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i.Br. 1901). For the idea of the divinization of men by the Holy Spirit, see M. Lot-Borodine, *La déification de l'homme selon la doctrine des Pères grecs* (Paris 1970); A. Theodoros, *Ἡ περὶ θεώσεως τοῦ ἀνθρώπου διδασκαλία τῶν Ἑλλήνων Πατέρων τῆς Ἐκκλησίας μέχρις Ἰωάννου τοῦ Δαμασκηνοῦ* (Athens 1956); P. Galtier, *Le Saint Esprit en nous d'après les Pères grecs* (Rome 1946); J. Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris 1938). Strangely, Sieben, *Voces* (n. 68 above), a stupendous new work which will prove indispensable for patristic research, gives none of the bibliography on Basil's doctrine of the Holy Spirit, except that he lists H. Crouzel, "Geist (Heiliger Geist)," *RAC* 9 (1976) 490-545, whose brief treatment of Basil (at 541-542) is misleading and who refers to practically none of the specialized literature noted above. See now the interesting paper by R. Staats, "Die Basilianische Verherrlichung des Heiligen Geistes auf dem Konzil zu Konstantinopel 381, ein Beitrag zum Ursprung der Formel 'Kerygma und Dogma'," *KuD* 4 (1979) 232-253 (a more appropriate topic for a paper in *Kerygma und Dogma* could hardly be imagined!).

[153] 3.1 (656A): *φύσει δὲ οὐκέτι δεύτερος, διότι ἡ θεότης ἐν ἑκατέρῳ μία*. At this point (653B-656A) occurs a celebrated passage that was hotly debated by the Greeks and Latins at the Council of Florence in 1439. Basil had written, *τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη, εἰ τῷ ἀξιώματι καὶ τῇ τάξει τρίτον ὑπάρχει τὸ Πνεῦμα, τρίτον εἶναι αὐτὸ καὶ τῇ φύσει ; ἀξιώματι μὲν γὰρ δευτερεύειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ*

Similarly, the Holy Spirit, though below the Son in order and rank, is not of a different nature, nor is it third in nature. Likewise, the angels vary in rank but not in nature, and the stars differ in glory (1 Corinthians 15.41) but are one in nature. Thus, just as the Father and the Son are holy in nature, so also is the Spirit.[154]

παραδίδωσιν ἴσως ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγος· φύσει δὲ τρίτῃ χρῆσθαι, οὔτε παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων Γραφῶν δεδιδάγμεθα, οὔτε ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων κατὰ τὸ ἀκόλουθον δυνατὸν συλλογίζασθαι. At the Council, Mark of Ephesus insisted that this was the correct reading and that it was supported by more than a thousand manuscripts against a mere five or six or so to which the Latins could appeal. But the latter, under the leadership of Giovanni Montenero, the Dominican Provincial of Lombardy, brought forward a text which, instead of *ἀξιώματι μὲν γὰρ δευτερεύειν τοῦ Υἱοῦ παραδίδωσιν ἴσως ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγος*, read: *ἀξιώματι γὰρ δεύτερον τοῦ Υἱοῦ, παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχον, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνον, καὶ ἀναγγέλλον ἡμῖν καὶ ὅλως τῆς αἰτίας ἐκείνης ἐξημμένον παραδίδωσιν ὁ τῆς εὐσεβείας λόγος*, which, freely rendered, would mean: "According to the tradition of the Church, the [Holy Spirit] is second in rank to the Son, derives its being from him, receives [sc. special messages or qualities or the like?] from him, transmits [them] to us, and is completely dependent upon that cause" [i.e., the Son]. That is, the Latins found in these words proof of the validity of *Filioque* and of their doctrine that the Holy Spirit proceeds from both the Father and the Son rather than from the Father alone, as the Greeks believed. In his edition (PG 29: 653B-656A), Garnier reproduced the Greek version without the additional words. But others have defended the expanded form of the text as given above. Now, however, M. van Parys has shown ("Quelques remarques à propos d'un texte controversé de Saint Basile au Concile de Florence," *Irénikon* 40 [1967] 6-14) that the shorter text is supported *word for word* by a Syriac paraphrase of the eighth or ninth century, which was, of course, descended from a Greek manuscript of earlier date, and is accordingly much older than any of the codices the Latins could cite. Hence, it can no longer be doubted that the text championed by the Latins represents some kind of interpolation. Van Parys points out that part of this addition to Basil's original text (*παρ' αὐτοῦ λαμβάνον καὶ ἀναγγέλλον ἡμῖν*) actually occurs in the confession of faith Eunomius submitted to the Emperor Theodosius I in 383. But no source, apart from deliberate interpolation, has as yet been found for the more crucial *παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ εἶναι ἔχον*. Nevertheless, it is clear that the fuller text as it now stands, which, as van Parys conjectures, may have been introduced into Basil's *C. Eun.* by some scribe or scholiast from Eunomius' creed, embodies the basic Eunomian principle that the Holy Spirit *was created by*, derived from, *and wholly dependent upon, the Son*. This was a concept that was never espoused by Basil, by any member of his group, or even by any segment of the orthodox Church, Eastern or Western, and goes far beyond the Latin idea of the double procession of the Holy Spirit. It is therefore somewhat ironic that the Latins in 1439 should unwittingly have relied upon this heretical pronouncement which had been directed by Eunomius against the Catholic doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Trinity. For the dispute on this text see the superlative edition by J. Gill, ed., *Quae supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini* (Rome 1953) pp. 262-398 *passim*; G. Hofmann, ed. *Andreas de Santacroce, Advocatus Consistorialis, Acta Latina Concilii Florentini* (Rome 1955) pp. 140-196 *passim*. Van Parys rightly claims that the evidence he adduces overturns the arguments in favor of the expanded text made by J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge 1959) pp. 198-223; L. Lohn, "Doctrina S. Basilii M. de processionibus divinarum personarum," *Gregorianum* 10 (1929) 329-364, 461-500; and others.

[154] 3.1-2 (656A-660D) *ad fin.*: *καὶ ὥσπερ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Πατήρ, καὶ φύσει ἅγιος ὁ Υἱός, οὕτω φύσει ἅγιον καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ τῆς ἀληθείας. . . .*

Then, referring to Isaiah 6.3 ("Holy, holy, holy is the Lord of hosts"), which he takes as proof that the nature of the Spirit is holiness like that of the Father and the Son, Basil asks, how then can the Spirit be of a third and different nature?[155] Not only do the three Persons share this attribute [of holiness], but the Father is called *pneuma* (John 4.24), as is the Son (2 Corinthians 3.17). In view of these facts, Basil concludes, it is obvious that there is no difference in nature [i.e., between the Holy Spirit, on the one hand, and the other members of the Trinity on the other], but rather a kinship [of the Holy Spirit] with the Father and the Son. Moreover, he says, the goodness of the Spirit is not adventitious or external but present in it by nature, so that it is good, as God is.[156] Then, Basil adds, when the Lord said he would ask the Father to send *another* Paraclete (John 14.16), he indicated that he himself was a Paraclete. Accordingly the Spirit's designation as Paraclete is further demonstration of his glory.[157]

In further support of the texts he had already quoted concerning the Spirit's *μεγαλεῖον τῆς φύσεως* ("majesty of nature"), Basil takes note of its operations (*energeiai*). Some of these, he says, involve the bestowal of human virtue by the Holy Spirit.[158] In another similar capacity, the Holy Spirit is the "Spirit of adoption" (Romans 8.15), which Basil interprets as comparable to the benefit conferred by Jesus, who, according to John 1.12, gave "those who received him the power to become children of God." Likewise, he says, the Lord is a teacher (Matthew 23.10) and so is the Holy Spirit (John 14.26); and he finds evidence of the close link between the Spirit's activity and those of the Father and the Son in 1 Corinthians 12.4-6: "Now there are diversities of gifts (*χαρισμάτων*) but the same Spirit. And there are differences of administration (*διακονιῶν*) but the same Lord. And there are diversities of operations (*ἐνεργημάτων*) but it is the same God which worketh all in all."[159] These verses precede what Basil regards as a clear indication of the Spirit's divine nature (*τὸ θεῖον τῆς*

[155] 3.3 (660D-661A): *εἰ οὖν φύσις αὐτῷ* [sc. *τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*] *ὁ ἁγιασμός ἐστιν, ὥσπερ Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ, πῶς τρίτης ἐστὶ καὶ ἀλλοτρίας φύσεως ;*

[156] 3.3 (661A-B): *ἐκ δὲ τούτων παντὶ δῆλον, ὅτι οὐχὶ ἀλλοτρίωσιν τῆς φύσεως, ἀλλ' οἰκείωσιν πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν ἡ κοινωνία τῶν ὀνομάτων παρίστησι ... ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, οὐκ ἐπισκευαστὴν ἔχον τὴν ἀγαθότητα, ἀλλ' ἐκ φύσεως αὐτῷ συνυπάρχουσαν.*

[157] 3.3. (661B).

[158] 3.4 (661B-C). The passages to which Basil appeals at this point, Psalm 32.6 LXX (King James version, 33.6) (*τῷ λόγῳ τοῦ Κυρίου οἱ οὐρανοὶ ἐστερεώθησαν καὶ τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ πᾶσα ἡ δύναμις αὐτῶν*), Job 33.4 (*πνεῦμα Κυρίου* [Basil's substitute for the LXX *θεῖον*] *ποιῆσάν με*), etc. are taken by him as referring not to creative activity on the part of the Spirit but *ἐπὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἀνθρωπείαν ἀρετὴν τελειώσεως*. But this interpretation is forced and by no means convincing.

[159] 3.4 (661C-664B).

φύσεως): "One and the same Holy Spirit produces all of these [i.e., the word of wisdom, the word of knowledge, faith, the gifts of healing, power to perform miracles, etc., as mentioned in verses 7-10] and distributes them to every man individually as it sees fit" (ibid., 11). All this, he says, reveals that the Spirit wields the strength of the Lord and Master.[160]

Furthermore, he says, it is the Spirit which searches the deep things of God (an allusion to 1 Corinthians 2.10) since no man knows the things of God but the Spirit of God (ibid., 2.11), and it is the Spirit within us which will quicken our mortal bodies (Romans 8.11) [i.e., which will give us immortal life].[161] Nevertheless, Basil continues, Eunomius, ignoring the danger of blaspheming the Holy Spirit, does not refrain from saying that by decree of God the Spirit was created by the Son to be third [in the Trinity] in rank and nature. As such, Eunomius deemed it to be the first and greatest of all things [i.e., of those created by the Son], the Son's only such creation (*poiēma*), which, however, was not divine and had no creative power.[162]

This description of the Spirit is unsatisfactory, Basil urges, because it fails to explain the indwelling of God in man as attested by such texts as 1 Corinthians 3.16 ("Know you not that you are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells within you?"). For, he says, if God is said to dwell in us through the Spirit, it is impious to deny that the latter has a share in divinity. Similarly, since we call those who are perfect in virtue gods, and [recognize] that this perfection comes from the Spirit, how can we believe that which makes others gods [i.e., the Spirit] is itself lacking in divinity? On the contrary, it would be blasphemous to say that divinity is not part of the Holy Spirit's nature.[163]

In this respect, Basil maintains, the Holy Spirit differs from ordinary men who are deified by the grace of God and can lapse. But the divinity of the Holy Spirit is proved, Basil means to say, by the baptismal formula in Matthew 28.19 ("Go forth and baptize in the name of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit"): for, he says, baptism is the seal of faith, and faith [in such matters] is a recognition of divinity. One must first believe and then be sealed with baptism. According to the tradition which comes from the Lord [i.e., from Matthew 28.19], he says, baptism is in the name of the Father, and the Son and the Holy Spirit. No creature or servant is joined to the Father and the Son [i.e., in the celebration of this rite], since

[160] 3.4 (664B *ad fin.*): *αὐθεντικὴν καὶ δεσποτικὴν ἐξουσίαν.*

[161] 3.4 (664C-665A).

[162] 3.5 (665A-B): *ποίημα, θεότητος καὶ δημιουργικῆς δυνάμεως ἀπολειπόμενον.*

[163] 3.5 (665B-C).

divinity consists of the three Persons of the Trinity [and nothing or no one else]. Everything apart from these three is a created being like all the others, no matter how high its station.[164]

Then, in the penultimate chapter of his treatise, Basil turns to Eunomius' conclusion that the Holy Spirit, being neither *agennētos* (since only God is *anarchos* and *agennētos*) nor *gennēma* [since only the Son could be so described], must therefore be termed a *ktisma* and *poiēma*. Instead of attacking this position by insisting that the Spirit was divine and of the same nature as the Father and the Son, Basil confesses to ignorance about the Holy Spirit. But this lack of knowledge, he pleads, is not surprizing since not only are the secrets of the future and of the heavenly things hidden from us, but we even lack clear understanding of the functions of our bodies — like the sense of sight, e.g., by which images of high mountains, the vast earth, the boundless seas etc. are registered in the small compass of the pupil of the eye. Nor do we know whether it is the soul which produces the activity of the mind. Of the Spirit we know that it is beyond creation, since the same nature cannot be that which sanctifies and the things which are sanctified, that which teaches and the things which are taught, that which reveals and the things which are to be revealed.[165]

In the last chapter of his treatise, Basil cites the two biblical texts on which the Eunomians relied to prove that the Holy Spirit was a created being (*ktisma*). The first of these is Amos 4.13 [LXX], according to which the Lord "forms the thunder and creates the spirit" (*στερεῶν βροντὴν καὶ κτίζων πνεῦμα*).[166] But, Basil protests, *πνεῦμα* here does not mean spirit but air or wind (*πνοήν, τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος πνεῦμα*). Moreover, creation would have been intended if the text had read *κτίσας πνεῦμα* but the present tense (*κτίζων*) would have a different meaning. Here Basil is supported by grammar. The first aorist participle, expressing as it does a single act at a fixed point in past time, would well mean that the Lord *created* the wind (literally, of course, in this construction, "having created"). But the present

[164] 3.5 (665C-D): *ἔστι γὰρ τὸ βάπτισμα σφραγὶς τῆς πίστεως, ἡ δὲ πίστις θεότητος συγκατάθεσις. πιστεῦσαι γὰρ δεῖ πρότερον, εἶτα τῷ βαπτίσματι ἐπισφραγίσασθαι. τὸ δὲ βάπτισμα ἡμῶν ἐστι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Κυρίου παράδοσιν, εἰς ὄνομα Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ καὶ ἁγίου Πνεύματος· οὐδενὸς κτίσματος, οὐδὲ δούλου Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ συντεταγμένου, ὡς τῆς θεότητος ἐν Τριάδι συμπληρουμένης. τὸ δὲ ἔξω τούτων ὁμόδουλον ἅπαν ἐστί, κἂν τὰ μάλιστα ὑπερβολαῖς ἀξιωμάτων ἄλλα ἄλλων προτετιμημένα τυγχάνῃ.*

[165] 3.6 (665D-668C). Paul Henry in the book cited below (n. 170), 1: 160-162, finds direct influence of Plotinus in this passage.

[166] 3.7 (668D-669A-B).

tense denotes continued action, and could not be properly used to designate an act of creation, which could have taken place only once.[167]

So Basil was thoroughly justified in explaining this passage as signifying something like the Lord moves or stirs the air or sets it into motion as he chooses. That is, he says, the air mentioned in this verse from Amos is like the thunder, which is not to be understood as having been fashioned into a specific corporeal shape [or object] but is always at the Lord's disposal "to frighten people" (*ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἀνθρώπων*), and is either put into action or brought to rest. Similarly, as the Lord wishes, the wind can be a moving current or cease to blow (*παύεται ἀτρεμοῦντος τοῦ πρότερον κινουμένου*). Thus, the thunder, wind, and the whole of creation announce the creator, as Amos had said in this same passage (*καὶ ἀπαγγέλλων τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸν Χριστὸν αὐτοῦ*). Like the heavens which declare the glory of God (Psalms 18.2 [LXX], [King James version – 19.1]), Basil concludes, the sound of thunder and the motions of the air give witness to their creator. His reasoning here, as well as his allusion to the voice from heaven which sounded like thunder (John 12.29) and, he says, revealed Christ to mankind, is somewhat fanciful. But it must be conceded that Basil was successful in demonstrating that Eunomius' exegesis was not sound and had to be repudiated.

Eunomius' second citation was from John 1.3 ("All things were made by him"), which he interpreted to mean that the Holy Spirit was included with "all things" and hence proved to have been created. But Basil rejects this interpretation because the Holy Spirit was unique and of a unique nature so that it could not have been classified with "all things" at random. Without specific authorization from the Scriptures, he warns, a pious person should not make inferences about the Holy Spirit. By this he undoubtedly meant that we have no right to assume that a general reference to "all things" is applicable to the Holy Spirit, about which we can hope to acquire true knowledge only when we shall be able to "see face to face." He uses this oblique reference to 1 Corinthians 13.12 to bring his disquisition on the Holy Spirit to a close.[168]

Basil's analysis of these two texts is indisputably to be preferred to Eunomius'. But his open confession of ignorance about the Holy Spirit at this point and in the previous chapter[169] indicates that he had not yet

[167] See any grammar of the Greek language: e.g., R. Kühner and B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, 2.1 (Hanover-Leipzig 1898) 132, 153-154; H. W. Smyth, *Greek Grammar* (Cambridge, Mass. 1956) pp. 421, 429.

[168] 3.7 (669c).

[169] N. 165 above.

formulated his ideas about it in definite form. His lack of enthusiasm for further disputation is betrayed not only by the brevity of the third book of his treatise (9 columns of Greek in PG 29 as against 37 for the first book and 40 for the second) but even more by the relative simplicity of the argumentation. The first two books are much more elaborate in structure and far richer in biblical citation. Possibly Basil had been exhausted by the composition of the first two books and was already making plans to deal with the Holy Spirit in a separate monograph, as he eventually did (in 375).

D. Conclusions

In these concluding remarks, without attempting to review every phase of the conflict between Basil and Eunomius outlined in this essay, I will, after a few words (a) on the indebtedness of both disputants to the ancient Greek tradition, make a brief appraisal (b) of Eunomius' theological position, (c) of the relation between Basil and his brother, Gregory of Nyssa, (d) of Basil's rebuttal of Eunomius, (e) of his failure to make extensive use of the Creed of 325, and (f) of his unwillingness to describe the Holy Spirit as *θεός* and consubstantial with the Father and the Son.

(a) Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, as well as Eunomius' other critics, condemned him not only because of his heretical views but also because he had relied heavily upon ancient rhetoric, logic, and dialectics. It is obvious that he had drawn freely upon pagan learning. But it is also true, as he observes, that his opponents had had recourse to the same sources.[170] Actually, a careful analysis of their works and his would

[170] E. Amand de Mendieta, "The Official Attitude of Basil of Caesarea as a Christian Bishop towards Greek Philosophy and Science," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford 1976), 25-49; A. Meredith, "Traditional Apologetic in the *Contra Eunomium* of Gregory of Nyssa," *SP* 14 (1976) 315-319; J. de Ghellinck, "Quelques appréciations de la dialectique et d'Aristote durant les conflits trinitaires du IV[e] siècle," *RHE* 26 (1930) 5-42. For Platonic influence on the Cappadocians, see K. Gronau, *De Basilio Gregorio Nazianzeno Nyssenoque Platonis Imitatoribus* (Göttingen 1908). Cf. Y. Courtonne, *Saint Basile et l'hellénisme* (Paris 1934), who deals almost exclusively with Basil's *Hexaemeron*. Plotinian influence on Basil's works on the Holy Spirit is examined by H. Dehnhard, *Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin. Quellenuntersuchungen zu seinen Schriften De spiritu* (Berlin 1964); and P. Henry, *Études plotiniennes*, 1, *Les états du texte de Plotin* (Paris-Brussels 1938), 130, 156, 159-196. Cf. J. Trunk, *De Basilio Magno Sermonis Attici Imitatore* (Stuttgart 1911). See also Cherniss, "The Platonism," pp. 1-92; E. Mühlenberg, "Die philosophische Bildung Gregors von Nyssa in den Büchern Contra Eunomium," in *Écriture et culture philosophique dans la pensée de Grégoire de Nysse* (see n. 123 above), pp. 230-251; and Staats, "Die Basilianische Verherrlichung," p. 235.

demonstrate that at every turn they were dependent upon Greek rhetoric and logic, especially in the form in which these materials were available during the early centuries of the Christian era.

As far as the orthodox were concerned, to quote only one of a multitude of similar texts, an unknown contemporary and ally of Basil's had said that dialectics provided a defense for the dogmas of the Church and protected them from being easily confuted and overturned by their enemies.[171] Similarly, it has been recently argued that Eunomius' doctrine of the Trinity was based on its main outlines upon Neoplatonic principles, according to which the first member, without suffering any loss or diminution, imparts its own characteristics to the being of which it is cause, while all the beings thus caused are successively inferior to their cause and give only an imperfect image of their producer.[172]

(b) As for Eunomius' argument itself, it must be admitted that, ingenious as he and Aetius were in attempting to base their entire case on the concept of *agennēsia*, they exposed themselves to a powerful rebuttal for doing so. For it is difficult to deny that Basil and Gregory were fully justified in objecting that Eunomius could not explain why *agennēsia* alone of all similar privative terms (*aphtharsia*, etc.) and, indeed, of all the attributes of God, should indicate the *ousia* of God and in itself amount to a *ἡ τοῦ εἶναι ὅ ἐστιν ὁμολογία*.[173] Nor is it clear why only this attribute should have been implanted by God in the mind of men, as Eunomius believed it was.[174]

He was guilty also of a number of inconsistencies, as we have seen, particularly in his attitude to Christ's status. At times, he concedes, or seems to concede, that Christ was begotten, as when he not only speaks of him as *gennētos* and *gennēma* but also freely uses some forms of the verb *gennân* to define the nature of the activity by which the *agennētos* produced the *Monogenēs*. At other times, however, and this seems to have been one of his most cherished points, he maintains that Christ was not begotten but created.[175] This position had, of course, been traditional among the Arians from the very beginning, and Eunomius' tergiversations probably reflect an attempt on his part to meet his critics half way.

[171] Quoted by de Ghellinck (see previous note), p. 38, from PG 30: 269C: *ἡ γὰρ τῆς διαλεκτικῆς δύναμις τεῖχός ἐστι τοῖς δόγμασιν, οὐκ ἐῶσα αὐτὰ εὐδιάρπαστα εἶναι καὶ εὐάλωτα τοῖς βουλομένοις.*

[172] See the articles by Daniélou and Vandenbussche cited in n. 6 above.

[173] See n. 42 above.

[174] Notes 42-64 above.

[175] Notes 66, 83-94 above.

Moreover, he was inconsistent in declaring God to be incomparable (*asynkritos*) and at the same time *μείζων τοῦ Υἱοῦ*.[176] As Basil said, it is impossible to be incomparable and greater at the same time. Nor could Eunomius be defended for holding that the Son was both a *poiēma* and a *gennēma*. For on his own premises, since names are indicative of *ousia*, it could well be argued that, according to him, Christ would then have had two *ousiai*, one as a *poiēma* and another as a *gennēma*.[177] Likewise, as Basil points out, Eunomius contradicts himself when he maintains both that identity of title or designation does not involve identity in *ousia* and also that difference of designation necessarily indicates difference in *ousia*. He cannot have it both ways.[178]

The dispute about *gennēma* as the *ousia* of Christ is on a somewhat different plane. Basil makes the exceedingly ingenious argument that, if Christ is to be known as the *gennēma*, and *gennēma* is his *ousia*, he is therefore proved to have the *ousia* of God.[179] In arguing this way, he took shrewd advantage of Eunomius' words. But what Eunomius probably really meant was that Christ was a *gennēma* and, as such, his *ousia* was that of an offspring or dependent of God. That is, Eunomius intended to say, Christ was derived from God and consequently was later than he as well as inferior to him. Thus, Basil must be given credit as an adroit dialectician. But Eunomius' idea was not devoid of merit, and would have been more effective if less cumbersomely expressed.

Nevertheless, like the Arians of the first half of the fourth century, Eunomius was careful to insist that Christ came into being "before the ages" (πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων) and that there was no time before he was begotten.[180] But he persisted in putting the Father *before* the Son. For this reason, the orthodox replied that Eunomius was in effect subjecting Christ to the cycle of time for, according to them, it was impossible to maintain that God was in any way older than his Son or temporally prior to him without concluding that the Father as well as the Son had a beginning in time.[181] Eunomius' position was based upon logic and "common sense." But he collided with the orthodox conviction that the fundamental belief of the Church was a mystery for which no rational explanation was possible.[182]

[176] Notes 81-82, 150 above.
[177] Notes 83, 85 above.
[178] Page 107 and nn. 52, 84, and 88 above.
[179] Notes 91-92 above.
[180] See n. 97 above.
[181] Notes 98-103 above.
[182] See n. 128 above.

(c) A detailed comparison of Basil's treatise with Gregory's polemics against Eunomius would exceed the limits of this essay. Nevertheless, it can be said that, for the most part, since he was especially eager to defend his brother against attack, Gregory's work on this subject followed Basil's lead very closely. It is, however, very much longer and more detailed than Basil's and includes many additional arguments and examples of all sorts to strengthen and confirm Basil's case. But at the same time, it is clear, Gregory had an original turn of mind and frequently,[183] was able to invent most ingenious syllogisms with which to confound the opposition.[184]

Furthermore, it was inevitable that a gifted theologian like Gregory would have amended some of Basil's arguments both in the normal process of logical development and in order to counter the objections raised against them by Eunomius in his *Apologia apologiae*, i.e., in his refutation of Basil's *C. Eun.* 1-3. For example, Basil had referred to the unity of all men *λόγῳ τῆς οὐσίας* as an illustration of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son and had identified the common *ousia* which unites all men as the material substratum (*τὸ ὑλικὸν ὑποκείμενον*). Eunomius attacked this comparison as inapplicable to the relationship between the Father and the Son, which, he said, could be represented only in the terms suitable to immaterial essences or beings.

Gregory immediately confessed that Basil had made an error on this point and rectified it by stating that the *ousia* which was the principle of unity of all mankind was not a material substratum (*οὐσίαν δὲ λέγω νῦν οὐ τὸ ὑλικὸν ὑποκείμενον*).[185] His use of *νῦν* ("now") in this sentence probably suggests that he had himself once held the view espoused by Basil, and that what he was doing was to adhere as closely as he could to Basil's theory while carrying it one step further (as Basil would in all probability have done himself), so as to attain newer and sounder results. This was characteristic of his method; he was indubitably loyal to his brother's basic principles but was inevitably led beyond them. (A full listing of parallel passages would be a difficult task which, however, urgently needs to be done.)

[183] See nn. 98-103 above (on the coeternity of the Son and the Father).

[184] But see nn. 216-218 below.

[185] This particular difference was first pointed out by D. L. Balás, "The Unity of Human Nature in Basil's and Gregory of Nyssa's Polemics against Eunomius," *SP* 14 (1976) 275-281. See Basil, *C. Eun.* 2.4 (PG 29: 577C), and n. 84 above; Gregory, *C. Eun.* 3.5.20-22, 48, 61-62, Jaeger, 2: 167.3-168.4, 177.26-178.3, 182.25-183.11 (PG 45: 745C-748B, 757C-D, 764C). For other examples of a similar nature, see the article by G. May cited in n. 103 above.

(d) In general an impartial critic would have to conclude that Basil argues fairly. Occasionally, he is as captious as his opponent, and he does sometimes give the biblical texts on which he relies an exegesis they cannot sustain.[186] Moreover, he (and Gregory) at least once completely misunderstood — carelessly if not deliberately — what Eunomius had said.[187] But the chief weakness in Basil's case and in the orthodox position as a whole, is his denial that God, who was in his view the *aitia* and *archē* of the Son, was prior to him in time.[188] This is a difficult concept, and one that is most troublesome for the ordinary person, who, while perhaps willing to concede that there is no before and after in eternity, cannot easily be convinced that the cause does not actually precede the effect — in time as well as in order. This is one of the great mysteries and requires faith rather than logic.

Obviously, Christian monotheism could not survive if this principle were not established and if it were not agreed that the Son was *homoousios* and *synaïdios* with the Father. Basil could tolerate no compromise on these points, although he did at times come perilously close to subordinationism, as we have seen — especially in his discussion of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son.[189]

Actually he makes no attempt to conceal the paradox and unambiguously puts the Father first and the Son second as the effect of God, his cause (πρότερον and δεύτερον, respectively). But, he explains, this order is not according to "our" [i.e., physical or temporal] way of arranging things but according to the natural sequence which inheres in them [i.e., the Father and the Son], in the relationship which a cause bears to that which is derived from it. It is in this sense, Basil says, that we put the Father before the Son without drawing the conclusion, as Eunomius did, that the Son was younger than the Father or of a different *ousia*.[190]

In another section, Basil goes on to argue that the Son always existed with the Father, who was the cause of his existence. He then asks himself

[186] See n. 158 above.

[187] Notes 35-39 above.

[188] Note 73 and pp. 93-98 above and nn. 190-196 below.

[189] Notes 153-154 above.

[190] 1.20 (557A-C): *ἐν τούτοις γὰρ πρότερον τὸ αἴτιον λέγομεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, οὐ διαστήματι χωρίζοντες ἀπ᾽ ἀλλήλων ταῦτα, ἀλλὰ τῷ λογισμῷ τοῦ αἰτιατοῦ προεπινοοῦντες τὸ αἴτιον. πῶς οὖν εὔλογον ἀρνεῖσθαι τὴν τάξιν ἐφ᾽ ὧν ἐστι πρότερον καὶ δεύτερον, οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν θέσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκ τῆς κατὰ φύσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνυπαρχούσης ἀκολουθίας; τίνος οὖν ἕνεκεν ἀθετεῖ τὴν τάξιν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ λαμβάνεσθαι; ἡγεῖται, εἰ ἐπιδείξειε μηδαμῶς ἄλλως τὸ πρότερον ἐπὶ Θεοῦ νοεῖσθαι, λειπόμενον ἕξειν, κατ᾽ αὐτὴν τὴν οὐσίαν τὴν ὑπεροχὴν ἐπιδείκνυσθαι. ἡμεῖς δέ, κατὰ μὲν τὴν τῶν αἰτίων πρὸς τὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν σχέσιν, προτετάχθαι τοῦ Υἱοῦ τὸν Πατέρα φαμέν · κατὰ δὲ τὴν τῆς φύσεως διαφοράν, οὐκέτι, οὐδὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου ὑπεροχήν.*

the question, "When was the Son brought into being by the Father?" To this he replies that, since the Father exists from eternity, so does the Son. Here Basil relies, as we have seen,[191] on John 1.1 ("In the beginning was the Word"), which he combines with Psalms 109.3 (LXX: "From my womb before the morning star have I begotten thee"). The latter of these he interprets as applying to Christ, and, putting the two verses together, he says the reference to Christ's having been begotten indicates the cause from which the Son derived the beginning of his being; and the "was" (from John 1.1) reveals his timeless and eternal existence.[192]

But passages like these two[193] and *C. Eun.* 2.22, which defines Father as one who provides another with the "beginning of being" in a nature like his own and Son as one who receives the "beginning of being" from another by being born,[194] cannot be reconciled with texts which lay stress on Christ's eternal being. For they flatly contradict Basil's oft-repeated statement, as in *C. Eun.* 2.12,[195] that the Son, *ἀεὶ ὤν, οὐκ ἤρξατο τοῦ εἶναί ποτε*, unless we can follow Plotinus[196] (whom Basil does not cite here) in taking the cause in the generation of eternal beings to be atemporal. According to Eunomius, however, there was some kind of interval between the cause (the Father) and the Son, although (like Plotinus) he insisted that each successive hypostasis was inferior to the One.[197] Basil rejected these views of Eunomius. But his acknowledgement that the Son had a "beginning of being" (even in the sense of a Plotinian non-temporal cause) and was second to the Father,[198] although he conceived this relationship to be outside of and before time (*προαιώνιος*), is essentially similar to what Eunomius and the Arians said on the same subject.

For Eunomius was no less insistent than Basil that the production of the Son by the Father was before all time. Basil says Eunomius was not

[191] Note 112 above.

[192] 2.17 (605C-608A): *ἐπειδὴ γεγέννηται, ἦν* [sc. *ὁ Υἱός*] ... *ὢν δὲ ἀεὶ καὶ συνὼν τῷ Πατρί, ἐξ οὗ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἔχει. Πότε οὖν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρήχθη ; ἀφ' οὗ ἐστιν ὁ Πατήρ ; ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀϊδίου, φησίν, ὁ Πατήρ · ἐξ ἀϊδίου τοίνυν καὶ ὁ Υἱός. ... ἐκ μὲν οὖν τοῦ Εὐαγγελίου λάβωμεν τό, ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος · ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ψαλμοῦ ... τό, ἐκ γαστρὸς πρὸ ἑωσφόρου γεγέννηκά σε · καὶ συνθέντες ἀμφότερα, εἴπωμεν ὅτι καὶ ἦν καὶ γεγέννηται. ἀλλὰ τὸ μέν, γεγέννηκα, τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἔχει τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ εἶναι σημαίνει · τὸ δέ, ἦν, τὴν ἄχρονον αὐτοῦ καὶ προαιώνιον ὕπαρξιν.*

[193] In nn. 191-192.

[194] 2.22 (621B): *Πατὴρ μὲν γάρ ἐστιν ὁ ἑτέρῳ τοῦ εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἑαυτῷ φύσιν τὴν ἀρχὴν παρασχών · υἱὸς δὲ ὁ ἐξ ἑτέρου γεννητῶς τοῦ εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκώς.* (See paraphrase at n. 125 above.)

[195] See summaries at nn. 94-96; also at nn. 53, 98, 105-107, 111-118, etc.

[196] *Enneads* 3.7.6, 5.1.6. Henry and Schwyzer, 1: 378.52-54; 2: 274.19-22; n. 188 above.

[197] Ibid., 2: 276.37-39; nn. 2, 73-74, 95-101, 172; pp. 87-89, 110-111, etc. above.

[198] Notes 190-196 above. I am planning an article on these texts.

sincere in making this pronouncement.[199] It is very probable, however, that Eunomius was as careful not to put the Son's generation in time as the Arians had been when they craftily invented the bizarre expression, *ἦν ποτε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν*,[200] precisely in order to avoid being accused of holding that *ἦν χρόνος ὅτε οὐκ ἦν* ("there was a time when he was not"). Eunomius and the Arians[201] were trying to keep faith with the tradition that the Son was begotten or rather created "before the ages" and simultaneously to make him somehow subsequent to the Father but without an origin in time. Very similarly, Basil, in explaining that the Father was the cause and *archē* of the Son, was determined to demonstrate that the Father did not precede the Son in time, although the idea of a non-temporal cause and the force of the human analogy of father and son made for great difficulties. But it should be emphasized that he took pains to add in the *C. Eun.* 2.12, for example, that the Son did not *ever* begin to be (*οὐκ ἤρξατο τοῦ εἶναί ποτε*), in which the indefinite adverb *ποτέ* ("ever") bears great weight.[201a] He no doubt felt that this cautious statement and others like it were sufficient to eliminate the inference that the Son had ever begun to be *in time*. Hence it is obvious that, so far as the denial that the Son had a temporal beginning is concerned, Eunomius and Basil were seeking the same goal, although of course neither would ever have admitted that this was so.

Both were seeking to explain how one of two eternal co-existent Beings anteceded the other — but without an interval of time between them. That is, they were attempting to formulate metaphysical principles that exceed the capacity of language and the mind of man. They had gone beyond the bounds of pure reason and inevitably fell into similar inconsistencies. But Gregory failed to grasp this point and kept assailing Eunomius and the Arians as if they had actually been putting the generation of Christ in time, though they were probably sincere in denying this charge.[202] By concentrating his fire on this accusation, however, and belittling the Arian protests against it, Gregory lost sight of the doctrine he had himself enunciated — that the "uncreated nature," which, as we have seen, signified the members of the Trinity,[203] had neither beginning nor end,[204] and failed to realize that metaphysically

[199] Notes 97-98 above; cf. n. 69.
[200] See nn. 11 and 100 above.
[201] See n. 97 above.
[201a] See n. 195 above.
[202] See n. 97 above.
[203] Page 98 above.
[204] See n. 100 above.

Basil's position was vulnerable to the same objections that he had raised against Eunomius, i.e., that both parties to the controversy, each in his own way, assigned the Son a "beginning of being"[205] whether in time or before time.

The major difference between the two schools on this point, then, was that despite their agreement (with all the inconsistencies peculiar to each of them) on the Son's having been generated before time,[206] the Cappadocians not only maintained that the Son was begotten and consubstantial with the Father but also denied that he was created, a *ktisma*, and subordinate to the Father, as Eunomius said he was. Even here, however, if judged by strict Nicene standards Basil was by no means so careful in his choice of words as he ought to have been. In one sentence, for example,[207] he asks *πότε οὖν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς παρήχθη ;* ("When, then, was the Son brought into being by the Father?"). This question contains two words to which orthodox theologians might object. The first, *Πότε* (When?), a temporal interrogative, is probably innocuous because of Basil's reply that the Son was eternal. But the second is the first aorist passive of the verb *παράγω*, which is one of the Neoplatonic words for "create" and which Basil himself had attacked when used by Eunomius to describe how the Son came into being.[208]

Basil would surely have protested — quite rightly — that *παράγω* can also be taken in a neutral sense ("produce," "bring about," and the like, rather than "create"). But he would then have had to explain how the idea that the Son got the "beginning of being" from the Father and "was brought into being by the Father"[209] differed from Eunomius' that he "was brought into being by the Father by grace."[210] Basil would, of course, have objected that the Son's generation was a matter of nature rather than grace. Moreover, he had denied that, when the Son was brought into being, he could be said to have been *οὐκ ὤν* ("not in existence," "not being")[211] or that he ever began to be.[212] But these denials seem to be mere quibbles, since he does not attempt to mitigate or qualify the inconsistency in maintaining as he does that the Son, *ἀεὶ ὤν*,[213] never-

[205] For Eunomius, see nn. 33, 93-94, 98-104, 112, 117-118.
[206] See n. 181 above.
[207] See n. 192 above.
[208] See n. 118 above.
[209] Notes 190-195 above.
[210] Note 118; note especially 612B.
[211] See nn. 93-95, 104, 118, and *passim*.
[212] Page 124 above.
[213] See pp. 95 and 123 above.

theless had a "beginning of being,"[214] nor does he offer any theory as to what the Son's state would have been that required him to have such a beginning unless we assume that he used *archē* here to mean *aitia*.

But this would be only a mere evasion. Hence, his reference to such a beginning must be regarded as logically presupposing that *πρὶν γεννηθῆναι οὐκ ἦν* ("before he was begotten he was not"), as the Arians had insisted.[215] But this assumption, which was condemned at the Council of Nicaea, subverts the entire Nicene theology. A more careful theologian would have avoided such misleading language unless adequately qualified.

Perhaps it could be argued that the *C. Eun.* 1-3 was one of Basil's earlier works and does not represent his mature thought, although he wrote it when he was about 34 and surely no longer a novice. But Gregory, who was one of the subtlest theologians and most acute dialecticians of the fourth century, repeats and reinforces what Basil had said on this matter.[216] He should have realized that he and Basil were accusing Eunomius of the same offense of which they themselves were guilty. For Gregory was convinced that the "uncreated nature" cannot begin to be[217] and should then have concluded that consequently the Son could not have had a "beginning of being" as Basil says he had.[218]

In extenuation of this truly monumental error, it might conceivably be said that Gregory was so eager to combat Eunomius' Anomoeanism that, in the heat of conflict, he did not quite realize the implications of his own reasoning. Nevertheless, in this one respect, at least, the case against Eunomius failed utterly, if not ignominiously. It might, however, be alleged in Basil's defense (and Gregory's) that, in the end, unlike Eunomius, who believed it was possible to define God's *ousia*, they realized that it was impossible to do so and warned that man cannot explain the generation of the Son from the Father in logical terms, since this doctrine is accessible only by faith.[219]

Still, it is strange that Basil makes practically no attempt to argue any of these points on general theological grounds. Accepting the Nicene dogma as inevitable and unchallengeable, he defends each proposition doggedly. But he never tries to explain, as Athanasius had done, why in human and

[214] Notes 190-194 above.
[215] Note 11 above.
[216] See nn. 100-103 above.
[217] See translation in n. 100 above.
[218] Note 194 above.
[219] See n. 128 above.

soteriological terms it was essential that the Son be of the same *ousia* as the Father and coeternal with him. Perhaps he felt that these questions had already been settled and that it was no longer necessary to expatiate upon them, especially since Eunomius does not attempt to go beyond a purely dogmatic exposition of the principles at issue.

(e) Even if we grant this point, it is astounding that Basil made absolutely no use of the Nicene Creed of 325 to bolster his argument. There he had a matchless authority, legal and ecclesiastical, which provides all the explicit definitions he could have asked for. It is perhaps even more remarkable that Eunomius' basic creed, which, as we have seen, is quoted near the beginning of the first book of Basil's treatise, is very similar in broad outline to the one Basil himself used in baptism. Basil's creed as a whole, though much more detailed than that of Eunomius, contains nothing to which the most extreme Arian could object, except that in the last sentence he says, *οὕτως φρονοῦμεν καὶ οὕτως βαπτίζομεν εἰς τριάδα ὁμοούσιον.*[220]

These circumstances have a two-fold explanation. In the first place, ca. 364, the date of Basil's treatise, the Emperor Valens, who was an enemy of the Nicene party, had to be dealt with firmly but tactfully. This Basil managed to do with such great skill that in 372 the Emperor, overawed by Basil's stately manner, made a gift of land to the charitable institutions Basil had founded.[221] Still, in view of the great dissension among theologians in his day, Basil, though determined to champion the Nicene cause, had presumably decided to be cautious in terminology so as not to provoke opposition unnecessarily. He does in one passage use *homoousios* of the relation between the Father and the Son,[222] but was usually

[220] See *Mor. PrF.* 4, PG 31: 685A-688A. See n. 29 above.

[221] Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 4.19.13, GCS 44: 245.12-15; PG 82: 1161C-D. See S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociales de saint Basile* (Paris 1941) pp. 363-364, 419-420; Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 144.

[222] See n. 71: 1.20 (556C). Cf. 2.23 (624B), which refers to *τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν Υἱοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας αὐτοῦ προελθόντος*. The others, which do not concern the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, are in 2.4 (580B twice), 2.10 (589A), and 2.19 (613C). On *homo-ousios*, see the important dissertation by F. Dinsen, "Homoousios, die Geschichte des Begriffs bis zum Konzil von Konstantinopel 381" (Kiel 1976), a reference which I owe to Professor Adolf M. Ritter. I am most grateful to Professor Heinrich Kraft for his kindness in helping me locate the author and to the latter for her generosity in sending me a copy of her book. Dr. Dinsen gives the entire bibliography in detail. Among others, note especially G. C. Stead, "The Significance of the Homoousios," *SP* 3 (1961) 397-412; H. Kraft, "'Ὁμοούσιος," *ZKG* 66 (1954-1955) 1-24; J. Lebon, "Le sort du 'consubstantiel' nicéen," *RHE* 47 (1952) 485-529, and the second part of this article cited in n. 121 above.

satisfied in the *Contra Eunomium* to describe the Son as *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν*.[223]

In this respect, by 364 Basil had apparently retreated from the position he had taken in his *EMax. phl.* [9] (written ca. 361-362), in which he had written that he regarded *ὅμοιος κατ' οὐσίαν* to be identical with *ὁμοούσιος* but only in conjunction with the adverb *ἀπαραλλάκτως* ("absolutely," or "indistinguishably," or "without change"). In his treatise against Eunomius, however, this expression occurs without the addition of *ἀπαραλλάκτως*,[224] although in this same ninth letter he had declared that he did not approve of *ὅμοιος* unless strengthened by *τὸ ἀπαράλλακτον*, because he thought that this adjective by itself diminished the glory of the Son since it is not properly applicable except to faint likenesses and persons or objects which only remotely resemble their models. On this account, he says, he himself preferred *homo-ousios*, which is less open to misinterpretation.[225]

Despite his preference for *homo-ousios* as thus expressed ca. 361-362, Basil seems by 364 (the date of the composition of the *C. Eun.* 1-3) to have decided (as again ca. 376, in his *ECan.* [52]) to refrain from invoking the authority of the Nicene Creed since he was aware that many were reluctant to accept *homo-ousios* or rejected it altogether. His position ca. 376 (and presumably also in 364) was that it was presumptuous to prefer one's own views to those of the Fathers but that there was some measure of excuse for those who looked upon *homo-ousios* with suspicion because of the attacks that had been made upon it.[226]

Moreover, he knew that in the period between 341 and 360 a host of local councils of various sorts had been attempting to formulate a *symbolum fidei* that could replace that of Nicaea and eject *homo-ousios* as a criterion of orthodoxy.[227] He was also aware that many objected to

[223] As in 1.8 (529B: *ὅμοιος* in n. 48 above), 1.23 (564A: *ὁμοιότης* 3 times, *ὅμοιος* once), 2.22 (620B: *ὁμοιότης*), ibid. (621A: *ὁμοιότης*, 621B: *κατὰ τὴν ὁμοίαν ἑαυτῷ φύσιν*), 2.31 (644B: *ὅμοιον*), 2.32 (648B: *ὁμοιότης*, 648C: *ὁμοιότης*). *ὅμοιος* and *ὁμοιότης* are used here with *κατ' οὐσίαν* expressed or understood. Probably, I have not recorded all of the examples which a computer would find. But it is interesting that the seemingly innocuous *ὅμοιος*, though eleven times as frequent as *ὁμοούσιος* (as a designation of the relation between the Father and the Son) in Basil's *C. Eun.*, itself occurs only a few times.

[224] See n. 223.

[225] Courtonne, 1: 37-40, esp. at 39.16-18.

[226] *ECan.* [52] 1, Courtonne, 1: 134.17-28.

[227] The anti-Nicene creeds, at least 13 in number, have been brought together by A. Hahn, *Bibliothek der Symbole und Glaubensregeln der alten Kirche* (Breslau 1897) pp. 183-209. On these see Athanasius, *De syn. passim* (editions cited in n. 19 above), J. Hefele and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, 1.2 (Paris 1907) 702-959 *passim*, and the detailed treatment of this troubled period (with its multitude of theological slogans — *ὁμοούσιος*,

homo-ousios because it was unscriptural. Under these circumstances, in 364 and later, he undoubtedly felt that the Creed of Nicaea was not persuasive and that he would have to confute Eunomius, whose entire treatise was devoted to an attack on the doctrine of the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son as set forth at Nicaea, by argumentation and biblical citations.

He himself, however, was unwavering in his defense of *homo-ousios*, quoted the Symbol of Nicaea in full in two of his letters, and expounded it in detail so as to prove that it corresponded with sound doctrine.[228] Hence, there could be no doubt whatsoever that he subscribed to the dogma of the consubstantiality of the Father and Son unreservedly and espoused it warmly.

(f) But his attitude to the Holy Spirit was very different. He never claims that the Holy Spirit is God or consubstantial with the Father, as many at the end of the fourth century agreed that it was.[229] But he does vigorously deny that it is a *ktisma* or third in nature or different in nature from the Father and the Son. On the contrary, he insists, the Holy Spirit has a kinship (*οἰκείωσιν*) with the Father and the Son. In addition, he holds that the Spirit is holy, good, a bestower of special spiritual gifts (such as the sonship of God and the immortality of the body), and one which shares in divinity (i.e., he says it is improper to maintain that the Holy Spirit is *ἀμέτοχον τῆς θεότητος* or to deny that *θεότης* is part of its nature). But he was reluctant to go beyond recognizing that the Holy Spirit was *θεῖον*[230] or making the tortuous argument that, since baptism is performed in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and is a seal of faith, faith [presumably as signified by submission to the rite of baptism in the name of the three persons of the Trinity] is a recognition of the divinity [of each of them].[231]

ὁμοιούσιος, ὅμοιος, ἀνόμοιος, etc.) by H. M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism* (Cambridge 1900) pp. 119-139, 146-188 and *passim*. For brief summaries see the standard histories of the Church, the latest of importance being K. Baus and E. Ewig, *Die Reichskirche nach Konstantin dem Grossen* (Freiburg/Basel/Vienna 1973) 38-51. The old classic, J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode des Konstantius, ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites in den Jahren 356-361* (Leipzig 1900), still retains its value.

[228] *ECan.* [52], *EEust.* [125] of 373 (with the Creed), and *EAnt.ec.* [140] of 373 (with the Creed), and *passim*, Courtonne, 1: 133-137; 2: 30-34, 60-62.

[229] See Ritter cited in n. 238 below.

[230] See n. 239 below.

[231] See n. 164 above.

On the other hand, Gregory of Nyssa unambiguously pronounces the Holy Spirit to be *Θεός*[232] but never describes it as *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί*. This resistance to *homo-ousion* is most clearly revealed in his *De sancta trinitate*, in which he comes closer to a decisive statement on the consubstantiality of the Spirit and the Father than anywhere else in his works. For example, he solemnly declares that the Spirit is inseparable from the Father and the Son in conferring immortality, as well as in goodness, holiness, imperishability, wisdom, righteousness, authority, power, etc., and that, since he shares all these qualities with the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit cannot be excluded from divinity (*θεότης*) or the name of divinity. Then, strangely, Gregory practically repeats what Eunomius had said about the identity in meaning of all the divine attributes. For, he says, all the attributes used for God are equal in degree and have the same force in designating their object [i.e., God].[233] He differs slightly, however, in admitting, as he and Basil claim Eunomius did not, that the attributes all refer to various characteristics of God.

Gregory even goes so far as to say that, when the meaning of these attributes is analyzed, none of them amounts to less than the designation of God.[234] This last statement would seem to imply that the Holy Spirit could be called God, as Gregory elsewhere[235] designates it to be, although at this point he eliminates this inference by referring to minor beings who were described in the Old Testament as gods.[236] Nevertheless, he does insist on the unity of the Spirit, the Father and the Son in nature, and on their identity in activity (*energeia*) as well as in divinity, which he says indicates the nature.[237]

[232] *Ad Graecos*, ed. F. Mueller, Jaeger, 3.1: 26.6-18 (PG 45: 181A).

[233] *De s. Trin.*, ed. Mueller (as in n. 232), 7.19-9.5; Courtonne (*Ep.* 189) 2: 136.5-137.39; Mercati (see below), pp. 74.26-76.7. NB: *πάντα γὰρ τὰ θεοπρεπῆ ὀνόματά τε καὶ νοήματα ὁμοτίμως ἔχει πρὸς ἄλληλα τῷ μηδὲν περὶ τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου διαφωνεῖν σημασίαν ... πάντα τὰ ὀνόματα <τὰ> τῇ θείᾳ φύσει ἐπιλεγόμενα ἰσοδυναμεῖ ἀλλήλοις κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑποκειμένου ἔνδειξιν, ἄλλα κατ' ἄλλην ἔμφασιν ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὴν διάνοιαν ὁδηγοῦντα....* See nn. 47-52 above. I owe to Dr. Fedwick the timely warning, both in his book, *The Church*, pp. 154-155, and by personal communication, that this letter was not written by Basil but should be ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa. See CPG 3137; G. Mercati, "La lettera ad Eustazio de Sancta Trinitate ossia la 189 tra le lettere di S. Basilio," *ST* 11 (1903) 57-82. Dinsen, "Homoousios," p. 161, notes that Gregory of Nazianzus was the only one of the three Cappadocians who described the Holy Spirit as *homo-ousion* with the Father.

[234] Mueller, 9.5-8; Courtonne, 2: 137.39-42; Mercati, p. 76.7-10: *θεωρούμενα καὶ συγκρινόμενα πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ τῆς ἐν ἑκάστοις θεωρουμένης ἐμφάσεως εὑρεθήσεται μηδὲν τῆς τοῦ Θεοῦ προσηγορίας ἔλαττον ἔχοντα.*

[235] See n. 232 above.

[236] Mueller, 9.8-14; Courtonne, 2: 137.43-50; Mercati, p. 76.10-17.

[237] Mueller, 10.14-11.15, 13.19-23, 15.1-7; Courtonne, 2: 138.1-139.26, 140.29-33, 141.25-31; Mercati, pp. 77.10-78.8, 80.4-8, 81.5-10.

But neither he nor Basil would without tortuous circumlocutions openly confess, as their friend Gregory of Nazianzus did, that the Holy Spirit was both God and consubstantial with the Father. In private (ἰδίᾳ) Basil, it is said, agreed on these points, but refrained from making public pronouncements to this effect so as to avoid alienating his opponents, who would have been able to drive him from the Church if he had stated his dogmatic position openly. Since this would have done great damage, Gregory of Nazianzus argues, Basil deliberately refrained from using controversial terminology in his book on the Holy Spirit [as also, we might add, in the third book of the *C. Eun.*] and expressed the same ideas in other words, using "Scriptural language, indisputable authorities, and powerful logical arguments."[238]

Basil's orthodox critics were not convinced by this apologia, and protested that it would have been better to cleave to the truth rather than resort to this kind of subterfuge, which, they said, did not win over the opposition anyway. This criticism is not easily parried. In matters of theological definition, there is no substitute for precision of language; and, despite Gregory's defense of Basil, it must be admitted that the terminology applied by the latter to the Holy Spirit is more ambiguous and less satisfactory than that which he sedulously avoided.

Nevertheless, many have defended Basil much as Gregory did. Others have preferred the latter's outspokenness on dogmatic questions to the former's *oikonomia* ("discretion," "caution," etc.). But Dörries and Amand de Mendieta believe that Basil's unwillingness to make a public avowal of the Holy Spirit as *θεός* and *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί* is to be explained by the distinction he made between *kērygma* and *dogma*.[239] In his system,

[238] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 58.4-15, Gallay, GCS 53 (1969) 52.17-54.18; idem, *Lettres*, 1 (1964) 74-76; *Or.* 43.68-69 (PG 36: 588B-589C). On these texts, see Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 60, 63; F. Trisoglio, *San Gregorio di Nazianzo in un quarantennio di studi (1925-1965)*, *Rivista Lasalliana* 40 (1973) 185; X. Hürth, *De Gregorii Nazianzeni orationibus funebribus* (Strassburg 1907) pp. 56-71. For Gregory's own position on the Holy Spirit, see A. M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965) pp. 84, 258-259, 265-266; and J. Plagnieux, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze théologien* (Paris 1952) p. 59. Cf. Athanasius, *Ep. ad Pall.* (ca. 371 or 372), PG 26: 1168C-D.

[239] On *kērygma* and *dogma*, see R. P. C. Hanson, "Basil's Doctrine of Tradition in Relation to the Holy Spirit," *VigChr* 22 (1968) 241-255; E. Amand de Mendieta, *The "Unwritten" and "Secret" Apostolic Traditions in the Theological Thought of St. Basil of Caesarea* (Edinburgh 1965); idem, "The Pair 'Kērygma' and 'Dogma' in the Theological Thought of St. Basil of Caesarea," *JThS* 16 (1965) 129-142; Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*, pp. 121-128. K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern dargestellt* (Tübingen-Leipzig 1904) p. 140 n. 2, rejects the idea of *oikonomia* and would defend Basil's doctrine of the Holy Spirit as sound rather than evasive. Garnier prints *θεός* as an epithet of the Holy Spirit in a short essay entitled *Περὶ τοῦ πνεύματος* (PG 29: 768B-773A), which is attributed to Basil in several manuscripts and had

kērygma was the official doctrine of the Church on faith, morals, and discipline, along with the apostolic tradition as set forth in both the Old and New Testaments. This could be disclosed to the general public, to catechumens, and to pagans. But this *kērygma* was distinguished from *dogma* — the unwritten customs and practices of the Church, the liturgy, the sacraments, and the theological meaning of these rites. These were disclosed only to those who were fully initiated as Christians by baptism and the eucharist; and apparently some special teaching was restricted to an elite group of gifted individuals, trained as theologians, to whom it was transmitted in secret.

This may seem to be an artificial distinction. But it is clear that Basil made it. A good example of the *kērygma* would be the confession that the Holy Spirit was not a *ktisma* but holy by nature and not to be separated from the Father and the Son. Such preliminary and less technical aspects of his pneumatology could be imparted to all. According to the more specialized *dogma* of the Holy Spirit, however, which was kept secret, the Holy Spirit was acknowledged to be God as well as *ὁμοούσιον* and *ὁμότιμον*

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long been rejected as spurious. Henry and, now more decisively, Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, have proved it to be authentic. But Dehnhard (pp. 55-56) has shown conclusively that in line 61 of his critical edition, on p. 10 (PG 29: 772B at note 94), *θεῖον* is to be read instead of *θεός*. Hence, Basil never used *θεός* as an epithet of the Holy Spirit. For this reason it is regrettable that some scholars are so impressed by the evidence that Basil in his own mind really conformed to orthodox doctrine that they do not hesitate to give the impression that he actually did write of the Holy Spirit as *θεός*. J. N. D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines* (New York 1960) pp. 260-261, and others, however, make it clear that Basil, as Kelly says, "nowhere calls the Spirit God or affirms his consubstantiality, in so many words, although he makes it plain (*EEup.* [159] 2) that 'we glorify the Spirit with the Father and the Son because we believe that he is not alien to the divine nature'." The 8th *Letter*, in which the Holy Spirit is declared to be God (Courtonne, 1: 26.41-42, 35.37) is not properly ascribed to Basil: R. Melcher, *Der 8. Brief des hl. Basilius, ein Werk des Evagrius Pontikus* (Münster 1923). I have not seen: S. de Boer, "Paradosis, dogma en kerygma naar de opvatting van Basilius de Grote," *NedThT* 24 (1970) 333-372; K. Kourkoulas, *Αἱ περὶ θείου κηρύγματος ἰδέαι τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου* (Thessaloniki 1964). In a provocative paper, Staats (see n. 152 above), maintains that the section on the Holy Spirit in the third article of the Creed of 381 (which makes no mention of consubstantiality with God) probably reflects the influence of Basil and his "dogmatisches Schweigen." Moreover, Staats holds that Basil was fully justified in not describing the Holy Spirit as *θεός* and *ὁμοούσιον τῷ Πατρί* in public since, he says, "die volle Homousie des Geistes, die Ineinssetzung von Geist und Gott, unbedingt in die Verborgenheit des Dogmas gehört. *Darüber schweigt Basilius bewusst, weil er es innerlich bejaht*" [Staats' italics]. For, Staats adds, only the true Church can really understand this dogma (p. 237), which, with Dörries, he regards as a "Mönchsdogma." This is mystic language, which I take to mean that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, like that of the Trinity as a whole, is not demonstrable by logic but can only be believed. For this reason, it seems to me, Basil should have been content to concentrate on the requirements of faith and not made the hazardous attempt to explain the unknowable in logical terms (see nn. 95, 190-194 above).

with the Father and the Son. Basil's friends, both ancient and modern,[240] agree that this was the doctrine Basil actually favored. But we have only hearsay evidence to this effect, except in so far as his writings, despite his failure to use the apposite technical terms, can be interpreted as supporting this assumption.

Epilogue

In this essay I have not attempted to compare the *C. Eun.* 1-3 with Basil's work as a whole. But it would seem that a just estimate of his contribution to theology must take into account the contradictions pointed out above with regard to his explanation of God as the cause of his Son, not to mention others like the one discussed above.[241] These are not lightly to be condoned, especially since it would seem that Basil should and could have avoided them and should perhaps not have attempted to go beyond the frank admission that the relation between the Father and the Son is a mystery that transcends human understanding. It would not be proper, of course, to condemn Basil for not being familiar, if indeed he was not, with Gregory's theory of the "uncreated nature,"[242] which nullifies his idea of the Son's "beginning of being" no less than Eunomius' essentially similar view on the same subject. But it is legitimate to ask why his view of the Son's timeless generation is superior to Eunomius' and also to make use of Gregory's more sophisticated analysis of this problem[243] in appraising Basil's theological system — even though Gregory himself failed to do so.

On the other hand, many scholars see no reason to condemn Basil for his caution in describing the Son as *homo-ousion* with the Father and his refusal to make public acknowledgement of the Holy Spirit's consubstantiality. There is no doubt about his personal bravery or his courage in retaining the *homo-ousion* of the Nicene Creed in defiance of the wishes of the Arian Emperor Valens.[244] The question is whether his reluctance to stand by the Nicene terminology in public discussions of theology was as effective as he and Gregory of Nazianzus[245] thought it was. On the other hand, it might be possible to argue, although I am not yet willing to do so,

[240] Among these are Dörries, Fedwick, Pruche, Staats, etc.

[241] See n. 148 above.

[242] See nn. 100-103, 190-195 above.

[243] Notes 100-103 above.

[244] Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.131-146, Jaeger, 1: 66.18-71.2, esp. 68.7-29; PG 45: 292A-296B, esp. 292D-293B.

[245] See n. 238 above.

that this was a wise policy and that, without using the term *homo-ousios* but by detailed presentation in the *C Eun* 1-3 of his reasons for believing in the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son, and of the Holy Spirit (in Book 3 of this same treatise, as well as in the περι τοῦ ἁγιου πνευματος of 375), he was in the end more effective in bringing about the eventual triumph of these dogmas than a mere appeal to the authority of the Nicene Symbol would have been

I am not sure that a critical examination of these questions would confirm the extremely favorable judgment of modern scholarship about Basil's stature as a theologian — especially since his champions can no longer ascribe to him the authorship of the 8th and 38th *Letters* [246] But it is obvious that this task must now be undertaken

Glossary of terms frequently occurring
or inadequately defined above

ἀγένητος, ἀγεννητος – *agenetos agennetos* uncreated, unbegotten, respectively n 19 and *passim*

ἀγεννησία – *agennesia* ingenerateness Eunomius leading principle n 18 and *passim*

ἀΐδιος – *aidios* eternal n 116

αἴτια (αιτιον) – *aitia aition* cause nn 73 79, 112, 153, 188, 190-194

αἰων, plural αἰῶνες (nominative), αἰῶνας (accusative) – *aion* (aeon) *aiones*, *aionas* nn 97 116

αναρχος – *anarchos* without beginning cf *aitia* above, only God the Father is *anarchos*

ἀνομοιος – *anomoios* unlike (Eunomius view that the Son was unlike the Father) nn 23, 37, 145, and *passim*

ἀορατος – *aoratos* not visible (of God and the Son) nn 56-58

ἀπαραθετος – *aparathetos* incomparable, see *asynkritos* below

ἀρχη – *arche* beginning nn 73, 98-103, 190-195, cf *aitia* above

ἀσύγκριτος – *asynkritos* incomparable (used by Eunomius of God the Father to indicate he was vastly superior to the Son) nn 66-68, 81-82, 150, 176

ἀσύνθετος – *asynthetos* simple, uncompounded (used by Eunomius exclusively of the Father, but applied to the Father and the Son by Basil) nn 74-79

ἀσώματος – *asomatos* incorporeal, το ἀσωματον incorporeality n 56

ἀφθαρτος – *aphthartos* without limit or end incorruptible, not subject to decay or dissolution, the noun is *aphtharsia* nn 56-58

γεγεννηκα (*gegenneka*) I have begotten nn 85-87

γενητος, γεννητος – *genetos gennetos* created begotten, respectively nn 19, 121, 127, 175

[246] See nn 135 239

γεννᾶν – *gennān*: to beget: p. 117.
γεννηθείς – *gennētheis*: begotten (first aorist passive participle): nn. 122, 124.
γέννημα – *gennēma*: offspring, that which is born or begotten: nn. 83-92, 177.
γέννησις – *gennēsis*: birth, generation.
δημιουργός – *demiourgos*: (workman), maker, creator; *demiourgēma*: what he produces: nn. 121, 125, 127, 145.
ὁ θελήματι μόνῳ δημιουργῶν: he who [= God] creates by his will alone: n. 124.
διάστημα – *diastēma*: interval of time or space: nn. 73, 95-103, 190-195.
εἰκών – *eikōn*: image: nn. 68, 110, 141-145.
ἔμψυχα – *empsycha*: living beings: n. 87.
ἐνέργεια – *energeia*: activity: nn. 78, 140, 145, 158, 237.
ἐξ οὐδενός ἐστι ἑτέρου: "he is from nothing else": i.e., God, who has no source of being: n. 34.
ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων: out of nothing: Eunomius said Christ was created out of nothing: nn. 33, 93-94, 104, 121, 124.
ἐπίνοια – *epinoia*: thought, conception: nn. 42-53.
ἑτεροούσιος (*ἑτερούσιος*) – *hetero-ousios*: differing in substance or *ousia*: n. 84.
θεῖον – *theion*: divine: n. 239.
θεότης – *theotēs*: divinity: Book 3.
ἀμέτοχον τῆς θεότητος: not participating in divinity: p. 127.
ἰδίωμα – *idiōma*: quality, characteristics; personal individuality (of the members of the Trinity): nn. 70, 84, 135-136.
κοινός – *koinos*: common (as the divine *ousia* is to all three Persons): nn. 84, 135-136.
κοινωνία – *koinōnia*: community of the divine *ousia*: nn. 84, 135-136.
κτίζω: create: n. 166.
κτισθείς – *ktistheis*: created (first aorist passive participle): nn. 122, 124.
κτίσμα – *ktisma*: created object, creature, thing: nn. 86, 165-168.
μείζων, μεῖζον – *meizōn*: greater, as in John 14.28: nn. 74, 79, 176.
ὅμοιος – *homoios*: like, the Son is like the Father in *ousia*; the noun is *homoiotēs* (resemblance): nn. 223-229.
ὁμοούσιος – *homo-ousios*: consubstantial: nn. 71, 84, 91, 121, 145, 222-229.
ὅρος: definition: n. 41.
οὐκ ὄντα: "not being": accusative masculine: Eunomius says God begot the Son before he came into being, i.e., when he was not: nn. 93-94, 104, 121, 124.
οὐσία – *ousia*: essence or substance, of the divine essence (synonym of *physis*) – nature: *passim*.
πάντῃ συνθήκης ἐλεύθερος: altogether free of compositeness; altogether simple and uncompounded; used by Eunomius of God: n. 74.
πνεῦμα – *pneuma*: spirit: Book 3 of the *C. Eun*.
ποίημα – *poiēma*: thing made or created: nn. 83, 150, 162, 165, 177.
πραγματεῖαι – *pragmateiai*: treatises: n. 13.
πρὸ αἰῶνος ὢν καὶ ἀεὶ ὤν: [the Son], being before the ages and always being: n. 95.
συναΐδιος – *synaïdios*: co-eternal: nn. 189-217.

σύγκρισις – *synkrisis*: comparison; see *asynkritos* above.
τέκνον – *teknon*: child: n. 87.
υἱός: son: *passim*.
τὴν κατ' οὐσίαν ὑπεροχήν: superiority in *ousia*: n. 79.
ὑποκείμενον: substratum: n. 185.
ὑπόστασις – *hypostasis*: each individual member of the Trinity is an *hypostasis*: nn. 84, 135, 136.
ὑπουργία: assistance: n. 124.
ὑπουργός – *hypourgos*: minister, assistant: nn. 122-124.
φῶς – *phōs*: light: nn. 129-132, 136.
χρόνος: time: n. 97.

5

Basil's "Neoplatonism": Its Background and Nature

John M. Rist*
University of Toronto

I. PLATONISM AND CHRISTIANITY: 270-325

A. Introduction

The word "Platonism" is much less clear than it was once thought to be. Consequently much older talk about Platonism in the fourth century tends to be meaningless, since it is hard to determine whether "Platonic" influences were supposed to be derived directly from Plato himself, from what are now called Middle Platonist writers active from approximately 100 to 250 AD, from Christian Platonists like Clement of Alexandria and Origen, from Plotinus who can usefully be called the founder, though not the most typical member of the Neoplatonic school, or from Porphyry, Plotinus' somewhat erratic successor and — so it is said — the most prominent propagator of Neoplatonism in the West. Much of the standard work on Christian Platonism in the fourth century still fails to observe

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Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 137-220.

these necessary distinctions, or blurs them inaccurately, and despite brilliant pioneering efforts such as that of Pierre Hadot on Marius Victorinus[1] and the considerable improvements made in our recent understanding of the "Platonism" of Ambrose,[2] there can be little doubt that the role of philosophy in the background of Christian writers from the mid-third century to the year 379 — particularly, but by no means entirely, in the East — is still largely misunderstood. Essentially the background of Christian thought, from the death of Origen to the 380s at least, must be rewritten. From errors of fact errors of interpretation both theological and more generally ideological have proliferated. To rectify this situation there can be no alternative but to examine the texts with care and in detail, with particular attention to the trap into which many erudite students have fallen, that of the discovery of the false parallel. For false parallels are not only themselves false; they can become the basis on which false deductions about the derivation of ideas are built. The present study can be viewed as little more than preliminary work to what I am convinced is needed: no less than a rewriting of the intellectual history of the fourth century.

Problems in fourth century Platonism can for the most part be traced back to the ambiguous position of Plotinus, pupil of the unofficial Platonist Ammonius Saccas in Alexandria and teacher of his own variety of Platonism, the Platonism of the philosopher rather than the philologist or historian of philosophy[3] — and moreover at Rome! Let us therefore begin by noting certain peculiar features of Plotinus' philosophy: his

[1] P. Hadot and P. Henry, *Marius Victorinus: Traités théologiques sur la Trinité* (Paris 1960); P. Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus* (Paris 1969).

[2] P. Courcelle, "Plotin et s. Ambroise," *RPh* 76 (1950) 29-56; idem, *Recherches sur les Confessions de s. Augustin* (Paris 1950) pp. 93-138; A. Solignac, "Nouveaux parallèles entre s. Ambroise et Plotin, Le 'De Jacob et vita beata' et le *Περὶ εὐδαιμονίας* (*Enn.* 1.4)," *APh* 20 (1956) 148-156; L. Taormina, "Sant'Ambrogio e Plotino," *MSLC* 4 (1953) 41-85; P. Hadot, "Platon et Plotin dans 3 sermons de s. Ambroise," *REL* 34 (1956) 202-220; P. Courcelle, "Nouveaux aspects du platonisme chez s. Ambroise," *REL* 34 (1956) 220-226; idem, "Anti-Christian Arguments and Christian Platonism: from Arnobius to St. Ambrose," in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1965) pp. 151-192; idem, *Recherches sur les "Confessions" de s. Augustin* (Paris 1968) pp. 311-382; G. Madec, *Ambroise et la philosophie* (Paris 1974). Exaggeration has inevitably set in: P. Courcelle, "Ambroise et Calcidius," in *Recherches sur s. Ambroise* (Paris 1973) pp. 17-24.

[3] Cf. Plotinus' attitude to Longinus (Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 14) and his conversion of Porphyry from a historically accurate account of the Forms (which he had learned from Longinus) to his own version (*Vita Plot.* 18, with A. H. Armstrong, "The Background of the Doctrine 'That the Intelligibles are not Outside the Intellect'," in *Les Sources de Plotin* (Geneva 1960) pp. 391-425.

concept that part of the soul remains "above" and does not descend — which he admits himself to be outside the tradition;[4] his peculiar doctrine of the union of the soul with the One and the claims made by him and on his behalf to have experienced such union in his own person;[5] his wholehearted acceptance of a Neopythagorean tradition associated with the names of Moderatus and Eudorus that led to his postulating a first principle which is to be identified not as *Nous* but rather as the One.[6] Such theses by no means won universal approval; even those who genuinely thought of Plotinus as their master took him seriously enough to accept his work as that of a follower of Plato, and therefore frequently go back to the source, to Plato himself rather than to his pupil, for their inspiration. As we may observe, this tendency to revert to the source is particularly noticeable among those who were less professional philosophers than teachers wishing to employ from time to time, and on their own terms, various philosophical ideas; and such people are particularly visible among the Christians.

But first more basic points: to be influenced by a man's philosophy one has to read him directly or to have access to his work indirectly either through other written documents or through oral sources. Porphyry's edition of Plotinus, the edition which we know today as the *Enneads*, appeared round about 301 AD. If, therefore, we find allusions to Plotinus' philosophical works before 301, we must assume either an earlier edition, or the circulation of individual works, or an oral tradition. That there was some sort of oral tradition must be regarded as almost certain in view of the number of Plotinus' pupils and their spread over the Mediterranean basin: Porphyry himself went to Sicily at least once, and Amelius retired to Apamea in Syria before Plotinus' death.[7] We should therefore consider our problem of the earliest diffusion of Neoplatonism, the Platonism of Plotinus and his philosophical successors, in two stages: the spread of Plotinus' ideas before about 301, and their spread after 301. Both stages, but particularly the latter, are indissolubly linked with, and complicated by, the spread of the knowledge of the works of Porphyry himself as well as the works of Plotinus in their various versions.

[4] *Enn.* 4.8.8.1.

[5] *Enn.* 1.6.7.2-3; 6.7.40.2; 6.9.4.1.15 f.; 6.9.9.47 ff.; and possibly 4.8.1.1 ff.; Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 23.

[6] For Plotinus' background on this matter see especially J. M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (London/Ithaca 1977) pp. 115-135, 344-351.

[7] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 2.

B. The Edition of Eustochius: Preliminary Observations. 270-301

Let us concentrate on the period before Porphyry's edition of the *Enneads*. There is not much to be said. Apart from a reference, which we shall consider, to an edition by Eustochius, presumably compiled during this period, there is virtually no evidence about the influence of Plotinus apart from the work of Porphyry. We have already observed that Plotinus' pupil Amelius retired to Apamea in Syria before Plotinus' death, and apparently set up a school there,[8] but we know nothing of its success; and to judge by the comparatively low estimate in which Amelius was held among later Neoplatonists we may surmise that he either died before surrounding himself with an enthusiastic group of pupils or that his version of Platonism was rather unappealing.[9] Amelius was not, of course, the only source from which knowledge of Plotinus' written work might have spread early in the East, but in his case we have concrete evidence of such diffusion: Porphyry, citing a letter of Longinus, tells us[10] that the latter (his former master) had received from Amelius copies of at least the greater part of Plotinus' writings; and also that Longinus wrote a reply to controversial material now found in *Ennead.* 5.5 but which he knew as *On Ideas.*[11] Longinus later urged Porphyry to leave Sicily and come East himself, to bring further copies of Plotinus, if possible in better condition, with him, and to convey in addition any writings which Amelius might have omitted, or which Longinus had not already obtained from Porphyry himself. The date of this request may be very soon after Plotinus' death, or possibly even before, for Longinus perished after the Emperor Aurelian suppressed the Palmyrene Zenobia in 272.

What then do we know of the edition of Eustochius? There is, and has always been, only one apparently secure piece of evidence, a scholion which appears in several manuscripts of the Enneads (A E R J C) after chapter 19 of *Ennead* 4.4 (*A Second Book of Problems about the Soul*).[12]

[8] Ibid., 2-3.

[9] For Amelius' variants on Plotinus see A. H. Armstrong, *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Medieval Philosophy* (Cambridge 1967) pp. 264-266 and R. T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London 1972) pp. 94-95.

[10] *Vita Plot.* 19-20.

[11] Ibid., 20.

[12] In general see the Introduction to Henry and Schwyzer's *editio maior* of Plotinus (Paris 1951 ff.) 2: ix-xvii; P. Henry, *Recherches sur la Préparation Évangélique d'Eusèbe et l'édition perdue des œuvres de Plotin publiée par Eustochius* (Paris 1935) pp. 59-133; idem, *Études Plotiniennes I, Les États du texte de Plotin* (Paris/Brussels 1938) pp. 68-139. For scepticism about Eustochius' activities see especially W. Theiler, rev. of Henry,

The scholion tells us that, in the edition of Eustochius, book 2 of the *Problems* ended here, and that book 3 began with what is chapter 20 of book 2 in the edition of Porphyry. For what it is worth, the scholion mentions Eustochius before Porphyry, a slight additional confirmation of what seems almost certain on more general grounds, that Eustochius' text was the earlier of the two. But we should be careful not to assume, as seems to have been assumed by many of those who take the Eustochian version seriously, that this version must have contained all the material which we find in Porphyry's edition. It might have been much briefer than Porphyry's, indeed just a few treatises — which would make Porphyry's own silence about its existence more understandable; and it might have contained some material which Porphyry lacks. We shall leave Eustochius at this point, for whatever he may have done has left no trace of its existence, at least until the appearance of Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica*, begun about 313 at Caesarea.[13] In this work Eusebius is greatly concerned with Porphyry, so it is appropriate to defer consideration of it until the general question of the influence of Porphyry as an author in his own right, and not simply as the editor and biographer of Plotinus, has been investigated — at least as regards the period of Porphyry's own lifetime and the years immediately after his death. We can then return to Porphyry in Eusebius and appropriately link such an enquiry with a consideration of Plotinus in Eusebius and the vexed problem of Eusebius' possible use of the edition of Eustochius.

C. THE EARLY HISTORY OF PORPHYRY'S *AGAINST THE CHRISTIANS*, *DE REGRESSU ANIMAE*, AND RELATED MATTERS

The question of the influence and spread of Neoplatonic ideas at the time with which we are concerned is not limited to a study of the diffusion of the writings of Plotinus. We have already assigned Amelius comparatively little significance in his own right, though possibly more as a source for Plotinian writings either from his own establishment in Apamea or through the intermediacy of Longinus. The same comparative insignificance cannot be attributed to Porphyry, at least without careful scrutiny, particularly as it has been frequently argued, and is now almost canonical,

Études I, *BZ* 41 (1941) 169-176; R. Harder, *Gnomon* 24 (1952) 185; E. R. Dodds, *CR* 66 (1952) 167.

[13] GCS 43.1 (ed. Mras) lv; T. D. Barnes, "Sossianus Hierocles and the Antecedents of the 'Great Persecution'," *HarvClassPhil* 80 (1976) 240.

that his work, especially the fifteen books *Against the Christians*, was well known in Christian circles even before the year 300, and indeed rebutted in Christian texts which we have in our possession. There is, of course, no doubt that Porphyry had published a large variety of material, including presumably the influential *De regressu animae*, before 300; what we are concerned with, however, is whether Christian writers made use of any material derived from Porphyry which is obviously Neoplatonic, rather than more strictly Platonic or Middle Platonic in content. For, in the absence of such material, evidence for the knowledge and use of *Porphyry* (as distinct from Porphyry's sources) is lacking. In practical terms our enquiries must boil down to the following questions: the date of the undoubted responses to Porphyry's *Against the Christians* by Methodius and Eusebius of Caesarea as well as the date of *Against the Christians* itself; the supposed references to Porphyry in Arnobius of Sicca's *Adversus Nationes*; the sources of Lactantius' anti-Christian opponent Hierocles; and the nature of the Platonic material in Calcidius' *Commentary on the Timaeus*. Calcidius in particular, if properly understood, will help us to appreciate why it is not Neoplatonism, either that of Porphyry or of Plotinus, which is the dominant mode of Platonism either in the East or in the West either before the appearance of Eusebius' *Praeparatio*, or in the period that follows: the period of the Emperor Constantine's *Address to the Assembly of the Saints*, of the early writings of Athanasius and of the Council of Nicaea. The *Praeparatio*, we shall argue, is to be treated as a case apart, and an important one, but, as an additional witness to our discussion of the "early Athanasian" period of Christian intellectual history, we shall also invoke a rather neglected pagan Platonist of late third-century Alexandria: Alexander of Lycopolis, author of an extant treatise against the dualist theses of Mani.

i. *Observations on the Date of Porphyry's* Against the Christians

First of all we are faced with the matter of the date of the work *Against the Christians*. Until recently the dominant view was that it was written under Claudius Gothicus or Aurelian,[14] but as T. D. Barnes has observed, this depends on deducing, from the statement of Eusebius that Porphyry wrote *Against the Christians* in Sicily,[15] that he must have written it during his known visit to Sicily between 268 and the early 270s. As

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[14] For Aurelian see A. Cameron, "The Date of Porphyry's κατὰ χριστιανῶν," *CQ* 18 (1967) 384.

[15] *Hist. eccl.* 6.19.2.

though Porphyry could not have written it during a later visit to Sicily! In fact Eusebius' phrase καθ' ἡμᾶς ("in my lifetime") may even suggest a later date — as does a passage of Libanius who, comparing Porphyry's anti-Christian writings with those of Julian, says that the Emperor's are superior to those of the "old man of Tyre."[16] In short, we need independent evidence before locating *Against the Christians* in or near the reign of Aurelian.

Most of the problems about the date of *Against the Christians* have been cleared up by Barnes,[17] but a little can be added. In chapter 16 of his *Life of Plotinus*, Porphyry tells us that there were many Christians in Plotinus' time, as well as sectaries who had given up traditional philosophy and gone over to Gnosticism, relying on various books of revelations. Plotinus apparently urged his pupils to refute these fraudulent shortcuts to wisdom, and both Amelius, in his forty volumes against the book of Zostrianus, and Porphyry himself took up the challenge. Porphyry's own role, he tells us, was to attack what passed for a book of Zoroaster, which he demonstrated to be a recent forgery. The passage recalls Porphyry's more famous work in this area: his argument in *Against the Christians* that the Book of Daniel, perhaps the most influential of all Old Testament writings in many Christian circles, was composed comparatively late, after (or less likely he meant during) the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes (175-164 BC).[18] We seem to perceive an argument from silence. If Porphyry had already composed *Against the Christians* in 301 when the final struggle between Christians and pagans in the reign of Diocletian was about to issue in persecution — the army had probably already been purged[19] — it seems likely that he would have mentioned it in the *Life of Plotinus*. By then at least Porphyry knew that orthodox Christianity was far more of a threat to his Plotinian and Greek heritage than any sub-variety of Gnosticism; and there was no reason to be silent about it if he had already composed the *Against the Christians*. But, as Barnes has shown, the most likely explanation is that he had not composed it by 301.

[16] *Or.* 18.178.

[17] T. D. Barnes, "Porphyry *Against the Christians*: Date and Attribution of the Fragments," *JThS* 24 (1973) 424-442. I accept most of Barnes' arguments, with the exception of his proposal that Jerome, *Ep.* 133.9 = Porphyry, ed. Harnack, fr. 82, means that *Porphyry* spoke of Britain as *fertilis tyrannorum*. The remark seems more likely to be of Jerome himself, as Barnes himself allows is possible (p. 437).

[18] Porphyry, ed. Harnack, fr. 43 (*SABPh* [1921] 266-284). See M. Casey, "Porphyry and the Origin of the Book of Daniel," *JThS* 27 (1976) 16-17.

[19] Lactantius (*Div. Inst.* 4.27.5) indicates that persecution had already begun in Antioch by 299.

What then of the refutation by Methodius, bishop of Olympus, and perhaps also of Patara in Lycia, martyred probably in 311?[20] There is no evidence to suggest that this was written during the third century. Which brings us to the beginning of the fourth century and the evidence of Lactantius, resident, like Methodius, in Asia Minor, but in the imperial capital of Nicomedia. Now according to Lactantius there were two well known attacks on Christianity circulating in Nicomedia in 303, one the work of Sossianus Hierocles, governor of Bithynia and later prefect of Egypt,[21] the other written by an unknown "priest of philosophy," according to Lactantius a debauchee and landowner in Asia Minor, who composed three books against Christianity.[22] The latter publicist is dismissed by Lactantius as an upstart fool who came to be recognized as such;[23] the former is of more interest. Lactantius stresses his lack of originality, but his source, named by Lactantius and suggested in the very title of his work, *The Lover of Truth* (or perhaps even *Truth-loving Arguments*), is not Porphyry but Celsus. From Eusebius' work against Hierocles we learn a significant detail: Hierocles, according to Eusebius, was the first to undertake a systematic comparison of Jesus with Apollonius of Tyana,[24] a course, as we hear from Jerome, which was also adopted by Porphyry. It looks as though Eusebius, writing his *Contra Hieroclem* in Caesarea (ca. 303),[25] did not know of Porphyry's similar tactic, or at least that it antedated Hierocles. At the same time, in Nicomedia, Lactantius is similarly silent about Porphyry's *Against the Christians*, and it may be deduced from his dependence on Celsus that Hierocles, to whom Porphyry would doubtless have been very congenial, was obliged to pillage other writings — and above all those of Celsus — from an earlier generation.

[20] For the chronology of Methodius see T. D. Barnes, "Methodius, Maximus and Valentinus," *JThS* 30 (1979) 47-55. Jerome (*Ep.* 70.3) says that the length of Methodius' work was 10.000 lines. For *Middle* Platonism in Methodius' *On Free Will* see J. Pépin, "Platonisme et Stoïcisme dans le 'de Autexusio' de Méthode d'Olympe," in *Forma Futuri: Studi in onore del Cardinale Michele Pellegrino* (Turin 1975) pp. 126-144.

[21] For Hierocles see Lactantius, *Div. Inst.* 5.2.12; *De mort. pers.* 16.4.

[22] Barnes, "Porphyry," pp. 438-439, disposes of the possible identification of this "priest" with Porphyry himself. For Lactantius' own knowledge of Platonism (which is limited and with a slight Middle Platonic veneer) see most recently M. Perrin, "Le Platon de Lactance," in *Lactance et son temps* (Paris 1978) pp. 203-231. Perrin lists other recent discussions.

[23] *Div. Inst.* 5.2.3-11.

[24] *C. Hier.*, GCS 43.1 (ed Mras, 1954) 370.9-12.

[25] For the date see A. Harnack, *Chronologie der altchristlichen Literatur bis Eusebius*, 2 (1904) 118; Barnes "Sossianus Hierocles," p. 240.

From Lactantius, writing in Nicomedia, let us turn to his master, Arnobius, writing in North Africa at a slightly earlier date. Evidence from this quarter, earlier misinterpreted, will point in the same direction. The probable, and certainly possible date for the second book of Arnobius' treatise *Adversus Nationes* is 297.[26] In a long digression from Arnobius' main theme of the wickedness of pagan religion, he attempts to deal with the views of various misguided philosophers (chapters 11-66). These people, at one point said to be believers in Plato, Cronius, Numenius, or "you name it" (*cui libuerit*), i.e., anyone other than Christ but no later than the Middle Platonic period (ch. 11), are considered (ch. 13) in three groups. They are followers of Mercury (i.e., Hermetists), or of Plato and Pythagoras, or they are "of one mind and people who proceed by the same paths in the unity of their doctrines." The phrase "of one mind" (*unius mentis*) has sometimes been interpreted to mean that they claim to derive from one divine Mind or God.[27] More likely it refers more generally to a less obviously specifiable group whose basic outlook is similar. Elsewhere (ch. 15) this latter group are called *novi viri*, modern, "trendy" people, who, inflated with self-importance, proclaim the natural immortality of the human soul, its kinship with its father and its impeccable purity. We are indebted to Festugière for what seems to be a largely correct identification of the objects of Arnobius' distaste;[28] they are, he concluded, no single school. Arnobius is thinking of people with similar basic attitudes, but influenced by a variety of sources: Platonic, Gnostic, Hermetist, and others. Arnobius has in fact specifically distinguished them from the less eclectic Hermetists, Platonists and Pythagoreans. In their eclecticism, and their arrogance, they even bear some resemblance to the Gnostics denounced by Plotinus.

Festugière made an innocent, but harmful, mistake. He suggested, though he did not show, that some of the eclectic material was specifically Neoplatonic.[29] Others rushed in where Festugière had feared to tread: Courcelle attempted to argue, with a series of parallels, that the *novi viri*,[30] the new-fangled people, conscious enemies of Christianity, are to be identified as Porphyry and his clique. Porphyry would thus not only have written the *De regressu animae* before 297, but the *Against the Christians*

[26] For the date see G. E. McCracken, ACW 7 (1949) 7-11.

[27] See P. Courcelle, "Les Sages de Porphyre et les 'Viri novi' d'Arnobe," *REL* 31 (1953) 257-271.

[28] A. J. Festugière, "La doctrine des 'Viri novi' sur l'origine et le sort des âmes d'après Arnobe, 2: 11-66," in *Mémorial Lagrange* (Paris 1940) pp. 97-132.

[29] Festugière, p. 127.

[30] Courcelle, "Les Sages": repeated in "Anti-Christian Arguments," p. 156.

as well; and he would have written it long enough before this for its existence to have penetrated to the less than major city of Sicca in North Africa. The parallels adduced by Courcelle, however, are all vague and imprecise. None of them is a doctrine which must be particularly associated with Porphyry (or for that matter with Plotinus), though it is certainly true that Porphyry and Plotinus may (or did) accept some of them as part of the general deposit of religious/philosophical débris which they inherited. In particular one might suppose that the notion of the *viri novi* concerning the pure impeccable soul might have Neoplatonic associations, but if so Plotinus, as the fount of the doctrine of the upper soul which remains above the level of sin and ordinary social life,[31] would be the more likely source. However, such doctrines of a pure soul in some version or other are commonplace among a wide spectrum of philosophers and theologians from the Plato of *Republic* x to the obscene Carpocrates and his new-style agapeistic Christians[32] — with all sorts of other in betweens. In fact, so far from there being good reason to suppose that Arnobius is attacking Porphyry (or even Plotinus), there are good reasons to think that he is not.

Arnobius indicates in book I that he will name his adversaries,[33] and in book II he does so. As we have seen, they are Hermetists, Platonists and *novi viri*. Had he meant Porphyry, why should he not have said so? He is not, in fact, very clear on the "authorities" of these *novi viri*, but he does mention Plato again,[34] and, as we have seen, he makes earlier reference to Plato, Numenius and Cronius. The influence of the latter two, both on Porphyry himself and on others of this period such as Calcidius, is established beyond reasonable doubt. Since Arnobius names them, is it too much to suppose that he read them: that they, not the unnamed Porphyry, are the sources of the eclectic positions happily identified *as* eclectic by Festugière?

A further pointer in the same direction is provided if we revert to the role in anti-Christian polemic of Apollonius of Tyana. We have already noticed that, according to Eusebius, Sossianus Hierocles was the first to offer a detailed comparison between Apollonius and Jesus, a task later attempted by Porphyry. Interestingly, however, Arnobius also knows of Apollonius and refers to him. Some would infer the influence of Porphyry. That, however, is most unlikely. Apollonius is allowed no

[31] *Enn.* 2.9.2.4; 4.8.8.1 ff.; 4.8.4.31 etc.

[32] For Carpocrates see Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 4.7.9, and in general for sexual *agape* see A. Nygren, *Agape and Eros* (Philadelphia 1953) pp. 308-309.

[33] *Adv. Nat.* 1.27.

[34] E.g., *Adv. Nat.* 2.36.

special importance, which he surely would have had if Arnobius had had Porphyry's treatment in mind. Instead he is merely mentioned among a variety of run-of-the-mill magicians like Zoroaster and Julian the Chaldaean.[35] Arnobius knows nothing of Porphyry's attitude to Apollonius of Tyana — which while having admittedly no direct bearing on the *De regressu* certainly confirms his ignorance of the (*ex hypothesi* not-yet-written) *Against the Christians*.

Now if the arguments which Arnobius directs against influential opponents of Christianity are not directed against the author of *Against the Christians*, it seems implausible that they are directed against the author of the *De regressu* or any other Porphyrian text, for these works alone hardly qualify Porphyry as a major opponent of Christianity. At the same time, it would be more than merely implausible to suppose that when dealing with the so-called "positive teachings" of the *viri novi* Arnobius is thinking of Porphyry's *De regressu*, while when considering the negative attitudes of these same *novi viri* to Christianity he is referring to someone else.

ii. *Porphyry and Victorinus*

Before leaving the Latins behind, at least temporarily, we shall have to look at another and much more influential work, presumably of a somewhat later period than the fulminations of Arnobius and Lactantius, but still to be dated within the first quarter of the fourth century. It is appropriate to deal with it in this context, however, for by confirming that Calcidius' commentary on the *Timaeus* is also free of strictly Neoplatonic influence, whether that of Plotinus or of Porphyry, we clear the ground in the Latin West. We can then assert that apart from some philosophically unimportant references to Porphyry in Firmicus Maternus,[36] we must

[35] *Adv. Nat.* 1.52.

[36] For lengthy comment on Firmicus Maternus' use of Porphyry, see P. Henry, *Plotin et l'Occident* (Louvain 1934) pp. 25-43. Henry believed that Firmicus knows the *Life of Plotinus* and parts of the *Enneads*, especially *Ennead* 3.1. That he knows the *Life* seems certain; it is probably, as Henry argued against Oppermann, the only written source of his account of Plotinus' death in the *Mathesis* (8.1.1), datable to between 335 and 337. Neither the more detailed descriptions of Plotinus' leprosy, nor other information at his disposal (such as the appearance of comets) need imply a second written source. (That comets were indeed to be seen at somewhere near the right time seems clear. See Ho Peng Yoke, "Ancient and Mediaeval Observations of Comets and Novae in Chinese Sources," in *Vistas in Astronomy*, ed. A. Beer (Oxford 1962) 5: 157.

Although we may leave aside Henry's vague and quite unconvincing suggestions about Firmicus' knowledge of *Enn.* 1.4 and 1.6, he also claims a clear reference to *Ennead* 3.1. He thinks that the phrase "in quadam parte orationis suae" must refer directly to

await the labours of Marius Victorinus — mainly in his theological writings against the Arians and his translation of a few books of the Platonists into Latin — in order to find significant traces of the influence of Porphyry (let alone of Plotinus) in the West in the fourth century. To deal first with Victorinus: the dates of the anti-Arian treatises may be set between 357 and 363.[37] The date of the translation of the *libri platonicorum*[38] must remain uncertain,[39] but 350 is a probable approximation.

It has yet to be proved that the *libri platonicorum* included works by Porphyry.[40] Much of what has been proposed as Porphyrian material in the early Augustine is indeed Porphyrian but equally Plotinian and often more generally "Platonic." And it is Plotinus, not Porphyry, whom Augustine mentions in his relevant writings before the year 400. If such a reading of the evidence is correct, and if Porphyry was not a formative influence on Augustine at this stage of his career,[41] more general propositions may be advanced about Neoplatonic influences in the West before 400. At about this date, indeed, Porphyry does become important

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Plotinus. But this does not follow. Knowledge of the end of chapter 15 of the *Life* would be sufficient to explain the rhetorical comment in the *Mathesis*, which, as Henry himself admits, is hard to attach to specific texts in *Enn.* 3.1.

Firmicus' remarks in the *Mathesis* are those of the "religious" man observing (with some relish) the fate of a great figure, Plotinus, who paid too little respect to astrology and stellar destiny. He is probably more interested in Porphyry, perhaps on the trivial grounds that he can be claimed as in some sense Sicilian. He uses the phrase *noster Porphyrius* which has plausibly been taken to refer to a claim of this sort, and we may note that the commentators on Aristotle suggest that Porphyry's *Isagoge* was written in Sicily (see J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre* [Ghent 1913] pp. 58-59); Augustine too calls Porphyry "Sicilian" (*De cons. evang.* 1.15.23; *Retract.* 2.31). (For discussion, with some scepticism, Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, p. 84.) Later (AD 347), when Firmicus has turned Christian, Porphyry's *Philosophy from Oracles* is denounced (*De err. prof. rel.* 13.4); that is to be expected, but there is no evidence that Firmicus gave (or was capable of giving) Porphyry serious philosophical attention. The condemned and now notoriously anti-Christian Porphyry is a "bad hat." Denunciation need not entail attention.

[37] See the Henry-Hadot edition, CSEL 83: 28-61.

[38] Augustine, *Conf.* 7.13.

[39] Cf. Aug., *De vita beata* 4 with the reading *Plotini*, Henry, *Plotin et l'Occident*, pp. 82 ff.; *C. acad.* 2.5; 3.41.

[40] See (at last) the firm statements of R. J. O'Connell, *St. Augustine's Early Theory of Man, AD 386-391* (Cambridge, Mass. 1968) and his damning assessment (pp. 20 ff.) of the work of W. Theiler, *Porphyrios und Augustin* (Halle 1933); R. Beutler, "Porphyrios," *RECA* 22 (1953) 275-313, esp. 301-312; P. Courcelle, *Recherches sur les Confessions* (Paris 1956) pp. 157-167 and others.

[41] The *best* case for Porphyrian influence on the early Augustine is made by J. J. O'Meara in "Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Eusebius's *Preparatio evangelica* and Augustine's Dialogues of Cassiciacum," *RechAug* 6 (1969) 103-139, esp. 122-131.

for Augustine, for in the *De consensu evangelistarum* Augustine has in mind Porphyry's attack on Gospel consistency in the *Against the Christians*. In Augustine's later *City of God* Porphyry figures prominently and frequently as the anti-Christian polemicist *par excellence*, as a "theological" author in his own right, especially in virtue of his *De regressu animae*,[42] and finally as a recently important Platonist who can be set up in *opposition* to Plotinus.[43]

Porphyry is indeed a major source for Victorinus,[44] but his writings did not significantly influence Augustine until after 400; and even then Augustine's concerns, at least in the first instance, were very different from those of Victorinus. Despite his prominence in Rome after Plotinus' death, Porphyry seems to have made surprisingly little immediate philosophical impact. In support of this assertion we shall shortly take up the matter of Calcidius, but first two questions must be faced, both of which demand and can be provided with an answer. First, in the light of earlier neglect of Neoplatonism, what was it that in the first place drew Victorinus' attention to Porphyry, and perhaps through him to Plotinus? Second, is there an historical explanation of the silence which in fact envelops Porphyry in the first half of the fourth century in the West? A possible answer to the first question is as follows: Victorinus' attention to Porphyry was primarily and in the first instance the result of his activity as an exponent and commentator on the logical works of Aristotle.[45] It is interesting to observe in this connection that according to Jerome[46] Victorinus' writings against Arius are composed in the dialectical manner (*more dialectico*): the Aristotelian manner which the orthodox also claimed to see in the writings of the latter-day Arians Aetius and Eunomius.[47] Above all, the Aristotelianism of Victorinus' writings against

[42] Frequently the source of (e.g.) 10.9. Despite J. J. O'Meara, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine* (Paris 1959), the *De regressu* is not to be identified with the *Philosophy from Oracles*. P. Hadot convincingly replies to O'Meara in "Citations de Porphyre chez Augustin (à propos d'un livre récent)," *REA* 7 (1960) 205-244.

[43] *De Civ. Dei* 10.23.

[44] Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*.

[45] See CSEL 83: 10-11.

[46] *De vir. inl.* 101.

[47] J. Daniélou, "Eunome l'arien et l'exégèse neoplatonicienne du Cratyle," *REG* 69 (1956) 412-432, esp. p. 429; E. Vandenbussche, "La part de la dialectique dans la théologie d'Eunome le *technologue*," *RHE* 10 (1945) 47-72; A. Meredith, "Orthodoxy, Heresy and Philosophy in the Latter Half of the Fourth Century," *The Heythrop J.* 16 (1975) 10; Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.411, ed. Jaeger, 1: 346; 3.5.6, ed. Jaeger, 1: 153.14. In the first of these passages it is Eunomius who hurls reproaches of "Aristotelian" at Basil, but generally Eunomius and Aetius were on the receiving end. See L. R. Wickham, "The *Syntagmation* of Aetius the Anomoean," *JThS* 19 (1968) 561. It

Arius is the Aristotelianism of the commentator on the *Categories*, and the translator of Porphyry's *Isagoge* to the *Categories*. From Porphyry's logic to Porphyry's philosophy may be but a short step.

As for the second question — why is there so little trace of Porphyry in the West from the time of his death to the time of Victorinus? — the answer we can give is plausible but cannot claim demonstrable certainty. However, the important fact is often neglected that Porphyry's writings were condemned to the flames by Constantine. We do not have the details of what happened, and the date of the condemnation is unclear, but the fact is indisputable and a likely date may be proposed. In about the year 333 the Emperor Constantine wrote as follows, calling for the destruction of the writings of Arius:[48] "Since Arius has imitated wicked and impious persons, it is just that he should undergo the like ignominy. Wherefore as Porphyry, that enemy of piety, for having composed licentious treatises against Religion, found a suitable recompense, and such as thenceforth branded him with infamy, overwhelming him with deserved reproach, his impious writings having been destroyed.... This therefore I decree, that if anyone shall be detected in concealing a book compiled by Arius and shall not instantly bring it forward and burn it, the penalty for this offence shall be death..." (adapted slightly from Stevenson). Constantine also mentions, in the section of the letter which I have not quoted, that the purpose of destroying Arius' writings is not merely to suppress his "depraved doctrines" but "that no memorial of him may be by any means left." Presumably he had hoped to achieve the same results in the case of Porphyry — and in the short run I suggest that he succeeded — and if such was his attempt it surely follows that it was not only the *Against the Christians* which was condemned. The most likely date for such an attack is certainly 324, at the time when Constantine had just completed his Christian crusade against Licinius in the East. If this suggestion is correct, it enables us to account for much of the silence about Porphyry in the first half of the fourth century: it paid to conceal one's knowledge of his works.

Notice the timing of the anti-Porphyrian tracts: Methodius apparently in the first decade of the fourth century, that is, very soon after *Against the Christians* was written; Eusebius' *Against Porphyry* in 25 books[49] at

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should be noted that Origen already uses *τεχνολογία* to refer to "professional" Greek logic (perhaps predominantly Stoic), but the Stoic/Aristotelian distinction had faded by the 4th century. (Origen, *C. Celsum* 3.39; cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Pyrr. hypot.* 2.205.)

[48] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.9.30-31 (H. G. Opitz, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen streites 318-328* [Berlin 1934], *Urkunde* 33); Gelasius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.36.

[49] See A. Harnack, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 2 (Leipzig 1898) 564 f.

roughly the same time, and his *Praeparatio Evangelica, Demonstratio Evangelica*, and *Ecclesiastical History* (at least the version of the latter containing the notorious reference to Porphyry in 6.19.8) not long after 310.[50] After that there appears no further need to refute Porphyry, and the work of the *fidei defensores*, Methodius and Eusebius is put on an established footing by the ban on Porphyry's writings. The work only needed to be done again, we may speculate, after the reign of Julian, who regarded Porphyry not, certainly, as his favourite philosopher, but at least as an important figure in the great tradition.[51] Hence new refutations, first by Apollinarius of Laodicea (ca. 370), then by Philostorgius (ca. 425), and later renewed condemnations by Theodosius II and Justinian.

Such was the official fate of Porphyry's writings. What of the man himself? Apart from Constantine's oblique reference to his "suitable recompense" we are virtually in the dark. According to Eunapius he died at an advanced age, and, it was said, in Rome.[52] The Suda observes that he lasted until the time of Diocletian, but that is almost certainly a mere deduction from the text of the *Life of Plotinus* and has no value for fixing a *terminus ante quem*. We do not know when Porphyry died, though, if Augustine is to be trusted, he worked and wrote when Christianity was under attack.[53] It is true that Augustine is referring specifically to the *De regressu animae* at this time — and the precise date of that work is unknown — but if any credence is to be placed in what Augustine says, he at least supposed Porphyry to be still writing after the outbreak of persecution under Diocletian, and possibly therefore also after Diocletian's death. There is in fact no reason why Porphyry should not have lived until about 310.

iii. *The Problem of Calcidius*

The aim of most of the discussion up to this point should now be apparent: neither Porphyry nor Plotinus, except at times the Porphyry of *Against the Christians*, is prominent in that number of Christian texts in which they have often been supposed to be manifest. Other evidence, largely in Greek, remains to be scrutinized; the one remaining prominent

[50] Barnes, "Porphyry," p. 441, points to the great importance of the absence from Eusebius' *Eclogae propheticae* of any mention of Porphyry's attack on the authenticity of the book of Daniel or of the date of its composition. The *Ecl. proph.* seems to date from soon after 300.

[51] For Julian the "modern" master is Iamblichus, *Or.* 4 (146A).

[52] *Vitae soph.* 457.

[53] Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 10.32.

Latin text is, as I have stated, the work of Calcidius on the *Timaeus*. Fortunately this need not occupy much of our time, for in addition to the massive text and commentary of J. H. Waszink,[54] we have, following upon various detailed studies by Waszink's pupils and continuators,[55] an eminently sane and convincing reappraisal of the problems surrounding Calcidius' sources from John Dillon.[56] It only remains to confirm, and occasionally but not, I think, uninterestingly to enlarge on Dillon's exposition.

There is no need to discuss at any length the reasons why, until Waszink, it was generally assumed that the Ossius to whom Calcidius' work is dedicated, is to be identified, following certain indications in a number of the manuscripts, with Ossius, bishop of Corduba, ecclesiastical adviser of the emperor from his conversion (and doubtless before) until some time after the Council of Nicaea. One family of manuscripts has it that Calcidius was Ossius' deacon. Waszink and others dismiss this evidence. If Calcidius were a deacon of Ossius of Corduba, he would have rated a mention by Isidore of Seville (560-630) whose policy it is to boast of Spanish writers whenever possible. Rather, says Waszink, Ossius may be an imperial official known of in Milan about 395[57] — or he may be someone else. Waszink's arguments, as Dillon has shown, are inadequate, and Dillon's case can be backed up with fresh evidence.

First of all, although it is true that Isidore frequently boasts of Spanish writers and also that he uses Calcidius' commentary,[58] all that can be concluded from this is that he may not have known the identity of the author. But Isidore may also have known of a deacon of Ossius and also of the name Calcidius as that of the author of the commentary without identifying the two. To Waszink's second point, that the language of Calcidius has many features in common with that of late fourth-century or even later writers, Dillon rightly replies that this is inconclusive: Calcidius could, but need not, be late fourth century: that is, he might

[54] *Timaeus a Calcidio translatus commentarioque instructus*. Plato Latinus 4 (London/Leiden 1962).

[55] J. C. M. van Winden, *Calcidius on Matter: His Doctrine and Sources* (Leiden 1959); J. den Boeft, *Calcidius on Fate: His Doctrine and Sources* (Leiden 1970).

[56] Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, pp. 401-408.

[57] *Timaeus a Calcidio*, p. xvi. Implausible developments of a Milanese Calcidius are available; Courcelle, *Recherches sur S. Ambroise*, pp. 17-24.

[58] J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Seville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne Wisigothique* (Paris 1959) p. 658. Dillon, *Middle Platonists*, p. 402 seems to suggest that Isidore did not know the *commentary*, but Fontaine's texts seem decisive against this; and perhaps all Dillon means is that Isidore did not know that Calcidius of Corduba wrote the *commentary*.

plausibly be put into the late fourth century did not the kind of Platonism he advocates make this unlikely. And Dillon is again right to point out that there is nothing peculiarly Neoplatonic, that is, redolent of the Platonism of Plotinus and Porphyry (let alone Iamblichus) to be found in Calcidius. The sum total of Calcidius' Platonism could be derived from Middle Platonic writers, particularly from Numenius. In fact, as Waszink himself admits, Calcidius' main sources are the Peripatetic Adrastus and some other writer whose views are very like the Platonism of Numenius.[59] Dillon himself hesitantly proposes Cronius — we recall him as authoritative among Arnobius' *viri novi* — as this Platonic source,[60] and Cronius is regularly mentioned in company with Numenius.[61]

There is a further item of information which may help to strengthen this identification. According to Calcidius, Plato did not believe in the transmigration of human souls into animal bodies.[62] This thesis, argued in different ways by Porphyry and Iamblichus but not held by Plotinus, might seem to point to a post-Plotinian influence (i.e., that of Porphyry) on the text of Calcidius;[63] but interestingly enough there is just one writer in the Platonic/Pythagorean tradition before Plotinus who seems to have held it: none other than Cronius, in his book *On Reincarnation*.[64] Cronius, we should add, though little more than a name to us, was regularly read in the school of Plotinus and was an influence in the education of Origen.[65]

[59] *Timaeus a Calcidio*, pp. xxxv-cvi. Henry and Schwyzer's *Index testium* (*Plotini Opera* 3: 422) lists two parallels between Calcidius and Plotinus, 4.5.1.29-32 = ch. 237 and 6.1.26.11-12 = ch. 294. Both are too general to indicate derivation.

[60] Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, p. 407.

[61] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 14; Iamblichus, *De an.* (Wachsmuth, pp. 375.12 ff.; 380.6 ff.); Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.19.8. Since Waszink, the most interesting attempt to insist that Numenius, Cronius and others are mediated through Porphyry is that of J. den Boeft, *Calcidius on Fate* (Leiden 1970); idem *Calcidius on Demons* (Leiden 1977). But for Calcidius, chapters 176, 177 and 188, the influence of Middle Platonism, especially Ps.-Plutarch *De fato*, is adequate explanation. The account of fate given by Calcidius has nothing necessarily Plotinian or Porphyrian, nor, as den Boeft interestingly admits, is the Neoplatonic term "One" used in Calcidius' commentary, even in these chapters. As for demons, den Boeft himself admits it is unlikely that Porphyry "has denied the system himself" (p. 53). Exactly; this is an unnecessary hypothesis. Middle Platonic exegesis of the *Epinomis* will account both for Porphyry and for Calcidius.

[62] *In Tim.* 42c, ch. 196.

[63] For Iamblichus and Porphyry see Nemesius of Emesa, *De nat. hom.* 2, Matthaei, p. 117. This text may seem ambiguous in the case of Porphyry (who is wrongly held to favour transmigration by Wallis, *Neoplatonism*, p. 113), but that Porphyry rejected transmigration into animal bodies is confirmed by Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 10.30, and Aeneas of Gaza, PG 85: 893. In general see H. Dörrie, "Kontroversen um die Seelenwanderung im Kaiserzeitlichen Platonismus," *Hermes* 85 (1957) 414-435.

[64] Nemesius, *De nat. hom.* 2, Matthaei, p. 117.

[65] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 14; Eusebius, *Hist. eccl.* 6.19.8.

The lack of any clear evidence for Neoplatonic rather than Middle Platonic influence on Calcidius is obviously important for the dating of his work. Advocates of a later date than the early years of the fourth century, and indeed many advocates of an early fourth-century date as well, have no difficulty in admitting that there is much of Numenius (or Cronius) to be found in Calcidius, but claim that this is all mediated through Porphyry's commentary on the *Timaeus*.[66] It is hard to disprove this, since there is no doubt that in his commentary on the *Timaeus* Porphyry made good use of Numenius; however, the claim is made implausible by the fact that not only does Calcidius not name Porphyry — perhaps, in view of the ban, he may have feared to do so! — but much more importantly that he quotes nothing that is peculiarly Porphyrian or even Plotinian. To which we must add that whereas Porphyry commented on the whole of *Timaeus*, with frequent resort to allegorization, Calcidius is selective and neglects allegorical interpretation altogether.[67]

If we can argue that Calcidius knows no Plotinus and no Porphyry, the task of dating him to the later part of the fourth century, after Victorinus, becomes far more difficult. The nearer Calcidius is in time to Porphyry, the less likely he is to have used him. And a date between 324 and the time of Victorinus is, as I have already observed, not the most suitable period for a Christian to flaunt knowledge of Porphyry's commentary, even anonymously. But in fact there is a further reason for thinking that the work was written even before 324, before Christians were accorded legal recognition — and therefore, incidentally, before bishops obtained official status in the Roman Empire: Calcidius dedicates his work to Ossius, but without giving his Christian patron official recognizance, a neglect hardly likely after 324.[68] If Ossius were an imperial official, as Waszink proposed, the omission of his title becomes additionally bizarre. Of course, we could still say that Ossius is not an imperial official of the 380s, and indeed that he lived at a time when it would have been imprudent or unwise to identify him further, that is, before 324, yet that though named Ossius, he is not Bishop Ossius of Corduba. But then merely to elaborate such a justification is to highlight its implausibility. All in all it can safely be concluded (a) that Calcidius' work falls into the early part of the fourth century, (b) that it is dedicated to Ossius, bishop of

[66] Thus van Winden, *Calcidius*, p. 247. He realizes that Calcidius "represents a pre-Plotinian style in the evolution of Platonic thinking," but still prefers unnecessarily to introduce Porphyry as an intermediary.

[67] Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, p. 403.

[68] I owe this point to T. D. Barnes.

Corduba, and (c) that it reflects the Middle Platonism of Numenius and Cronius, not the Neoplatonism of Porphyry and Plotinus. Thus we conclude that Calcidius' commentary on the *Timaeus* defends some of those varieties of Platonism which his co-religionist Arnobius rejects.

iv. *Constantine's Oration to the Assembly of the Saints*

Before concluding our general survey of Neoplatonic-Christian relations at the turn of the third and fourth centuries and returning, perhaps a little better prepared, to the question of Plotinus in Eusebius and beyond that to wider problems of the influence of Neoplatonism during the earlier part of the fourth century, particularly in the philosophical centres of Alexandria and Athens, we should glance, however briefly, at a fascinating document, much discussed by historians, but largely neglected by those concerned with the intellectual developments of the fourth century and the relationship between Christianity and paganism during that period. The document is the Oration of the Emperor Constantine to the "Assembly of the Saints," perhaps delivered at Serdica in 321 AD. That it is a genuine document has recently been strongly reaffirmed.[69] An important element in that demonstration, however, has thus far been omitted. In Constantine's discussion of the Greek philosophical tradition Plato is commended for his theology in terms which would hardly have been used by the emperor after the Council of Nicaea.

In chapter nine the emperor observes that Socrates, who was "buoyed up" by dialectic, makes the worse argument the better,[70] and fools about with arguments which weaken one's confidence in argument,[71] was eventually destroyed through the malice of his fellow-citizens; and that Pythagoras who claimed to practice temperance was detected in a blatant deceit: he published as his own in Italy various kinds of material deriving from the Hebrew prophets which he had picked up in Egypt. Then, says Constantine, came Plato, who first raised men's minds from the sensible to the intelligible. His teaching on first principles was as follows: he postulated a first god ὑπὲρ τὴν οὐσίαν — this probably means beyond all Creation,[72] and is approved by Constantine — and below this there is a "second god." Secondly he distinguished these two beings (δύο οὐσίαι)

[69] T. D. Barnes, "The Emperor Constantine's Good Friday Sermon," *JThS* 27 (1976) 414-423. Barnes dated the speech to 317; he now prefers 321.

[70] Cf. Plato, *Apol.* 18B.

[71] Cf. Plato, *Phaedo* 90BC.

[72] Cf. the comment of E. P. Meijering, *Orthodoxy and Platonism in Athanasius* (Leiden 1974) pp. 6-7 on Athanasius, *C. Gentes* 11; cf. *C. Gentes* 35 and 40 and Justin, *Dial.* 4.1.

numerically, though "the perfection of both is one and the being of the second god has its *hyparxis*, its existence, from the first." The first god is the demiurge and director of the whole, the second is the *logos* and son of God. So far so good, says Constantine, but after that Plato went off the rails and introduced a mass of subsidiary gods.

This is clearly a very Christianized Plato, or rather a Christianized Numenius — perhaps mediated by Origen — for it seems beyond doubt that it is some kind of Numenian Plato that Constantine has in mind. The language of first and second gods is certainly Numenian,[73] but the application of it is not, for whereas Constantine insists that it is the first god who is the "demiurge" and the director enthroned above the universe, Numenius associates demiurgic activity with the second god. As fragment 12 has it, the first god is inactive in regard to all works and is king, but the demiurgic god takes command as he progresses through heaven. A fellow pupil with Plotinus of Ammonius in Alexandria, the pagan Origen, in fact brings us nearer to the emperor's position: he wrote a work, presumably against Numenius, arguing that the king (i.e., the first God) is the sole Creator.[74] That Numenius was still of paramount importance in the circles in which Plotinus and Origen moved is certain: he was studied in Plotinus' seminars;[75] Plotinus himself was accused of plagiarizing him;[76] Amelius transcribed and arranged most of his works, and indeed almost knew them by heart.[77]

The apparent influence of Numenius, or of Numenian-style Platonism is not the only pointer in the speech to the early fourth century. Indeed it might be argued (perversely) that in any case such influence was brought to bear on (pseudo-) Constantine by Porphyry's commentary on the *Timaeus* — if the material will bear that degree of irony. But a combination of Numenian language and pre-Nicene theological attitudes would surely suggest not only that the work is to be dated to the first quarter of the fourth century, but that Numenian Platonism is the version

[73] Numenius, fr. 11, 12, 15, 16, Des Places. Plotinus, we should observe, is prepared to speak of a *second* god, but not of a first, probably because "first god" might suggest a Numenian (or other) *nous*. In his early 6.9 (chronologically no. 9) he allows "first Nature" (6.9.7.16) and "that (*ekeinos*) God" (6.9.11.28). Cf. J. M. Rist, "Theos and the One in Some Texts of Plotinus," *MS* 24 (1962) 169-180, though I now think that Plotinus is already more unwilling to be Numenian than I suggested then. Christ as "second God" is to be found in Origen, *C. Celsum* 5.39, 6.61, 7.57. (Numenius is mentioned in 5.38.)

[74] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 3.

[75] *Vita Plot.* 14.

[76] *Vita Plot.* 17.

[77] *Vita Plot.* 3.

of Platonism known to the emperor, or rather to the emperor's theological advisors. For although there seems no reason to deny that Constantine gave the speech himself, it also seems highly likely that the content, perhaps especially the philosophical content, has been ghosted. Where then would the "ghost" come from ? There is no more likely milieu than that of the retinue of Bishop Ossius, the same milieu from which the "Numenian" Calcidius appears. That is not to say that it was Calcidius himself who ghosted the Oration to the Assembly of the Saints. It is too crude for that; the comment on Socrates and Pythagoras is too abrasive and out-of-keeping. But if there was knowledge of school Platonism, such as Calcidius represents, around Ossius, then a less able (and less broadly sympathetic) exponent could have been Constantine's script-writer. The reckless would put forward the name of the bishop himself; after all Calcidius does suggest in his introduction that Ossius is equipped to write on Plato.

There only remains the matter of the pre-Nicene theological language. Here the following points should be noted.

(a) In the Platonic material which Constantine finds acceptable, i.e., where the language of first and second gods can be squeezed into a Christian theology of Father and Son, the word *homoousios* is missing. Perhaps it was not even included in the "orthodox" and largely scriptural creed originally proposed at Nicaea, and apparently composed by Hermogenes,[78] but was inserted later precisely because it was seen to be intolerable to Eusebius of Nicomedia and the Arians.[79] Its importance was apparently grasped only *after* the Council of Antioch — where a strongly anti-Arian creed did not include it — and before the time of the final Nicene decisions; and its appearance at Nicaea is associated with the emperor himself (and his theological advisers), who also added it in as an emendation to a Creed put forward at one point — probably *before* the adoption of the *Nicaenum* — by Eusebius of Caesarea.[80] Indeed its

[78] Ps.-Basil., *Ehoc.* [81], PG 32: 457A; Courtonne, 1: 183.24-26 — a letter written to Pope Innocent I.

[79] Ambrose, *De fide* 3.15 (Opitz, *Urkunde* 21, p. 42). Arius himself specifically rejected the term as Manichaean in his letter to Alexander; for Arius it suggested that the Son is a part of the Father (Opitz, *Urkunde* 6, p. 12). Similarly in his *Thalia* (Athanasius, *De synodis* 15). Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* 1.7, claims (possibly correctly) that Ossius and Alexander had decided to insert the ὁμοούσιος before the Council opened. Philostorgius does not say, however, that Ossius and Alexander presented to the assembly a ready-made creed that included the *homoousios*, as claimed by V. C. de Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova* (Washington 1954) p. 257.

[80] See Eusebius' own words in a letter to his congregation (Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.8).

association with the emperor at Nicaea makes its omission in the *Oration to the Assembly of the Saints* the more striking; while the history of its appearance at Nicaea renders its absence in 321 intelligible.

(b) The relationship between the first and second gods is that they are two substances (*οὐσίαι*) with a single perfection. This is certainly Christianized Platonism in that "subordinationist" ideas have been expurgated in part, but the Origenist *two* substances remains[81] and the emperor remains Platonic enough to add, in phraseology surely unacceptable after Nicaea, or even after Antioch, that the existence (*hyparxis*) of the second god comes from the first. The Council of Antioch avoids the ambiguous *hyparxis* and prefers to speak of the Son's being the image of the Father in all things and of the Father's substance (*hypostasis*).[82] Nicaea too seems to have treated *ousia* and *hypostasis* as synonomous, professing *one ousia*,[83] but to have avoided *hyparxis*, perhaps as too dangerously associated with and tainted by philosophical assocations. To speak of the Son's having his *hyparxis* from the Father might, in an Arian context, easily be misread. As for the "two substances" (*οὐσίαι*), Ossius found that too unacceptable in Eusebius and Narcissus at Nicaea itself.

(c) In the last sentence of his analysis of those parts of Plato which he finds sound, Constantine observes approvingly that "the Father of all things would be rightly held to be the father of his own Logos." Though in peaceful times again this kind of deduction might seem harmless, in times of Arian controversy it might well seem to place the Son too close to the Father's creation — an Arian thesis clearly denounced at Antioch[84] — and indeed suggest that he is a creature.

Scrupulous analysis of the *Oration to the Assembly of the Saints* might provide further evidence; sufficient is available for our present purpose, which is a limited one: to argue that, written in 321, this document gives

[81] Cf. Origen, *De orat.* 15: *ἕτερος κατ' οὐσίαν*. For the absence of *homoousios* in Origen, see R. P. C. Hanson, "Did Origen apply the word *homoousios* to the Son?" in *Epektasis, Mélanges Patristiques offerts au Card. J. Daniélou* (Paris 1972) pp. 339-347. Origen's formula is *δύο τῇ ὑποστάσει πράγματα ἓν δὲ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταὐτότητι τοῦ βουλήματος* (*C. Celsum* 8.12).

[82] A Greek version (of E. Schwartz) is to be found in Opitz, *Urkunde* 18. There is a suspicious (to the orthodox) use of the verb *ὑπάρχειν* to be found in Arius' *Thalia* (see note 79 above); cf. letter of Eusebius of Caesarea (Opitz, *Urkunde* 3); for Arius' use of *ὑπῆρξε* see G. C. Stead, "The Platonism of Arius," *JThS* 15 (1964) 26.

[83] Cf. Eusebius, *C. Marcellum* 1.4.39, GCS 26: 5-10. Socrates tells us that when in Alexandria Ossius began to investigate the terms *ousia* and *hypostasis* (*Hist. eccl.* 3.7).

[84] Opitz, *Urkunde* 18, pp. 38-39.

further support to our proposition that Platonism, in Christian circles at least, still means Middle Platonism.

D. Eustochius, Porphyry and Eusebius

Some time between 303 and 307 Eusebius does not know Porphyry's *Against the Christians* when writing the *Eclogae propheticae*.[85] He published his *Chronicle* in about 303, but the references to Porphyry may only occur in the second edition (after 326).[86] He apparently did not know Porphyry's polemic when he wrote the *Contra Hieroclem* (ca. 303).[87] His first attack was probably in the rapidly compiled though lengthy *Against Porphyry*;[88] later we have the *Ecclesiastical History* where Porphyry is heard, and, above all, our present concern, the *Praeparatio evangelica*, with its extensive use both of Porphyry and of Plotinus. Even from the *Praeparatio*, however, we cannot discover exactly what Porphyry and Plotinus Eusebius had read, and beyond that where he obtained his material. Of course he had access to the library at Caesarea, presumably dating back in some form to the time of Origen, and developed perhaps by Anatolius[89] and certainly by Eusebius' master Pamphilus, the martyr and strenuous defender of Origen. What Porphyry do we find in the *Praeparatio*? The following works are named: *De statuis*,[90] *Philosophy from Oracles, Recitatio philologica, Against the Christians, Letter to Anebo, De abstinentia, On the Soul in Reply to Boethus*.[91]

From the writings of Porphyry as we know them in Eusebius we cannot construct Porphyry's own metaphysical system, or even the major lines of it in so far as those lines are Neoplatonic. If we had to describe Porphyry's metaphysics from Eusebius, we should fail, and fail worse

[85] Barnes, "Porphyry," pp. 441-442.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Barnes, "Sossianus Hierocles," p. 241.

[88] Harnack, *Geschichte*, 2: 564 f.

[89] For Anatolius, bishop and mathematician, see J. M. Dillon, *Iamblichi Chalcidensis Fragmenta* (Leiden 1973) pp. 8-9; and for different interpretations R. M. Grant, "Porphyry among the Early Christians," in *Romanitas et Christianitas, Studia Waszink* (Amsterdam 1973) pp. 181-187. But Grant's dating of Porphyry must be rejected. If Paul of Samosata was condemned in 268, Anatolius probably only remained in Caesarea a short time. There is also no reason to accept Grant's suggestion that only Porphyrian work earlier than 279 was collected at Caesarea. Grant makes or follows arbitrary assumptions about the dating of Porphyry's work, especially *Against the Christians*, and leaves Anatolius at Caesarea too long. His time there was short and his impact on the library presumably limited.

[90] *De statuis* 3.7.1.

[91] For references see Mras' index.

than we do now.[92] But Porphyry's writings are of a very varied nature, and much of his technical philosophical work appeared in the form of commentaries on Plato and Aristotle. With Plotinus, however, the case is different. If Eusebius knew Plotinus, it was clearly philosophical and indeed Neoplatonic material that he knew; there are no non-philosophical or semi-philosophical Plotinian texts. It becomes therefore a matter of considerable importance for our study of the spread of Neoplatonic ideas to identify exactly what Plotinus Eusebius did know, and then to consider with some care the manner in which he came by his knowledge. There is no doubt, of course, that Eusebius used a text like that of *Ennead* 5.1 in *Praep. ev.* 22 and of 4.7 in *Praep. ev.* 15. I shall, however, defer a consideration of this material until we have had time to look at other proposed evidence. To deal with this, the most convenient method seems to be to consider a set of passages listed in Henry and Schwyzer's *Index testium*[93] and in Henry's *États du texte de Plotin.*[94]

(a) *Praep. ev.* 11.21.1 (543D) and *Enn.* 1.1.8.9-10. This is an allusion in Plotinus to Numenius' doctrine of *nous*. Eusebius himself quotes Numenius *On the Soul* directly,[95] not through the intermediary of Plotinus.

(b) *Praep. ev.* 11.18.14 (538C) and *Enn.* 5.9.5.28. Again Eusebius quotes Numenius' *On the Soul* directly. It is not even clear that Plotinus is alluding to Numenius here. Only the word νομοθέτης might suggest it. Originally Henry and Schwyzer did not propose it as Numenian. Their restraint may well have been proper.

(c) *Praep. ev.* 15.6.15 (802D) and *Enn.* 2.1.1.2. Here Eusebius is quoting not Numenius[96] but Atticus[97] as p. 342. Again there is no question of Eusebius' use of the *Enneads*.

(d) *Praep. ev.* 15.7.7 (804C ff.) and *Enn.* 2.5.3.18. Another confusion (this time on the fifth body) in Henry and Schwyzer. On p. 343 we are rightly referred to Atticus[98] which Eusebius indeed quotes; on p. 424 we

[92] For the best brief reconstruction see P. Hadot, "La métaphysique de Porphyre," in *Entretiens Hardt 12, Porphyre* (Geneva 1966) pp. 125-164 with A. C. Lloyd in *The Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy* (Cambridge 1967) pp. 287-293 and Wallis, *Neoplatonism*, pp. 110-118.

[93] *Opera Plotini*, 3: 424.

[94] Henry, *États*, p. 155.

[95] Fr. 2 (ed. Des Places), fr. 11 (ed. Leemans).

[96] As Henry-Schwyzer, 3: 424.

[97] Fr. 4, 87 (ed. Baudry).

[98] Fr. 5, 66-69 (ed. Baudry).

again wrongly find mention of Numenius. Again, however, no question of Eusebius' use of Plotinus.

(e) *Praep. ev.* 15.12.3 (814A) and *Enn.* 3.1.4.1. Perhaps we have merely another confusion about Atticus.[99] Certainly Atticus is named as the source of Eusebius, but Henry and Schwyzer originally simply cited a Stoic source,[100] and this is probably right. There is no particular reason even to associate Atticus with *Ennead* 3.1.4; and of Numenius there is no question.

(f) *Praep. ev.* 11.18 (538C 7-8) and *Enn.* 5.4 (title). In the *États*[101] Henry observed that Eusebius quotes from Numenius' *Περὶ τοῦ πῶς ἀπὸ τοῦ πρώτου αἰτίου τὸ δεύτερον* — which sounds rather like the title of *Ennead* 5.4 — and thinks Eusebius may have Plotinus in mind: first because chapter 18 of Eusebius is located between two other chapters (16 and 20) where Plotinus is quoted; and second because 5.4 is chronologically number 7 and 5.1 is number 10. Eustochius, he thinks, published Plotinus in chronological order; hence Eusebius, using that edition, passed from one treatise to the next.

Wisely Henry and Schwyzer have abandoned all this speculation in their edition of Plotinus.

We may summarize the results of the discussion thus far: Eusebius, as far as we can see, has only read the two treatises of Plotinus which so far we have left aside, that is, *Enneads* 4.7 (in book 15 of the *Praeparatio*) and 5.1 (in book 11). It is, therefore, to this material that we must now turn, however briefly, if we are to make any suggestions about the influence of Plotinus on Eusebius and (importantly) on the Christian tradition which depends on Eusebius.

First a basic fact: Eusebius cites only two of Plotinus' tracts. The question which immediately arises is where did he get his knowledge of these tracts. Was it from Porphyry's edition of the *Enneads*? If it was, then we have to assert that that edition was at least obtainable in the Eastern Mediterranean by about 317 and that (presumably) the library at Caesarea possessed a copy. Or was it from what has been claimed to be the edition by Eustochius, in which case we may have to deduce that only *some* of the writings of Plotinus were readily available in about 317 — perhaps indeed a comparatively small number? Or, as has sometimes been suggested, does Eusebius' text go back to the apparently good copies of

[99] Fr. 8, Baudry pp. 15-16, as Henry-Schwyzer, 3: 344.

[100] 1: 259.

[101] P. 155.

some of Plotinus' writings which, as we have already noted, were brought East by Amelius? If so, we have to assume that someone (say Pamphilus) secured the books for Caesarea perhaps soon after 270; in other words that many Christians in at least some parts of the East could have obtained access to much Plotinian thought for at least thirty years before Eusebius wrote his *Praeparatio*. Perhaps in the end, even if this matter could be resolved, even if we could know the source of Eusebius' knowledge of Plotinus, we might not be able to progress with our primary concern, namely the influence of Plotinus on Christian writers of the fourth century. But we would have to admit that were Plotinus' text, or some of it, already available in the 270s at Caesarea, there would be at least an argument *a priori* for diffusion of knowledge of that text in the East in the forty or fifty years before the Council of Nicaea.

Let us first look at Eusebius' use of *Ennead* 5.1 in *Praeparatio evangelica* book 11. Of this comparatively little need be said: Eusebius knows material corresponding to large chunks of 5.1.4, 5.1.5, 5.1.6 and 5.1.8, as well as the title of the treatise *On The Three Basic Hypostases*. I do not propose to discuss the textual variations between Plotinus in the *Ennead* and Plotinus in Eusebius. It seems to me that as the text of Eusebius improves, the two grow closer; but that there is insufficient *purely textual* evidence to decide upon the question of whether Eusebius' text is dependent on Porphyry's edition or on another. We can only, I think, conclude with a reasonable degree of certainty that Eusebius knows more of *Ennead* 5.1 than he quotes, presumably in fact the whole of it. 5.1 is number 10 in Porphyry's chronological list. We should finally observe that he quotes it under the same title as that which Porphyry uses; but Porphyry himself tells us that although the treatises were not given titles by Plotinus, he himself has quoted them by what eventually came to be the headings in common use.[102] So from Eusebius' similarity of title nothing can be inferred.

The use by Eusebius of material to be found in 4.7, in contrast to his treatment of 5.1, is far more complicated. I shall discuss *Ennead* 4.7.1.1-4.7.8^{5}.51 under the three sections or *pericopae* isolated by Henry.[103]

Section A Enn. 4.7.1.1-4.7.8.28; *Praep. ev.* 15.22.1-48. These chapters occur in all the MSS of the *Enneads* and of the *Praeparatio*, but the titles are different. Eusebius says that the work comes from Plotinus' *first* book *On*

[102] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 4.
[103] Henry, *Recherches*.

the Soul (against the Stoics that the soul is not material), whereas Porphyry's edition knows of only *one* book on the *immortality* of the soul.

Section B Enn. 4.7.8.28-4.7.8⁴.28; *Praep. ev.* 15.22.49-67. This material occurs in the *Praeparatio* but in only three MSS of the *Enneads* (JMV). There is clearly a lacuna in the Porphyrian archetype of the *Enneads*; probably in JMV this has been filled in from manuscripts of the *Praeparatio*.

Section C Enn. 4.7.8⁵.1-4.7.8⁵.51; *Praep. ev.* 15.10, 1-9. Here all MSS of the *Enneads* are defective; we are left with Eusebius alone. Eusebius' quotation is entitled, *Of Plotinus, from the second book on the immortality of the soul against Aristotle who said it is an entelechy*.

There seems no good reason to deny that Eusebius knows of an edition of Plotinus divided differently from that of Porphyry, i.e., with two books on *The Immortality of the Soul*. This fact cannot be subverted merely by claiming that Eusebius has made a mistake: it is an odd mistake to make; nor by claiming that although he gets his material from Porphyry, some versions of Porphyry's edition were divided differently from ours. Porphyry, in fact, as he tells us himself, made a very careful arrangement of the Plotinian material he had, dividing it up to make exactly 54 treatises in 6 books.[104] There seems no way of avoiding the conclusion that Eusebius' Plotinus does not come from Porphyry. And if that is the case, we have to admit that there is no certain evidence in Eusebius that he in fact knew any more than the treatises from which he actually quotes: Porphyry's 4.7 and 5.1.

Now both these treatises are from the earliest group of Plotinus' writings, being numbers 2 and 10 in the chronological list. The question remains then, where did they come from ? And in practice this means did they come from an edition by Eustochius, from the material in the possession of Amelius, or from some third, presumably written, source. Obviously the last possibility cannot be ruled out; odd treatises of Plotinus' must have been in circulation, and Eusebius or Pamphilus may have got hold of a few of them. But not necessarily, we may note, more than two. What about Eustochius' edition? Here we must indeed raise again the question of whether it in fact existed. The evidence is only the scholion to 4.4; the sceptic might suspect some sort of error by the scholiast or in the tradition, but such scepticism should probably be resisted. There may have been an edition by Eustochius, but there is no particular reason at all why Eusebius should have used it; after all it was probably issued in Italy. Much more likely, it seems to me, is that Eusebius' version derives either

[104] *Vita Plot.* 26.

from the treatises in the hands of Amelius or from a copy of these or from some other source such as Longinus. Amelius, we recall, had a good deal, but not all, of Plotinus, and Eusebius knew the writings of Amelius, or at least his comments on John's Gospel.[105] Perhaps the school of Amelius did indeed affect the Christian community at Caesarea, either in the time of Pamphilus or in that of Eusebius himself. This seems to be at least the likeliest alternative.

There is, perhaps, a further text which may be considered at this point. The Aristotelian commentator Elias preserves what he calls a quotation from a single book of Plotinus *On Voluntary Death*;[106] Henry and Schwyzer print it after the treatise *On Suicide*.[107] Westerink has argued strongly that this material, to which parallels can be found in other late Neoplatonic sources,[108] derives in the first place either from Proclus' commentary on the *Enneads* or from a commentary on Plato's *Phaedo*. That may be true, but the source of the material would still be Plotinus himself; and if so, presumably not from Porphyry's edition. That we have non-Porphyrian Plotinus was argued by Henry,[109] and presumably we have to agree. The choices are Porphyrian Plotinus, which it is probably not (unless by chance all our manuscripts of the *Enneads* and the archetype are defective as in 4.7.8^5); or non-Plotinus, which is possible but which there is no good reason to suppose; or Plotinus from some other source. That other source could be Eustochius, but why should it be, since all we know of his "edition" is that it included *Ennead* 4.4? More likely the origin of the material again is Apamea, latter-day home of Amelius. Or if not that, Longinus.

But we should recall that Amelius did not publish an edition of Plotinus; he had a collection of material. So there is no reason to suppose that all his material reached Eusebius. In fact Eusebius may well have known little if any more than the two treatises of Plotinus which he quotes. We shall have to bear this possibility in mind as we consider the more general matter of the dissemination of Plotinus' text among Christian communities in the fourth century. And where better to start than in Alexandria, the most important of the Eastern sees and long a

[105] On Amelius see *Praep. ev.* 11.18.26. Cf. H. Dörrie, "Une exégèse néoplatonicienne du Prologue de l'Évangile de S. Jean (Amélius chez Eusèbe, *Prép. év.* 11, 19.1-4)," in *Epektasis*, pp. 75-87; though Dörrie's speculation on the sources of Augustine, *De Civ. Dei* 10.29 is suspect.

[106] *Prol. Phil.* 6, ed. Busse, CAG 18: 15.23-16.2.

[107] *Enn.* 1.9.

[108] L. G. Westerink, "Elias und Plotin," *BZ* 57 (1964) 26-32.

[109] "Vers la reconstitution de l'enseignement oral de Plotin," *BAB* 23 (1937) 337.

centre of Christian learning? There if anywhere we should look for Plotinus.

E. Pagan Alexandria, 270-325

But we find nothing. Already in *Plotin et l'Occident*[110] Henry had pointed to the comparatively slight influence of Plotinus in the East during the fourth century, though, as we have already shown, he may have misstated his position in detail. Plotinus himself, of course, wrote nothing before leaving Alexandria. Of his fellow-pupils with Ammonius, Origen and Erennius, we know comparatively little,[111] but it is certain that Origen followed Middle Platonic metaphysics in making an intellect the first principle of reality and in identifying that intellect not with the One "beyond Being" but with Being itself.[112] Longinus too, who had attended the lectures of Ammonius and Origen in Alexandria[113] and who later taught in Athens and Palmyra, probably took a similar position,[114] despite his having a detailed knowledge of Plotinus' work and a great admiration for its author. I leave the matter of Origen the Christian aside for the moment. At the time of Plotinus' death, therefore, it would be reasonable to assume that the Middle Platonism of Origen and Longinus was still dominant in Alexandria; and it was to remain so for more than a century at least.

We have a further important piece of evidence for late third century Alexandria, the treatise in which Alexander of Lycopolis criticizes the dualism of Mani, recently translated into English and commented by Van der Horst and Mansfeld.[115] Alexander seems to have been a professional Platonist, active in a philosophical school,[116] teaching in Alexandria not

[110] P. 15.

[111] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 3, 14, 20. The fragments of Origen have been collected by K. O. Weber, *Origenes der Neuplatoniker* (Munich 1962). Weber's speculations about Origen and Ammonius are unreliable: I should prefer to call Origen a Middle Platonist despite his date: cf. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, p. 382. His notion of a first principle is probably the subject of the work *The King is the Sole Creator*, for which see below and Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 3.

[112] Proclus, *In Plat. Theol.* 2.4, ed. Portus pp. 87 f. (Weber fr. 7).

[113] *Vita Plot.* 20.

[114] Proclus, *In Tim.* 1, 332.24 (ed. Diehl); cf. Armstrong, "The Background," p. 393.

[115] P. W. Van der Horst and J. Mansfeld, *An Alexandrian Platonist against Dualism* (Leiden 1974). They have used Brinkmann's 1895 edition of the Greek text, *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*. For what follows see especially Van der Horst and Mansfeld, pp. 6-47.

[116] Ed. Brinkmann, p. 8.14, ch. 5; Van der Horst-Mansfeld, p. 58.

much before the year 300, though Van der Horst and Mansfeld mislead in calling him a Neoplatonist.[117] His awareness of and concern with Manichaeism is of great interest: he regards it as a Christian heresy,[118] apparently sharing common ground on the matter with Arius and thus giving us important evidence about an intellectual concern of both pagans and Christians in Alexandria around 300.

Alexander is not a Neoplatonist; rather his theories bear a marked similarity with those of the pagan Origen,[119] in particular in that he posits a first principle which is not a Plotinian One but an intellect — a fact which should not surprise us since Origen apparently wrote a major work entitled *The King is the Sole Creator* some time between 260 and 265, in the reign of Gallienus,[120] that is, when he was quite old and familiar with the views of Plotinus.[121] Alexander may even have heard Origen lecture in Alexandria when he himself was young. Beyond doubt the influence of Origen as an Alexandrian master lasted for the best part of two centuries: he is cited by Hierocles (early fifth century) as a mainstream Platonist carrying on the influence of Ammonius Saccas. Hierocles lists the series of masters as Ammonius, Plotinus, Origen, Porphyry, Iamblichus and his successors.[122]

Alexander talks of *hypostases*,[123] and makes *Nous* supreme, but he does not call it One even though it is in some senee "beyond Being."[124] The word "hypostasis" is not a regular Middle Platonic term; its philosophical importance derives particularly from Plotinus and Porphyry, but its use by Alexander need not indicate influence from these sources. We should

[117] P. 10.

[118] Alexander, ed. Brinkmann ch. 2, Van der Horst-Mansfeld p. 52. For corroboration of this view see A. Henrichs and L. Koenen, "Ein griechischer Mani-Codex," *ZPE* 5 (1970) 97-216, esp. 140. For Arius see Opitz, *Urkunde* 6: *ὁμοούσιος* is attributed to Mani.

[119] Van der Horst-Mansfeld evoke Ammonius (Saccas) here (pp. 8-9), though justly criticizing Theiler's "reconstruction" of Ammonius and his principle for doing so (i.e., where Porphyry differs from Plotinus he goes back to Ammonius!). I should prefer to say even less about Ammonius than Van der Horst-Mansfeld, while *a fortiori* rejecting W. Theiler's excesses in his "Ammonios und Porphyrios," in *Entretiens Hardt 12 Porphyre* (Geneva 1966), pp. 85-121 (= *Untersuchungen zur ant. Lit.* [Berlin 1970] pp. 519-542).

[120] *Vita Plot.* 3.

[121] Origen heard Plotinus in Rome, presumably during Porphyry's time there (263-268 AD) (*Vita Plot.* 14).

[122] Cf. Photius, *Bibl.* 214, 251 (ed. Henry), and J. M. Rist, "Hypatia," *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 218, though the influence of Iamblichus is much greater than I then believed.

[123] Brinkmann, pp. 24.18-19.

[124] Brinkmann, p. 39.18; Plato, *Rep.* 509B. Cf. H. Dörrie, "Zum Ursprung der neuplatonischen Hypostasenlehre," *Hermes* 82 (1954) 331-342, and idem, "Hypostasis, Wort und Bedeutungsgeschichte," *NAG* (1955) 35-92. Note the use of *ὑποστάσις* in the *Theaetetus* Commentary, ed. Diels-Sohubart, col. 63.20, 68.3); and "Hypostasis," p. 64.

note that Alexander does not talk of *three* hypostases in the characteristically Plotinian manner exhibited by the title of *Ennead* 5.1: *On the Three Basic Hypostases.*[125]

Alexander's use of *hypostases* tells us that the word was by his time current in Alexandria, not that he got it from Porphyry or Plotinus; and indeed we know that it was used there, perhaps particularly in the Christian circles with which Alexander was familiar. A somewhat similar situation seems to exist in regard to his attitude to matter, very well documented by Van der Horst and Mansfeld. Alexander believes that matter derives from the first principle which, as we have seen, is Intellect — a view similar to that advanced by certain Neopythagoreans,[126] but which cannot be found in Middle Platonism. The derivation of matter, however, was at the centre of controversy, as a well-known passage of the heretical Hermogenes (criticized by Tertullian) makes clear. According to Hermogenes, God made things (a) out of Himself, or (b) *de nihilo*, or (c) out of something else.[127] The last is Hermogenes' view, and most Middle Platonists would have agreed; the first (out of Himself) seems to be that of Alexander,[128] though he wishes to understand this in some sort of non-corporeal sense (*τὰ ἐφεξῆς μένοντος τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποστάσεις εἶσιν*). The clumsy and muddled nature of this formulation should be compared with the relevant argument of Plotinus for a totally transcendent first principle which *makes* things and leaves them outside of itself.[129] Though Alexander's view has resemblances to Plotinus', as with the use of the word "hypostasis" itself, he can hardly have known Plotinus' own work and produced such confusion. Alexander's *μένοντος* may be designed to protect the First Principle from "movement," thus reminding us of Numenius' static first principle,[130] and contradicting Origen.

As to the relation between matter and evil Alexander is simplistic. Plotinus wishes to argue both that matter is the last product deriving ultimately from the One, and that it is evil in its effects, though not in itself; for in itself it is absolute non-being. And he does not find the

[125] Cf. *Enn.* 2.9.1.40 ff.

[126] Eudorus, *apud* Simplicius, *In Phys.* 181, 33-34D; Moderatus, *apud* Simplicius, ibid., 231, 5 ff. D.

[127] Tertullian, *Adv. Herm.*, ed. Waszink p. 16.11 ff.

[128] Van der Horst-Mansfeld p. 18; ed. Brinkmann p. 24.16 ff.

[129] *Enn.* 6.8.19.18. Porphyry too holds that all (including matter) comes from the One: *ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ γεννῶν τὸ ὅλον* (Proclus, *In Tim.* 1, ed. Diehl p. 300.2 ff.).

[130] Numenius, fr. 12 (ed. Des Places). As Plotinus and Numenius, Alexander does not, of course, advocate creation *de nihilo*, as Praechter, arguing for Christian influence, supposed.

reconciliation of the two aspects of his theory easy.[131] Porphyry's view is in certain important respects close to that of Plotinus; for him too there is a special sense in which matter is a "cause" of evil.[132] Alexander's solution is simple: he nowhere connects matter with evil — conveniently enough in a treatise against the Manichaeans — but leaves unanswered (as far as we are informed) the question of the reason for the soul's fall. There is nothing in his comments to suggest that he knew the more complex Plotinian philosophical position, let alone that he rejected it.

Mansfeld, however, finds a close parallel between Alexander and Porphyry in their rejection of the theory that the movement of matter is random,[133] a Middle Platonic view used by Mani to provide a definition of matter itself.[134] Mansfeld points out that in attacking Mani Alexander is at the same time attacking both Plato and a strong tradition in Middle Platonism.[135] Does Porphyry argue similarly? Mansfeld finds the "conceptual parallel striking," for Porphyry, according to Philoponus, argued against the Middle Platonists that *Timaeus* 30A and 53B suggest that it is not unformed matter, but composites of form and matter which are in confused motion.[136] But it is not clear from this what Porphyry thought the "native state" of matter is, though in general one might say that both Plotinus and Porphyry, in so far as they view matter as non-existent, could hardly view it as in motion. Alexander, in contrast, does not think of matter as non-existent at all. It does exist, though it is not a body nor strictly an incorporeal, nor even an individual (τόδε τι).[137] Thus though there may appear some similarity between Alexander and Porphyry on matter, it is not sufficient to support the derivation of one from the other. Alexander's version is simpler, showing not that he rejected Porphyry, but more likely that he was ignorant of him.

What then are we to conclude? That Alexander is some kind of Middle Platonist, probably considerably influenced by Origen and possibly (though indeterminably) by Ammonius. As such he is a most important testimony to the non-importance of Plotinus and Porphyry in later third-

[131] Recently varied views on this topic are to be found in J. M. Rist, "Plotinus on Matter and Evil," *Phronesis* 6 (1961) 154-166; D. O'Brien, "Plotinus on Evil," *Le Néoplatonisme* (Paris 1971) pp. 113-146; J. M. Rist, "Plotinus and Augustine on Evil," in *Plotino e il Neoplatonismo in Oriente e in Occidente* (Rome 1974) pp. 495-508.

[132] κακοῖ ἡ ὕλη (*Sent.* 30.2, ed. Mommert p. 16.6-7); Van der Horst-Mansfeld p. 20).

[133] Van der Horst-Mansfeld, p. 21.

[134] Ed. Brinkmann pp. 5.8, 10.5, 26.1.

[135] See Van der Horst-Mansfeld for references.

[136] Philoponus, *De aet. mundi* 546.5-547.19 (ed. Rabe).

[137] Ed. Brinkmann p. 10.19-20.

century Alexandria. That this non-importance persisted in important areas above a century more is well attested by what we know of Hypatia and Synesius, and even by Hierocles in the first part of the fifth century. Hierocles still denied that the first principle is a One[138] and taught a theory of matter similar to Alexander.[139] Synesius certainly knows Plotinus and Porphyry (as Hierocles did too), but he reveres Plotinus rather than uses him. Porphyry is indeed his major late source, but in many areas he is still in the Middle Platonic world.[140] As for Hierocles, even if he did study with Plutarch in Athens, which I still doubt, he did not easily unlearn his Middle Platonism;[141] and Synesius is contemptuous of the Plutarchians he found lurking in Athens.[142]

We can, I believe, claim that a conservative Middle Platonism was taught in Alexandria in the late third century. And it was taught to pagans and Christians alike. Alexander is a witness to a pagan interest in Christianity and to the problems posed for its teaching by the sects, and of course by Mani in particular. He regards Christians as rather simple-minded, but is not hostile; and his attitude in many ways reflects that of Synesius later on. Christianity and Platonism, in its conservative Middle Platonic form, can generally co-exist in Alexandria at this period. The later killing of Synesius' teacher Hypatia cannot be viewed as in any way representative of conditions at this earlier period. And it is against Alexander's Middle Platonism that we should view the prominent Christians of early fourth-century Alexandria, above all the two opponents who dominated the theological world of the fourth century: Athanasius and Arius. If we want to know how prominent Christians in the East looked at the philosophers at the time of Nicaea, these are the people with whom we should be concerned. Christianity in the East

[138] Hierocles *apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 214, 251; *In Car. Aur.*, ed. Mullach, p. 28.12-15; Rist, "Hypatia," pp. 218-219. Wallis notes the importance of *post-Porphyrian* Platonism in Hierocles: we leap over Plotinus and Porphyry (*Neoplatonism*, p. 143).

[139] On matter see Photius, *Bibl.* 251, 461A-B, *ex nihilo* according to Wallis (*Neoplatonism*, p. 143); also *In Carm. Aur.*, Mullach p. 71.11.

[140] Rist, "Hypatia," p. 216.

[141] Ibid., p. 219. The most recent study of Hierocles, that of I. Hadot, *Le problème du Néoplatonisme alexandrin: Hiéroclès et Simplicius* (Paris 1978) has persuaded me of the existence of far more Iamblichean elements than I had previously supposed, but I am not convinced by the argument (pp. 115-116) that Hierocles must have taught that the One is the supreme principle, even though he does not say this in our texts. It has been claimed that Syrianus and Proclus too, though pupils of Plutarch, were perhaps more influenced elsewhere — in their case by the Syrian school (see E. Evrard, "Le Maître de Plutarque d'Athenes," *ACl* [1960] 398). Hierocles' own divergences from Plutarch would, of course, be on different lines.

[142] Synesius, *Ep.* 136.

already had one teacher, Origen, who though soaked in Plato could also come to replace Plato as an educational authority. Athanasius symbolizes an important decision of fourth century Christianity: in important respects he became a greater than Origen, while at the same time joining Origen as a founder-figure of the ever more autonomous Christian culture.

F. Arius

Of the philosophical and theological antecedents of Arius discussion seems to be endless;[143] we have insufficient evidence ever to reach a final conclusion. But a number of modern critics have spoken of the Platonism of Arius, and it is therefore necessary to consider the question of the philosophical sources of such an influential figure against a background of the knowledge of pagan Platonism in Alexandria as we have now discovered it to be. There is no reason to believe that Arius, who may have been Libyan in origin, received any theological or philosophical training outside of Alexandria. Some would deny this, citing his appeal to Eusebius of Nicomedia as a fellow Lucianist[144] as proof that Arius had himself studied with Lucian;[145] one has gone so far as to talk of Arius being "trained for the priesthood under Lucian in Antioch."[146] But Arius is nowhere included in the evidence about the disciples of Lucian,[147] and Epiphanius at least distinguishes his following from the Lucianists.[148] The appeal to Eusebius of Nicomedia can easily be construed as that of a man who has read and admired the work of Lucian writing to one of the master's pupils, indeed his most influential pupil. Time was to show (for

[143] Among other studies we may note the following: T. E. Pollard, "Logos and Son in Origen, Arius and Athanasius," *SP* 2 (Berlin 1957) 282-287; idem, "The Origins of Arianism," *JThS* 9 (1958) 102-111; idem, "The Exegesis of Scripture and the Arian Controversy," *BJRL* 41 (1959) 414-429; idem, *Johannine Christianity and the Early Church* (Cambridge 1970); E. Boularand, *L'hérésie d'Arius et la "foi" de Nicée* (Paris 1972); these works emphasize the importance of Lucian of Antioch. The next group represents those who emphasize primarily Alexandrian influences on Arius: M. Wiles, "In Defence of Arius," *JThS* 13 (1962) 339-347; G. C. Stead, "The Platonism of Arius," *JThS* 15 (1964) 16-31; L. W. Barnard, "The Antecedents of Arius," *VigChr* 24 (1970) 172-188.

For judicious mixing of sources see M. Simonetti, "Le origini dell'Arianesimo," *RSLR* 7 (1971) 317-330; H. I. Marrou, "L'Arianisme comme phénomène alexandrin," *CRAI* (1973) 533-542.

[144] Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.5.3, 11.7-8 (Opitz, *Urkunde* 1, p. 3).

[145] So G. Bardy, *Recherches sur S. Lucien d'Antioch et son école* (Paris 1936) p. 194.

[146] Pollard, *Johannine Christianity*, pp. 142 ff.

[147] Philostorgius, *Hist. eccl.* 2.14, 3.15.

[148] Epiphanius, *Ancor.* 33 (PG 43: 77).

example at Antioch) that not all the Lucianists were willing to go all the way with the blunt formulations of Arius.

Arius probably admired Lucian for his scriptural exegesis, but he might have found similar (though perhaps inferior) versions of the same kind of outlook — at least in so far as it denied the validity of Origen's allegorical method — at home in Alexandria, and in the person of Bishop Peter,[149] a victim of the Great Persecution. Peter, admittedly himself not always friendly to Arius,[150] may also have denounced Origen more generally as a troublemaker for his predecessors in the see of Alexandria.[151]

Arius then is an Alexandrian, and could well have known something of the pagan philosophy in Alexandria in his time. Scholars have detected parallels between his account of the origin of the Son and the views of Albinus and Atticus on the existence of time before the cosmos.[152] Like Alexander of Lycopolis (and Athanasius) Arius worried about Manichaeism: *homoousios* sounded to him to smack of it,[153] and it was indeed prominent enough, at least in Africa, to be denounced and penalized in a rescript of the Emperor Diocletian in the 300s.[154] Yet beside his readings in Lucian, we may detect a variety of possible sources for Arius within the Christian tradition. Origen[155] and Theognostus[156] used the word κτίσμα of Christ; Dionysius of Alexandria clearly disliked *homoousios* as Sabellian and called Christ a ποίημα.[157] Basil made it clear: Dionysius was one of the roots of Arianism.[158] And there is also Pierius, a clear subordinationist,[159] though as an allegorizer admittedly distasteful to Arius. All in all there seems little reason to go outside the purely Christian tradition, seasoned

[149] Procopius, *Comm. in Gen.* 3.21.

[150] For Peter's attitude to Arius see Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 1.15.2; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 1.6.

[151] So the bogus *Acts* of Peter's martyrdom (J. Viteau, *Passions des SS. Écaterine et Pierre l'Alexandrin* [Paris 1897] p. 75; see Barnard, "The Antecedents," p. 183).

[152] Note Atticus and Albinus on *Tim.* 38B, and especially Albinus, *Ep.* 14.3 (ὄντος ποτε χρόνου ἐν ᾧ οὐκ ἦν ὁ κόσμος). Note also that Origen (*De Princ.* 4.4.1) already rejects the view that there was once when the Son was not. For all these matters see Stead, "The Platonism of Arius," 16; F. Ricken, "Nikaia als Krisis des altchristlichen Platonismus," *ThPh* 44 (1969) 329; and E. P. Meijering, "Ἦν πότε ὅτε οὐκ ἦν ὁ υἱός. A Discussion on Time and Eternity," *VigChr* 28 (1974) 161-168 (= *God Being History* [Amsterdam 1975] pp. 81-88).

[153] Opitz, *Urkunde* 6.12.

[154] Note the outbreak of war with Persia in 294.

[155] *De Princ.* 4.4.1.

[156] *Apud* Photius, *Bibl.* 106 (Routh, *Rel. sac.* 3.412-414).

[157] Athanasius, *De sent. Dion.* 4 (cf. 14, ἀλλ' ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν).

[158] Basil, *EMax. phl.* [9] 2, PG 32: 267C ff.; Courtonne, 1: 38 ff.

[159] Cf. L. B. Radford, *Theognostus, Pierius and Peter* (Cambridge 1908) 44-57; Photius, *Bibl.* 119.

occasionally with Middle Platonism as available in Alexandria, to find the roots of Arius' thought, provided one allows Arius himself a certain ability as a synthesizer. That is not to say, of course, that the older tradition of exegesis, with the view that his work is in some sense a relapse into Hellenism, is entirely misconceived. In so far as his theology is subordinationist, it might seem easier for a hellenically trained mind to accept, as is also the case with Origen. But to talk of the attractiveness of Arius is not to talk of his sources.

In a recent paper, which to some extent represents a trend in current attitudes to Arius, it has been argued that the main thrust of Arius' position is not his doctrine of God, his Trinitarian theology, but his soteriology. Arius, so it is argued, has constantly been misinterpreted in this connection, and the misinterpretation began with the "Nicene party," with Alexander, Athanasius and the rest.[160] The real argument, according to this theory, was about sound views of salvation: Arius' doctrine of Christ was developed with a view to arguing that Christ is the "pioneer and perfecter of that Sonship into which men too shall be adopted."[161] Certainly this aspect of Arius' thinking was already recognized or unearthed by Bishop Alexander, who claimed to see in Arius' views the suggestion that Christ became Son by the practice of moral progress (*προκοπῆς ἀσκήσει*);[162] and it is true too that the orthodox found talk of the Son's ignorance of his own or the Father's nature (necessary for such moral advance) offensive.[163] Whether soteriological questions were really central for Arius seems not to have been established; nor do we know whether, even if Arius talked in this way at some early stage of his career, he moderated his language later on. It is possible, however, that he at least toyed with such ideas, and we might recognize in them a philosophical influence. Yet that influence is not primarily Platonic, but Stoic or even Cynic;[164] and we may add that Arius' attempt to sell his theology to the man in the street by composing songs, like his *Thalia*, for sailors and millhands, in what could be taken to be the popular, not to say notorious

[160] So R. C. Gregg and D. E. Groh, "The Centrality of Soteriology in Early Arianism," *AnglThR* 59 (1977) 260-278; Pollard takes a somewhat similar view.

[161] Gregg and Groh, "The Centrality," p. 270.

[162] Opitz, *Urkunde* 14.34, p. 25, 11.1-2. If Arius ever spoke in this language it is possible he dropped it when he was readmitted to communion.

[163] Athanasius, *C Arianos* 1.9.

[164] For Cynic influences in Alexandria later on with Hypatia and Synesius, see C. Lacombrade, *Synesios de Cyrène* (Paris 1951) pp. 44-45; J. Rist, "Hypatia," pp. 220-221; E. Evrard, "À quel titre Hypatie enseigna-t-elle la philosophie?" *REG* 90 (1977) 71.

Sotadean metre,[165] points in the same direction. I should prefer, in fact, to think of the Cynics rather than of the Stoics; and if that is right it provides further evidence not of Arius' use of the positive philosophy of his day, but of his rejection of it.

G. The Early Athanasius

Athanasius' date of birth is unknown, but in 313, apparently as a teenager, he became some sort of protégé of Alexander, the new bishop of Alexandria.[166] In Alexander's household he studied the writings of Philo, of the pagan Middle Platonists, and of a number of the Christian Fathers, especially perhaps Origen and his Alexandrian successors, bishops Dionysius and Peter, Pierius and Theognostus.[167] At no time in his life does Athanasius show significant knowledge of Neoplatonism, the Platonism of Plotinus and Porphyry; the nearest he comes to this is a remark in *De decretis Nicaenae synodi* (28) that "the Greeks" speak of a series of principles (the Good, *Nous*, Soul), but even here it is interesting to note that he refers to the Good rather than the more obviously Neoplatonic One.

It is only in the minor work *Contra gentes – De incarnatione verbi* that Athanasius concerns himself with Greek philosophy, so his remarks there are of particular relevance to our present concerns. Athanasius was a figure of immense weight and influence in the developing Christian world of the fourth century. It may be assumed a priori that whatever he said or thought about the Greek philosophical heritage would make a noticeable impact on his contemporaries and successors. His view, even in the *Contra gentes – De incarnatione verbi*, is clear enough: the days of Greek philosophy are over. So far from Greek wisdom making progress, it is in fact dying out.[168] The work of the great "sophists" is overshadowed by the preaching of Christ.[169] By contrast the churches are full.

[165] The metre of the *Thalia* has been interpreted variously. Athanasius calls the work Sotadean, referring to form or content or both. The most recent study, that of G. C. Stead, "The *Thalia* of Arius and the Testimony of Athanasius," *JThS* 29 (1978) 20-52, finds the metre to be anapaestic, though he admits that at least the first seven lines could (with W. J. W. Koster, *Mnemosyne* 16 [1963] 135-141) be read as Sotadeans. The problem with Stead's solution is that it leaves Arius' work as Sotadean neither in form nor content, thus compelling us to conclude that Athanasius' description is *merely indiscriminate* abuse — which is possible but rather implausible.

[166] Rufinus, *Hist. eccl.* 1.14.

[167] For the influence of Middle Platonism see especially Meijering, *Orthodoxy and Platonism*, passim; for particular tendencies pp. 104-105.

[168] *De Inc.* 55.

[169] *De Inc.* 50.

It has been much debated why Athanasius wrote these treatises: they purport to be aimed at pagans, but the "reader" is often assumed to be Christian. F. L. Cross argued that they are primarily a theological exercise set by Athanasius to himself,[170] a summary of what he has learned from his teachers, whose books, he somewhat mysteriously tells us, he does not have to hand.[171] Naturally such a view, eminently attractive though it is, would be rendered more or less likely if we could be certain of the date of composition. Traditionally this has been held to pre-date the Arian controversy — since Arius is nowhere mentioned — but there have been objectors,[172] most recently and powerfully Charles Kannengiesser.[173] Kannengiesser's best argument is that in those of Athanasius' *Festal Letters* written before his exile of 335-336, there is no explicit connection drawn between the rending of the body or robe of Christ and the particular heresy of Arius; afterwards there is. Thus after 337, the death of Constantine, argues Kannengiesser, Athanasius feels no inhibitions about making the association; previously he avoided it for fear of offending the emperor. Now in the *De incarnatione* (24) there is a reference to the same topic, heresy and rending, but no explicit mention of Arius; for Kannengiesser, however, reference to him is implicit; hence the *De incarnatione* appears to have been written at a time when Athanasius was deliberately avoiding mention of Arius, such as during his exile; that is why, Kannengiesser adds, he had no books.

But Kannengiesser's argument is inadequate, depending as it does on the dubious assertion of an allusion to Arius in chapter 24. While it suggests that Athanasius *might* have written *De incarnatione* about 336, it in no way compels us to believe that he actually did so. In fact, a somewhat similar argument could be used to suggest that Athanasius actually wrote the *De incarnatione* before about 324 — under Licinius, not Constantine. For in that year (or perhaps as early as 321) Alexander, bishop of Alexandria and Athanasius' superior, sent out a circular letter[174] in which he accuses the Arians, and Arius himself, of rending the robe of Christ which the executioners did not divide. Now, it might be said, since

[170] *The Study of St. Athanasius* (Oxford 1945) p. 14, followed by Meijering, *Orthodoxy and Platonism*, p. 106.

[171] *C. Gentes* 1.

[172] H. Berkhof thinks they are too mature to be this early (*Kerkelijke Klassieken* [Wageningen 1949] p. 23); this is answered by Meijering, *Orthodoxy*, p. 109.

[173] "Le témoignage des Lettres Festales...," *RSR* 52 (1964) 91-100, viewed with suspicion by Pollard, *Johannine Christianity*, p. 131 and followed (confusedly) by R. W. Thomson in *Athanasius: Contra Gentes/De Incarnatione* (Oxford 1971) p. xxi.

[174] Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 1.4 (Opitz, *Urkunde* 14).

the text of John 19 had been specifically and officially related to Arius even by Alexander, the fact that this association is not mentioned in the *De incarnatione* means that Athanasius was then ignorant of it, that is, that the *De incarnatione* is prior to 324.

Kannengiesser's date, therefore, is no more than a possibility, and in fact it is a possibility which has been proved to be mistaken, and that on the basis of a text of *Contra gentes* cited by Kannengiesser himself.[175] In chapter 9, Athanasius says that until recently, and perhaps even up to now, the Senate at Rome has deified emperors.[176] According to Kannengiesser this must put *Contra gentes* between 324 (the death of Licinius) and 339 (Athanasius' first visit to Rome itself). But that is incredible; Athanasius certainly knew that, whatever honours were bestowed on Constantine at his death, emperors were not deified between 324 and 339. In fact, he is referring to the last known deification before the time of Julian, either of Diocletian, as Eutropius says,[177] or, more likely, of Maximian, as *divus Maximianus* on the coins attests.[178] The year is 318. Plus or minus, that is the date of *Contra gentes – De incarnatione*. It is thus indeed an early work, and in it we find the Middle Platonism that Athanasius would have met, as we have seen, in the schools of Alexandria, together with an opposition to heresies primarily viewed as dualistic accounts of creation, such as Arius also seems to have abhorred.[179] In other words heresy is viewed against a late third rather than a fourth century background: it is Mani, not Arius.

Granted that 318 is the approximate date of the treatise *Contra gentes – De incarnatione*, we can allow ourselves to be impressed by the implicitly non-Arian theology to be found there. This is not the place to enter upon detailed discussion, but we can simply assert that already here there is no trace of "subordinationist" theology of an Arian or an Origenist type: let a single example suffice, the use by Athanasius of the phrase *εἰκὼν ἀπαράλλακτος*[180] to describe the kind of likeness the Son has to the Father. He did not drop this language in his *Orationes contra Arianos*, and one can presume that he acquired it either from his theological teachers or

[175] "Le témoignage," p. 100.

[176] This evidence is mis-stated by Thomson, *Athanasius*, p. xxii.

[177] Eutropius, *Brev*. 9.23.

[178] See R. Brun, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, 7 (London 1966) 180 (Trier), 252 (Arles), 310 (Rome), 394 (Aquileia), 429 (Siscia), 502 (Thessaloniki).

[179] J. C. M. van Winden, "On the Date of Athanasius' Apologetical Treatises," *VigChr* 29 (1975) 291-295.

[180] *C. Gentes* 41.3; 46.60.

from his patron, Bishop Alexander, who himself used it in a letter to Alexander of Byzantium.[181]

We are now in a position to review briefly some comments of Anders Nygren on the position of Athanasius in the development of Christian thought in the fourth century.[182] According to Nygren Athanasius' Christianity is "double-sided": in his anti-Arian works he is directed by a consciousness of the descending love of God, exemplified above all in the fact of the Incarnation, in the belief that Christ is fully God, not the "second God" of Platonism and of the theology of Arius. But, continues Nygren, in the *Contra gentes* and the *De incarnatione* (which Nygren rightly thinks of as early), as well as in the *Life of Antony*, Athanasius is dominated by the "Eros-motif," the ascetic-ethical desire for perfection which Nygren regards as specifically Hellenistic and anti-Christian. It is the same mixture of motifs in Athanasius, thinks Nygren, that one can see plainly in his earlier contemporary Methodius who worships *Agape* in the anti-Origenist *De resurrectione* and *Eros* in the "Platonic" *Symposium*.

That the *Life of Antony* displays a desire for sanctification is obvious — I have no intention of commenting on the theological "rightness" of this — but the *theory* of that desire is perhaps best summed up in a text of *De incarnatione*[183] which, while rightly reminding Nygren of Irenaeus,[184] is at the same time anathema: the Word became man in order that we may become divine. Despite Athanasius' obvious gloss of "divine" by "incorruptible," Nygren rebukes him for failing to safeguard the distinction between man and God, and thus for falling into a "hellenistic" — by which he means "Platonic" — position. But Athanasius seems to know well where, in the tradition in which he lives, Platonism ends and Christianity begins. That is why he does not follow Origen, or later Arius. "Platonist" doctrines of the subordination of the *logos*, however ancient and however backed by Christians of repute like Origen, conflict with scripture, above all with the Gospel of John, but there is nothing to *conflict* with that Gospel about the ethical-ascetic ideal of sanctification and of the divinization of man. In this area the Platonists can be used. John himself, Nygren was reduced to saying, has already "weakened" Agape in the interests of Eros.[185]

[181] Opitz, *Urkunde* 14, p. 25, 25.

[182] *Agape and Eros* (Philadelphia 1953) pp. 421-429.

[183] *De Inc.* 54.

[184] Nygren, *Agape*, p. 428; cf. p. 410 and Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 4.33.4.

[185] Nygren, *Agape*, pp. 151-157; for more general comment on Nygren's views see J. M. Rist, "Some Interpretations of Agape and Eros," in *The Philosophy and Theology of Anders Nygren* (Carbondale 1970) pp. 156-173.

Athanasius agrees in a sense with Nygren's assessment, but not with the pejorative terms in which it is couched. For him the Eros-motif does indeed occur in John, and therefore it can be used when found outside John, that is, in the Platonic tradition. (Methodius may have had the same view.) And at this stage we should give due weight to an important fact, the significance of which must be remembered in any study of the fourth century down to the time of Basil and beyond: in 318 Athanasius is in a euphoric mood; the world and at least one emperor are turning to Christianity; the wisdom of the pagans is failing and is losing its terrors: we are the masters now! And in that spirit the new masters can pick and choose from pagan philosophy (as also from pagan literature). Pagan philosophers can supplement the Christian teachers where necessary. Origen is already, of course, in some sense a master; Athanasius himself was to become one; the Great Council of Nicaea, with whose spirit he was to be forever identified, was never to lose its overwhelming and fundamental importance as a Christian event. The world was prepared (especially in the East) for this change in the intellectual climate before Athanasius' time, but in over-facile modern comment about gradualness and an imperceptible replacement of paganism by Christianity the new consciousness of that new reality in the fourth century is easily forgotten. An example of how Athanasius will pick up something valuable from the wreckage of the past: Adam, before the fall, had his mind set entirely upon God in unembarrassed frankness (ἀνεπαισχύντῳ παρρησίᾳ).[186] The language is Cynic, but a Cynicism turned on its head: no longer a defiance or rejection of convention, but a society where conventions would have no meaning. When Adam (and Eve) realized they were naked and felt bodily desire, it was not so much a realization that they were stripped of clothes but that they were stripped of the desire to contemplate God.[187] Cynicism restored, one might say; perhaps Arius had something of the same insight if he set his theological ideas out in Sotadean metre.[188]

Before leaving Athanasius, it is impossible entirely to forget the subject of virginity, for this especially Christian theme is locked together with Athanasius' version of the "Platonic" drive towards sanctification, the divinization of man, the restoration of the fallen Adam. For Athanasius,[189] it is a mark of Jesus' superiority that he taught men to attain the "virtue"

[186] *C. Gentes* 2. Cf. *PGL* s.v. παρρησία.

[187] *C. Gentes* 3.

[188] For Gregory of Nazianzus' interesting attitude to Cynicism see R. Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus* (Oxford 1969) pp. 170-172.

[189] *De Inc.* 51. Cf. Methodius, *Symp.* 1.4.

of virginity, which in earlier ages had been regarded as unattainable. In the *Life of Antony* virginity is particularly associated with the monastic and eremitical ideal. Athanasius, as we know, wrote at length on this subject, though his writings *De virginitate*, so influential in their own day, have only partially been recovered through the patient labours of modern scholars.[190]

Of course, Christian interest in virginity and its cultivation did not begin with Athanasius. It dates back to the earliest times, and the benefits of virginity are variously described;[191] but for our present purposes it is the association of the ideal of virginity with Platonic motifs that is important. Before Athanasius Methodius had written his *Symposium*, where, despite modern doubts,[192] it is impossible not to see that Virginity is meant in some sense to stand for the Platonic Eros as the way to the Good. Virginity is an actualization of the sublimated Erotic ideal; and the language of the Platonic ascent through Eros can be transferred to it. But this kind of Platonism, we should note, is a Christian Platonism with Christian roots; the cult of virginity as Eros has no direct Platonic or Neoplatonic source. Methodius uses language which transmutes not Neoplatonic texts but Plato's *Phaedrus* directly when he talks of "flying on the heaven-going wings of Virginity."[193] When, therefore, we meet in Athanasius and later fourth century writers the language of Eros and Virginity, we should think in terms of an already well established Christian Platonism which needs no stimulus from contemporary or near-contemporary pagan philosophy. Origen, in the commentary on the Song of Songs, Methodius and Athanasius himself are the makers of the new varieties of the life of ascent; Plato can be used, where appropriate, as confirmation, not as foundation.

H. Some Concluding Remarks: 270-325

What has been exposed in this section is a sketch, but it is a sketch which already embodies an important fact: intellectual life in Christian circles was reformed in a number of fundamental respects during the period which culminated in the Council of Nicaea. At that Council, a

[190] See M. Aubineau, "Les écrits de s. Athanase sur la virginité," in his *Recherches patristiques* (Amsterdam 1974) pp. 163-196 (= *RAM* 31 [1955] 140-173).

[191] See especially T. H. C. van Eijk, "Marriage and Virginity, Death and Immortality," in *Epektasis*, pp. 209-235.

[192] So van Eijk, "Marriage," pp. 221-224.

[193] *Symp.* 8.12.

fundamentally "unplatonic" account of the nature of God was proposed and accepted.[194] The new logos-theology allowed no place to Middle or Neoplatonic versions of subordinationism, whether they came from pagans or from Christians in the "hellenizing" traditions of Origen or Arius. In the new Christian culture Platonic *theologies* (or accounts of God) were thus largely excluded, and later Arian (or Origenist) attempts to reinstate them were ultimately unsuccessful. Among those of unimpeachable Nicene orthodoxy (such as Basil) we should least of all expect to find traces of Platonism, whether from Middle Platonic, Neoplatonic or Christian Platonic sources, in this particular area of thought. However, other areas remained where harmony between Christian orthodoxy and Platonism was intact: primarily, as we have already seen, the area of asceticism and ethical progress. But not only there: we could also discuss questions of theodicy and the making of man and the world, but these are not especially prominent in Christian writers of the period at present under discussion, though we find them returning at a later date. Even on these occasions, however, we must not forget the new Christian spirit of the fourth century, nor must we fail to apply it whenever it can properly be applied within the area of intellectual and moral life: the spirit of which we are the masters now. Eusebius of Caesarea expresses the new spirit somewhat differently in his Oration on the *Tricennalia* of Constantine in 336[195]: He who is the pre-existent Word, the Saviour of all things, imparts to his followers the seeds of true wisdom and salvation, and makes them at the same time truly wise, and understanding of the kingdom of their Father. Our Emperor, His Friend, acting as interpreter to the Word of God, aims at recalling the whole human race to the knowledge of God; proclaiming clearly in the ears of all, and declaring with powerful voice the laws of truth and godliness to all who dwell on the earth.

It is an Arian who speaks,[196] a man influenced by Middle Platonists, by Origen, by Pamphilus, for in 336 Arianism was in the ascendent, and Arius himself had been rehabilitated. But the note of triumph in the Christian Empire and the New World (symbolized by the New Rome) is unmistakeable; its expression was not limited to Arians.

[194] Ricken, "Nikaia," pp. 321-341.

[195] 2.1-4; tr. Stevenson.

[196] See F. Ricken, "Die Logoslehre des Eusebios von Caesarea und der Mittelplatonismus," *ThPh* 42 (1967) 341-358; idem, "Zur Rezeption der platonischen Ontologie bei Eusebios von Kaesareia, Areios und Athanasios," *ThPh* 53 (1978) 321-352.

II. PLATONISM AND CHRISTIANITY: 325-355

A. Introduction

After studying in his home town of Caesarea, then at Antioch with Libanius in 348/9,[197] and then at Constantinople, Basil took up residence in Athens in about 351, and remained there as a student for four or five years.[198] While at Athens he fell in with Gregory (later of Nazianzus) and, in 355, with the future Emperor Julian. Since it is obviously important in considering Basil's thought to discover what he read and thought about in his student days, we need to know what we can about the philosophy available in Caesarea, Antioch, Constantinople, and in particular Athens. Of Caesarea in Cappadocia we know little;[199] rhetoric flourished (as in Antioch), but of philosophy we are more or less ignorant. In Constantinople the position is somewhat similar. Iamblichus' pupil Sopater had made a brief and unhappy appearance there earlier in the century — we shall return to that — but no philosophical tradition of note subsisted. Where, then, was Neoplatonism, as distinct from various surviving brands of Middle Platonism, being taught at this time in the Eastern Mediterranean? To answer that, we have three possible approaches, which we shall consider in turn: the activities of Iamblichus and his pupils in Antioch and elsewhere; the philosophical world of Athens in the first sixty years of the fourth century — which will include the period of Basil's residency; and the new "philosophical" versions of Arianism which arise and are particularly associated with Aetius, his pupil Eunomius of Cyzicus, and Victorinus' apparent correspondent Candidus.

B. Iamblichus and his Pupils

Traditionally Porphyry died about 305; I have argued that about 310 may be more appropriate. Traditionally Iamblichus died about 325,[200] or 330;[201] we have no evidence that he survived beyond 319,[202] but he may

[197] Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 13.4 (PG 46: 1049A) with A. J. Festugière, *Antioche païenne et chrétienne* (Paris 1959) p. 409 and M. Aubineau, *Grégoire de Nysse, Le Traité de la virginité* (Paris 1966) p. 45.

[198] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 5.23.24; cf. *Or.* 43.22-23.

[199] The town's culture is passed over quickly in modern works, such as those of Gallay and Ruether on Gregory of Nazianzus.

[200] J. Bidez, "Le philosophe Jamblique et son école," *REG* 32 (1919) 29-40, esp. p. 32.

[201] G. Mau, *RECA* 9 (1916) 645.

[202] So T. D. Barnes, "A Correspondent of Iamblichus," *GrRoBySt* 19 (1978) 99-106. The correspondent is the Pseudo-Julian whose letters were once thought to be the

have lasted until Constantine's court came to Nicomedia in 324. In other words much of the careers of Porphyry and Iamblichus overlapped.[203] For the East that fact is particularly important. Iamblichus is not only almost Porphyry's contemporary; he had been teaching in Syria, either at Apamea or Daphne (a suburb of Antioch), since the 290s.[204] Porphyry's influence in the East, on the other hand, is at one remove. He was there little, if at all, during the later years of his life, and students had to send for his writings if they wanted them. Obviously *Against the Christians* was in circulation, but at the level of purely technical philosophy we should expect Iamblichus and his pupils to be more influential. In fact we might suspect that at Alexandria, for example, the Middle Platonist period (Numenius, Origen) would pass gradually into an Iamblichean period: and it is indeed precisely that unusual mix — a Middle Platonic doctrine of a Supreme Intellect and an Iamblichean doctrine of triads and mean terms — which we find in early fifth-century Alexandria, in the work of Hierocles.[205] That is not to say, of course, that Porphyry and Plotinus were unknown in late fourth-century Alexandria. Synesius is a witness to the contrary. But if we should find in any particular city that philosophy moves directly from Middle Platonism to Syrian Neoplatonism, we should not think the change surprising on purely chronological or historical grounds.

We need not discuss Iamblichus and his followers at length; sufficient to notice the area of their influence, and the time-span involved. Sopater, Iamblichus' favourite pupil, we have already mentioned; he passed time at the courts of both Licinius and Constantine. His fall was engineered by Constantine's strongly Christian Pretorian Prefect Ablabius: a symbolic event, for as the Emperor Julian knew well, Iamblichean Neoplatonism could not come to terms with Christianity — it represented and rewrote "Hellenism," the worship of the old gods in a new "theological" guise. The centres of the movement were first Syria itself, home of Iamblichus,

emperor's. *Ep.* 184 appears to be the latest of the letters and to be datable to 319. Some time after that Sopater (at Licinius' court, it seems, according to *Epp.* 184 and 185) moved to the court of Constantine, but after Licinius' death (Eunapius, *Vitae Soph.* 462; Zosimus, *Hist. nova* 2.40.3).

[203] See H. D. Saffrey, "Abamon, pseudonyme de Jamblique," in *Philomathes: Studies and Essays in the Humanities in Memory of Philip Merlan*, edd. R. B. Palmer and R. Hamerton-Kelly (The Hague 1971) pp. 227-239 on the rivalry between Porphyry and Iamblichus.

[204] So Dillon, *Iamblichus*, pp. 9 ff.

[205] The odd mix is noticed by Wallis, *Neoplatonism*, p. 143, who apparently misses its historical significance and explains it exclusively in terms of Hierocles' dullness of wit.

then Pergamum where Iamblichus' pupil Aedesius set up his own school,[206] and other towns in Asia Minor like Ephesus, home of Maximus, theosophist to Julian and victim of the anti-pagan reaction under Valens in 371.[207] Maximus was the pupil of Hierius,[208] and/or of Aedesius,[209] pupils of Iamblichus. It was from Pergamum that Priscus, another close friend of the Emperor Julian, left for Greece in 351, an event which we shall discuss further. In later days Priscus survived Julian, as well as the charges in 371, and returned to Greece where he was still alive in the last years of the fourth century.[210]

The other pupil of Iamblichus to whom we should attend briefly is Theodorus (the Great) of Asine, who later became a rival. In some respects teaching a more sober Plotinian system — he accepted Plotinus' notion of the part of the soul that remains above — he is nevertheless basically Iamblichean, and his conflict with his one-time master must be seen as essentially an intramural dispute.[211] Iamblichus and his pupils represent a consciously pagan Platonism, and we shall find them having virtually no influence in Christian circles during the fourth century. (If Basil met them in Antioch, he quickly learned to consign them to oblivion.) Their public "future" lay with such as Sallustius, Julian's prefect and author of the pagan catechism *On Gods and the World*.[212]

C. Philosophy at Athens, 250-355

The emperor Marcus Aurelius established four philosophical chairs and a chair of rhetoric at Athens.[213] It was probably the holder of the "Platonic" chair who, in the third century, was called the "Platonic Successor." These "Successors," in fact, were perhaps in the third century called heads

[206] See the edition of Proclus' *Platonic Theology* by H. D. Saffrey and L. G. Westerink, 1 (Paris 1968) xliv.

[207] A. A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict*, ed. A. Momigliano, p. 115; Ammianus Marcellinus, xxix.i.42.

[208] For Hierius, see Dillon, *Iamblichus*, p. 14; Ammonius, *In Anal. Pr.* 31, 16.

[209] Eunapius, *Vitae soph.* 469.

[210] Saffrey-Westerink, *Platonic Theology*, 1: xlii.

[211] For Theodorus, see Wallis, *Neoplatonism*, p. 95.

[212] See G. Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (London 1935) pp. 200 ff. for a version of this. Dodds, in an additional note in Murray (reimpression 1946, p. 181) finds Plotinian influence in many sections of Sallustius, but wisely does not attempt documentation. For the neglect of the Neoplatonism available in Asia Minor by Hilary of Poitiers when in exile there see H. D. Saffrey, "S. Hilaire et la Philosophie," in *Hilaire et son temps* (Paris 1969), esp. pp. 251-255.

[213] Dio Cassius 72.31.

of the Academy,[214] though they need not have used the original site and buildings which, I believe, had ceased to function as an institution after the sack of Athens by Sulla in 86 BC.[215] Porphyry and Longinus knew of Platonic "Successors" at Athens in the mid-third century: these were Theodotus and the Eubulus[216] who wrote on the *Philebus*, the *Gorgias* and on Aristotle's objections to the *Republic*.[217] (The last may have also been the *Platonic Questions* which Porphyry says he sent on to Plotinus in Rome,[218] though possibly Porphyry here refers to other exegetical studies.) At any rate, as Longinus says, the "Successors" wrote little: teaching was presumably their main responsibility as official and state-paid professors.[219]

Theodotus and Eubulus probably held the title of Platonic Successor before the devastation of Athens by the Herulians in 267. Possibly the title and office lapsed again, at least for a while. Plutarch, at the beginning of the fifth century, is the next Successor so called. But the devastation was not total[220] and within sixty years — perhaps less — much ground had been recovered. Libanius was among the throngs of students to be attracted to what was still regarded as a major intellectual centre; he was there between 336 and 340. Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus spent several years there in the 350s and Julian arrived in 355. What did they find? Certainly that rhetoric was flourishing, but for philosophy we are not well informed, though there was not a complete desert. Julian thought that something philosophical still survived in Greece in three locations: Athens, where there were foreigners as well as Athenians who professed it; Mases in the Argolid; and Sicyon.[221] (It is possible that at Mases and Sicyon he was thinking of "philosophical families" rather than of the public teaching of philosophy.) The identity of the foreigners teaching in

[214] That earlier Platonists could (at Athens) be said to be "in the Academy" (perhaps metaphorically) is clear in the age of Plutarch (*De E apud Delphos*, 387 f.).

[215] J. Lynch, *Aristotle's School* (Berkeley 1972) pp. 177-189.

[216] So Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, p. 248, though Dillon notes that Eusebius (*Chron.* 01.238) does not speak of Atticus as head of the Academy, but simply as a Platonist.

[217] Porphyry, *Vita Plot.* 15, 20; *RECA*, Suppl. 8 (1956) 853, s.v. Theodotus (19a), and 166-167, 921 s.v. Eubulus (17a). Athenian chair-holders made a habit of anti-Aristotelianism, e.g. Atticus.

[218] *Vita Plot.* 15.

[219] For the importance of teaching see R. B. Todd, *Alexander of Aphrodisias on Stoic Physics* (Leiden 1976) p. 7, n. 29.

[220] See recently F. Millar, "P. Herennius Dexippus: The Greek World and the Third-Century Invasions," *JRS* 59 (1969) 12-29.

[221] Saffrey-Westerink, *Platonic Theology*, pp. xl-xli, with reference to Julian's panegyric on the Empress Eusebia.

Athens cannot be determined with certainty, but a possible name is available, and we seem to have information on the kind of Platonism he taught. The man in question is Priscus, whom we have already met as a later counsellor of Julian as emperor, and whose own master was Aedesius of Pergamum, pupil of Iamblichus. Priscus, in a later part of the fourth century, lived in Athens;[222] for the 350s his exact locale is unknown. We may surmise that he had already arrived, but we can only be sure that he was in Greece — which Julian, who had presumably met him there in 355, begged him to leave (for Gaul) a little later.[223] Julian had already learned of Priscus from his master Aedesius in Pergamum in 351,[224] and was well aware of his philosophical persuasions. In letter 12 he asked him for a commentary of Iamblichus on the Chaldaean Oracles, and urged him to maintain the standing of Iamblichus against the followers of Theodorus of Asine. So we know that the revised Neoplatonism of Iamblichus and Theodorus was available in the Athens of the 350s. Through these writers, of course, one could obtain a certain knowledge of Plotinus and Porphyry, but the emphasis in teaching would be unplotinian and unporphyrian. Such is presumably the implication of the presence of "foreign teachers" of philosophy in Athens.

Of the preceding dark period — even of its length — we are in ignorance. But we should emphasize that at no time in the first half of the fourth century do we find evidence that Plotinus and Porphyry enjoyed fame and standing in Athens. Again, as in Alexandria, we may postulate a transition from a Middle Platonism to an Iamblichean Platonism with strong impressions of Porphyry and Plotinus only seeping in incidentally, and perhaps gradually. Is it to the new Iamblichean religious philosophy that Gregory of Nazianzus refers when, speaking of his student days in Athens, he finds the city excessively given over to idols.[225] If so, it is no wonder that he (and other Christians?) seem to have kept away from Platonic teachers there. For Basil Iamblichean Platonism might have meant Antioch all over again.

Saffrey and Westerink have documented how, in the years that followed, Iamblichean Neoplatonism came to conquer in Athens.[226] The victory was consummated in the person of Plutarch of Athens, again designated Platonic Successor and founder of the Athenian School. That

[222] Ibid., xlii.
[223] *Epp.* 11-13.
[224] Eunapius, *V. Soph.* 474.
[225] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.21; Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, p. 25.
[226] *Platonic Theology*, pp. xlii-xlviii.

nothing but Plutarchianism was available in Athens in Synesius' time is clear from one of his letters:[227] there are only great names in Athens, and a couple of "wise" Plutarchians who virtually have to pay people to listen to them.[228]

D. Neo-Arianism: Aetius and Eunomius

Cardinal Daniélou saw in the writings of Eunomius of Cyzicus, the pupil and fellow-propagator with Aetius of an extreme version of Arianism — which may be called Anomoeanism, and which was especially influential in the 350s — a new kind of influence of Neoplatonism on Christian thinkers.[229] According to Daniélou, Eunomius' theology exhibits three characteristics: a mystical theory of names as god-given which derives from the Chaldean Oracles mediated through some fourth-century source; a Trinitarian theology based on a hierarchy leading from unity to plurality; and a tendency, fuelled by Aristotelianism, towards rationalism in theology. This combination of motifs, for Daniélou, points to a specifically Neoplatonic source, viz. Iamblichus or one of his school. Daniélou is particularly interested in Eunomius' account of the name "Ingenerate" for God:[230] it is unique, revealed and, of course, god-given, that is, above all human imaginings (*ἐπίνοιαι*). Eunomius' account of *ἐπίνοιαι* in relation to divine names should be contrasted with the less "mystical," more authentically Greek and scientific view of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa, who refuse to dismiss them as merely human constructs in nominalist fashion, but consider them the legitimate reflections of an effective mental faculty. (In this, it seems, they are developing a tradition going back in essentials to Clement of Alexandria and Origen,[231] above all to the latter's commentary on John.) Daniélou finds parallels between Eunomius' ideas about the origin of names and theories current in the late Greek philosophical schools: in particular he thinks of material in Proclus' commentary on the *Cratylus*. These parallels

[227] No. 136, AD 395.

[228] On Synesius' criticism of "Neoplatonism corrupted by the superstitious pagan belief in theurgy" in his *Dion* see H. I. Marrou, "Synesius of Cyrene and Alexandrian Neoplatonism," in *The Conflict*, ed. A. Momigliano, p. 145.

[229] J. Daniélou, "Eunome l'arien," *REG* 69 (1956) 412-432.

[230] I use the term as a translation of *ἀγέννητος* after the manner of L. R. Wickham, "The Syntagmation of Aetius the Anomoean," *JThS* 19 (1968) 532-569.

[231] Arius agrees with Origen, as well as with Basil and Gregory, here, as noted by Wickham, "Aetius," p. 558. In general see E. C. Owen, "ἐπινοέω, ἐπίνοια and Allied Words," *JThS* 35 (1934) 368-376. Meredith, "Orthodoxy," pp. 20-21, seems to overestimate the originality of Basil and Gregory, though it should not be entirely denied. And he follows Daniélou too readily in using Proclus as a source for fourth-century exegesis of the *Cratylus* (19).

must indicate a common source, and that common source must be Iamblichean Neoplatonism. If all this were true, we should find in the Neo-Arianism of Aetius and Eunomius the kind of dependence on Neoplatonism, albeit that of the Iamblicheans rather than that of Porphyry or Plotinus, which we have largely failed to see thus far.

But Daniélou's results are open to serious question. First, as Wickham observes, Daniélou's description of the system of Eunomius as Neoplatonic needs immediate modification: Eunomius advocates a hierarchy of beings, but rejects "emanation"[232] (or whatever we may choose to call Plotinus' account of the derivation of principles).

Second, Gregory of Nyssa accuses Eunomius of drawing excessively on Plato's *Cratylus*[233] — a fact emphasized by Daniélou, who talks about Neoplatonic exegesis of that dialogue. But Gregory does not even know whether Eunomius has read the *Cratylus* himself or heard about it from elsewhere. And above all he does not say anything about commentaries on the *Cratylus*. Dillon allows that Iamblichus *may* have written such a commentary, but that is by no means certain, and I am inclined to deny it.[234] Of course, other works of Iamblichus or of his school might have been used, but the apparently limited concern of Neoplatonists of the period with the *Cratylus* might suggest that Eunomius' interest in it comes from elsewhere. And looking backwards, we may note that Albinus' "realist" remarks on the *Cratylus*[235] — names have a "real" relationship to their objects, though they are given conventionally — suggest that *Middle* Platonic exegesis of the dialogue is also unlikely to be Eunomius' source.

Third, "mystical" theories of names, such as those in the Chaldaean Oracles, need not derive from Iamblichus (or even Porphyry). They had been in the air since the second century AD and are known in Christian circles.

Fourth, where Iamblichus does talk about names, his theory differs significantly from that of Eunomius and agrees only where agreement need not signify Eunomius' dependence; contrary to the views of Theodore of Asine he holds that some, but only some, (Oriental) names lead naturally to the divine. Versions of this theory are already available in Origen, as Daniélou himself pointed out.[236]

[232] "Aetius," p. 558, n. 1.

[233] *C. Eun.* 2.404 (ed. Jaeger, 1: 344.13).

[234] Dillon, *Iamblichus*, p. 22; Proclus, *In Crat.*, ed. Pasquali, p. 56.15.

[235] *Didask.* 6.

[236] Iamblichus, *De myst.* 257-259. For Iamblichus' discussion see S. Gersh, *From Iamblichus to Eriugena* (Leiden 1978) pp. 303-304. For Origen (and beyond) see Daniélou, "Eunome l'arien," p. 424.

Fifth, Iamblichus commented extensively on Aristotle, though he was not the first Neoplatonist to do so, and Aetius and Eunomius are regularly called Aristotelians by their opponents,[237] but although Daniélou sees "Aristotelian" as indicating a specific and contemporary common source — as when Basil says that Eunomius used the *Categories*[238] — that need not be the case. As Wickham points out, Eunomius accused Basil of Aristotelianism,[239] of being a denier of Providence. Doubtless at some stage both Eunomius and Basil had read some Aristotle, perhaps with particular attention to the *Categories*; perhaps the suggestion that Eunomius' method smacked of Aristotelian rationalism was fair comment; but that hardly gets us very far on the question of the possible Neoplatonism of Anomoeans.

In sum there is little in Eunomius' account of naming which ties him closely to the Neoplatonism of Iamblichus or his followers, nor does he teach a Neoplatonic account of the derivation of principles, nor is his "Aristotelianism" specifically Iamblichean. For Eunomius, despite God's name-giving activity, only one name, Ingenerate, is appropriate to God himself, and this theory is quite alien to Iamblichus. Even the probable parallelism of ideas in both Eunomius and Iamblichus with those in the Chaldaean Oracles need not bring the two together; and in general the evidence presented by Daniélou is too unspecific to allow us to think of the influence of Iamblichus on Eunomius.

What then are the philosophical sources of the Anomoeans? The *Cratylus*, perhaps at first hand, may well be one: apart from Eunomius, Aetius uses the phrase *οὐσίας ἐστι δηλωτικόν*, reminding us of *Cratylus* 422D.[240] Wickham is not the first to detect the influence of Stoicism, though he rightly emphasizes the Stoic form, not the content, of the theories of Aetius.[241] Now, as Daniélou observed, there is a passage of Eunomius in which, during an analysis of *epinoiai* (which for him are human fantasies), we find the observation that such fantasies arise through combination (*σύνθεσις*), increase (*αὔξησις*), diminution (*μείωσις*) or addition (*πρόσθεσις*): examples of increase and diminution are pygmies and giants. These two examples can be traced back to a Stoic source; we find

[237] See Wickham, "Aetius," p. 561, for references; also Vandenbussche, "La part de la dialectique," p. 49, n. 1.

[238] *C. Eun.* 1.9; PG 29: 532A-B.

[239] Wickham, "Aetius," p. 561; Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.411.1, ed. Jaeger, 1: 346.

[240] Wickham, "Aetius," p. 560.

[241] Ibid., p. 561, n. 1. Note Basil's reference to Chrysippus: *C. Eun.* 1.5; PG 29: 516B-C; cf. Jerome, *Comm. in Naum. proph.* 2.15 (PL 25: 1269C).

them cited by Diogenes Laertius,[242] but this text derives from Diocles of Magnesia, and perhaps ultimately from Chrysippus. Neither Diogenes nor Chrysippus is likely to have influenced Eunomius directly. We should note that the term *epinoia* itself does not occur in Diogenes. It does occur, however, in a passage of Sextus Empiricus,[243] which may or may not be of ultimately Stoic origin, but which appears in Sextus to be taken from an utterance of Aenesidemus about Plato and Democritus. Here, we note, *epinoia* does occur, as do pygmies (but not giants) and centaurs. But the language is slightly different from that of Eunomius. Whereas Eunomius has *σύνθεσις*, Sextus has *ἐπισύνθεσις*; where Eunomius has *αὔξησις* Sextus has *παραύξησις*. Even granted, therefore, that the doctrine is perhaps ultimately Stoic, we may suggest that by the time of Sextus it was commonplace — and it probably got into the books of the grammarians and was there available for Eunomius. Such books, I suspect, are the common source both for Eunomius' interest in the *Cratylus* and for his "Stoic" language about *epinoiai*; even Daniélou is well aware that they also listed various theories of names, including the "mystical" one espoused by Eunomius.

Wickham has a further proposal about the origins of the Anomoean theory of names, quite unconnected with the Stoics, which is very attractive: namely that it was originally developed as a hermeneutical principle for Biblical studies[244] — Aetius was a pupil of the "Lucianist" Athanasius of Anazarbus — and that Aetius later applied it in general theological debate. That, of course, is a suggestion pointing in exactly the opposite direction to that of Daniélou.

Daniélou's theory about Neoplatonic influence on Eunomius has to be rejected. Before leaving the matter, however, we may comment on a historical question which encouraged Daniélou to propose it. Aetius seems to have enjoyed the favour of Julian's brother Gallus at Antioch; and, apart from other visits to Julian, he was sent by Gallus, according to Philostorgius,[245] on a mission to dissuade Julian from "Hellenism" in 351. Hence, it might be supposed, Aetius enjoyed the favour of Julian and might be influenced by the latter sufficiently at least to read the writings of Julian's mentors, the post-Iamblichean Neoplatonists. A possible theory indeed, it has no concrete evidence in its favour, and it is safe to discard it.

[242] 7.53 (SVF 2: 87).
[243] *Adv. Math.* 8.56 ff. (SVF 2: 88, in part).
[244] Wickham, "Aetius," p. 558, n. 1.
[245] Philostorgius, s.v. Gallus, in GCS edition (Berlin 1972), *Namenregister*, p. 269.

E. Porphyry, Victorinus Again, and "Candidus"

In Part One of this study we recalled that the Neoplatonic theories proposed by Victorinus in his anti-Arian treatises are those of Porphyry. Victorinus' reply to Candidus, probably written in 357 to 358, brings us close to the question we have just discussed, namely possible Neoplatonic influences (of a Iamblichean kind) on Candidus' apparent mentors Aetius and Eunomius. The problem is this: if there is Neoplatonism in Candidus, does that indicate Neoplatonism in his Arian mentors? Hadot was already aware of the difficulty when he wrote his introduction to his edition of Victorinus; he points out that there are two significantly original features of the Arianism of Candidus; his even greater emphasis on the transcendence of God, seen not only as "Ingenerate" but as "Ingenerating"; and his view of God as "pure existence," that is the Porphyrian *ὕπαρξις* or *τὸ εἶναι μόνον*.[246] These two features in fact bring Candidus nearer to Victorinus himself, as a fellow adherent of theses of undoubtedly Porphyrian Neoplatonism. One might suppose, in explanation, that Victorinus and Candidus had studied Porphyry in their pagan days, before being converted to their particular brands of Christianity. If that were the situation, of course, it would imply that Candidus had himself re-thought the Arianism of Aetius and Eunomius — for Hadot is certainly right in identifying the Porphyrian features of Candidus as unavailable in his Arian masters — and come up with a Neoplatonized version which he would, presumably, wish to defend vigorously as his own brainchild. But in fact he does not do that: rather he falls back, when challenged by Victorinus, on merely bringing forward two basic documents of Arianism: the letter of Arius to Eusebius of Nicomedia and the letter of Eusebius to Paulinus. Happily we have now learned the solution to all this — a solution which has come to be accepted by Hadot himself — namely that "Candidus" is a fiction, a device of Victorinus to provide himself with the opportunity for a refutation of Arianism.[247] So we have no Porphyrian Arianism to account for, only, as we have always admitted, the Porphyrian would-be orthodoxy of Victorinus. And, as I have already observed, Victorinus' own interest in Porphyry probably originates in his concern with Porphyry as a commentator on Aristotle: that is, it is a

[246] Victorinus, *Traités théologiques*, p. 26; cf. p. 23 for further disassociation of Candidus from Aetius and Eunomius.

[247] P. Nautin, "Candidus l'arien," in *Mélanges de Lubac, Exégèse et patristique* (Paris 1963) pp. 309-320. M. Meslin, review of *Victorinus, Traités théologiques* (ed. Hadot-Henry) in *RHR* 164 (1963) 96-100, esp. 98-99; M. Simonetti, "Sull'ariano Candido," *Orpheus* 10 (1963) 151-157; Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus*, pp. 1, 40, n. 3.

unique phenomenon arising from the general intellectual concerns of Victorinus in the days of his paganism. The last point is important: Victorinus first read Porphyry when he himself was a pagan.

F. Conclusions: 325-355

Our only conclusion in this section must be negative: there was no significant expansion in the informed contact between Christianity and contemporary Platonism in the East during the years 325-355, and there is no reason to modify this conclusion substantially for the West either. The apparent exception of Victorinus, already discussed at an earlier stage, can be explained in terms of his education in a basically pagan milieu, at a time when he himself was pagan.

III. BASIL OF CAESAREA

A. Introduction

The survey which I have now completed brings us up to the time when Basil was a student in Athens. Its general aims were as follows: to suggest that the kind of Platonism to be found in the schools which Basil attended at that period was largely of the Middle Platonic type, and that the importance of the philosophical work of Plotinus and Porphyry was minimal; to add that the only possible prominent variant on Middle Platonism to be found in these schools was the more exotic tradition stemming from Iamblichus — a tradition which was neglected or rejected by Christians both at the theoretical level and soon, in the person of Julian, at the political level also. Furthermore, that Basil's immediate Christian predecessors and "authorities" were also brought up in what may be broadly called the Middle Platonic tradition and not in the more up-to-date philosophy of Plotinus and Porphyry. Hence one might argue *a priori* that it is very unlikely that we would find more than limited use of Plotinus and Porphyry, let alone Iamblichus, in Basil's own writings. Of course, it could be objected that Basil could have become deeply versed in the Plotinian tradition *after* his student days. Given the nature of his career, that again might seem unlikely. It is my intention now, however, to consider how far this *a priori* view of Basil's philosophical initiation agrees with what we find in his writings. That investigation has something of the charm, excitement, suspense and unexpected dénouement of a detective story.

Let us begin with a survey of the Basilian material which scholars have often connected with Plotinus. The first modern scholar to claim significant influence of Plotinus on Basil was Jahn,[248] whose work has been taken up and elaborated by Paul Henry in chapter 5 of *Les États du texte de Plotin*.[249] Henry claims that Basil makes use of Plotinus as follows:

in *EGNaz.* [2] he uses *Enn.* 5.1 and 6.9;
in the *Hexaemeron* he uses *Enn.* 1.6 and 2.8;
in the *C. Eun.* he uses 2.8 and 5.1;
in *HFide* [15] he uses 1.6, 5.1 and 6.9;
in *De Spiritu Sancto* he uses 1.6, 1.7, 2.9, 5.1, 5.8, 6.7 and 6.9;
in the *De spiritu* he uses 5.1.

To this list Daniélou added a mention of Plotinian material in the *De baptismo*,[250] though he gives no precise references to support his claim. But by the time Henry (with H. R. Schwyzer) completed the *Index Testium* of their text of Plotinus,[251] the list had shrunk again to read thus:

in the *De spiritu* Basil uses 5.1;
in the *De Spiritu Sancto* he refers to the title of 5.1;
in *HFide* [15] he uses 5.1 and 6.9.

The main reason for these more modest claims was the appearance of Hans Dehnhard's monograph entitled *Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin*.[252] Dehnhard's basic thesis is that in the youthful *De spiritu* (written about 360?) Basil indeed quotes *Ennead* 5.1, but that the Plotinian material is "controlled" by Basil's use of various texts of Origen and Eusebius, as well as of the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus, the apostle of Cappadocia. Later on, argues Dehnhard, in 375, when Basil came to write the *De Spiritu Sancto* for Amphilochius of Iconium, he drew, among other sources, not on Plotinus, but on his own earlier *De spiritu*, which itself, of course, depends substantially on Plotinus. In the *De Spiritu Sancto*, for Dehnhard, there is no *direct* influence of Plotinus.

[248] A. Jahn, *Basilius Magnus plotinizans* (Bern 1838).
[249] *États*, pp. 159-166.
[250] Review of H. Dehnhard, *Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin* (Berlin 1964), in *RSR* 53 (1965) 161.
[251] *Editio maior* (1973), v. 3.
[252] (Berlin 1964).

It is not clear how much of this would be acceptable to Henry and Schwyzer, whose *Index testium* still suggests that Basil in *De Sp. S.* is using Plotinus directly, though Gribomont[253] and (apparently) Daniélou[254] have accepted the thesis that it is only *De sp.*, not Plotinus, that is the immediate Neoplatonic source to be found in *De Sp. S.* At any rate, Dehnhard's book has re-emphasized that the relationship between *De sp.* and *De Sp. S.* is at the very centre of the problem of the relationship between Basil and Plotinus. All the relevant texts deserve to be scrutinized again, at the very least to check on the claims originally made by Henry in the light of more recent comment. Where decisive evidence has already been accumulated, I shall not linger; yet certain points need further clarification.

It has always been believed that *Ennead* 5.1 is the Plotinian text which Basil is most likely to have known. It is in *De sp.* that this treatise is used especially, and there is no need to go over again the ground covered by Henry and Dehnhard: *De sp.* makes very extensive use of *Ennead* 5.1. Five questions, however, immediately arise:

1. What is the significance, if any, of the fact that *De sp. only* uses 5.1?
2. Is the author of *De sp.* Basil, and if not, who is he?
3. Is Dehnhard's thesis correct that *De Sp. S.* 9 depends on *De sp.* for its Plotinian material?
4. Can we now assert that there is no Plotinian influence in *De Sp. S.* outside chapter 9?
5. Does Basil in *De Sp. S.* use Plotinus directly at all?

If these matters can be clarified, one can turn to the possibility of other Neoplatonic influences on Basil, thence to the wider and more general question of Basil's use of Plato and earlier Platonists.

B. *De spiritu* and *Ennead* 5.1

There is no reason to believe that the author of *De sp.* uses any text of Plotinus other than *Ennead.* 5.1. There is, however, equally no immediate reason to *assume* that he knew no other text of Plotinus than *Ennead* 5.1. Now we have already observed that 5.1 is one of the two texts of Plotinus which are used by Eusebius of Caesarea in his *Praeparatio evangelica*. It is therefore quite possible that, if the author of *De sp.* knows more

[253] J. Gribomont, review of Dehnhard, *RHE* 60 (1965) 492; (also, idem, "Intransigencia e irenismo en S. Basilio," *ETrin* 9 [1975] 240 n. 61).

[254] J. Daniélou, review of Dehnhard, p. 161.

Plotinus than Eusebius quotes, the *source* of *De sp.* is the same as that of Eusebius, namely, in all probability, some non-Porphyrian version of the work of Plotinus. Possibly, but not necessarily, the author of *De sp.* obtained this material in the library at Caesarea. Later Christian writers such as Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret bear witness that 5.1 was an unusually well-known and influential text of Plotinus.

C. The Authorship of *De spiritu*: Some Preliminary Remarks

Following up Jahn's suggestions, Henry claimed[255] to have vindicated the Basilian authorship of *De sp.*, and Dehnhard has little to add to this vindication. For him too, the composition of *De sp.* by Basil as a young man provides us with clear evidence that Basil himself was familiar with at least one Plotinian text at first hand. But is it certain that Basil was the author of *De sp.*? Doubt has been cast on the question again by Gribomont; and perhaps even Gribomont has not pursued his inferences and facts to their most likely conclusion. Before glancing at the MS evidence and the evidence from the treatise itself — and it is only the latter with which Dehnhard has concerned himself — we should consider the general nature of the Plotinian material in *De sp.*. As has been rightly said, *De sp.* is a Plotinian cento — though to say this is not necessarily to deny the additional influence of Origen and of Gregory Thaumaturgus which Dehnhard has suggested. (We shall return to this later.) However, the tone of *De sp.* makes it clear that its author has a tremendous respect for the Plotinus he knows. He has studied *Ennead* 5.1 carefully and valued it to the extent of virtually transcribing a fair section of it. That fact alone might seem to make Basilian authorship unlikely. After all, as we have already shown, it was hardly in Constantinople or Athens, where he studied, that Basil could have been introduced to fervent admirers of Plotinus; and he himself, despite his lengthy but mainly rhetorical education, makes no mention of Plotinus by name in his later works. Indeed, if Dehnhard's theory is correct, he may not even *use* the text of Plotinus directly again in his writings after the heady enthusiasm of his youth represented by *De sp.* But, comes back the reply, outside the early *Philocalia* he only mentions Origen — and that not with unmixed enthusiasm — once, in the late *De Sp. S.*;[256] this particular argument from silence is not strong. Could not the co-author of the Origenist compilation

[255] E.g., *États*, pp. 162-169.
[256] *De Sp. S.* 29.73, ed. Pruche, p. 506; PG 32: 204A-B.

known as the *Philocalia* be — and at about the same time — the author of the Plotinian cento known as *De spiritu*?

The most we can safely conclude at this stage is that it is, to say the least, strange that a man with the devotion to *Ennead* 5.1 displayed by the author of *De sp.* should, if he be Basil, exhibit so little concern for Plotinus in other, including nearly contemporary, writings. Let us turn therefore to other kinds of evidence.

On the matter of the manuscripts the salient points have been assembled elsewhere:[257] none of the manuscripts of Basil's *C. Eun.* which bear witness only to the three authentic books provides a text of *De sp.*, nor does *De sp.* occur by itself. *De sp.* only appears as the last section of the spurious fifth book *C. Eun.*, frequently attributed to Didymus the Blind.[258] But even if this work is by Didymus, which may well be doubted, that would seem to be little help for *De sp. De sp.*'s deep dependence on *Ennead* 5.1 has no parallel in Didymus any more than it has in the author of *C. Eun.* 4-5 or in Basil himself. There is, indeed, no particular reason to think that the author of *De sp.* and the author of *C. Eun.* 4-5 are the same person. Thus although in the manuscripts *De sp.* forms the end of *C. Eun.* 5, there is no internal explanation for this. It is quite reasonable to propose that whoever first tacked *C. Eun.* 4-5 on to Basil's *C. Eun.* 1-3 brought in *De sp.* at the same time. Hence the fact that books four and five of *C. Eun.* are not by Basil does not carry the necessary implication that *De sp.* is non-Basilian as well.

Why does Dehnhard still think that *De sp.* was written by Basil? Perhaps partly because Timothy Aelurus (460-475) cites *C. Eun.* 4-5 as of Basil, thus showing that the attribution was already current about 100 years after the composition of *De sp.*[259] Gribomont suggests that perhaps Basil's executors found *De sp.* in Basil's desk along with the *C. Eun.* and the spurious *C. Eun.* 4-5, and put the whole thing together.[260] But this, though possible, is grasping at straws; all we have for certain is that within a hundred years of Basil's death, knowing that Basil wrote about the Holy Spirit and against Eunomius, someone added our books 4 and 5 against Eunomius, as well as *De sp.*, to the undoubtedly Basilian *C. Eun.* 1-3.

[257] Gribomont, review of Dehnhard, p. 488.

[258] For some rather disorganized comment on this see W. M. Hayes, *The Greek Ms. Tradition of (Ps.)-Basil's Adversus Eunomium* (Leiden 1972) pp. 25-39. For hesitations about invoking Didymus, W. A. Bienert, *"Allegoria" und "Anagoge" bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria* (Berlin 1972) pp. 10-12.

[259] Hayes, *The Greek Ms. Tradition*, pp. 5-6.

[260] Gribomont, review of Dehnhard, p. 482.

Dehnhard scarcely offers any argument at all for regarding *De sp.* as by Basil, unless we are to extract one from his claim that Basil, when writing *De Sp. S.*, used *De sp.* as a source; or alternatively unless we are to deduce from the claim that *De sp.* shows links with the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus that its author must be Basil. Such indeed seems to be the point of Dehnhard's discussion of chapter 29 of *De Sp. S.*,[261] where he draws attention to the significance Basil attaches to Origen and his followers, and to Gregory Thaumaturgus in particular. But all that this shows is that Basil (in company doubtless with most other "Cappadocians") respected Gregory Thaumaturgus and Origen, not that he alone might have used Gregory to Christianize Plotinus. As a reply to Dehnhard, and in Dehnhard's terms, Gribomont's comment is well taken:[262] the *De sp.*, he says, is from a Cappadocian milieu; it depends on Gregory Thaumaturgus and is connected with Basil. Dehnhard's further arguments, to which we shall return later, about parallels to *De sp.* in genuinely Basilian sources, would only show that Basil used *De sp.*, not that he wrote it — a conclusion perhaps confirmed by the unbasilian characteristics of style Gribomont has observed in precisely those passages of *De sp.* where the author is not following Plotinus.[263] At this point we must insist that the authorship of *De sp.* remains uncertain.

D. *De Spiritu Sancto* outside Chapter 9

Dehnhard finds that in chapter 9 of *De Sp. S.* Basil develops the Plotinian material from *De sp.* for his own new purposes; he does not discuss other chapters of *De Sp. S.* where Basil may depend on either Plotinus or on *De sp.* It is now necessary to consider whether this limitation is appropriate. Various other "Plotinian" passages of *De Sp. S.* have been suggested, for example by Henry in the *États*: 16.38, 17.41, 18.44, 18.45, 18.47, 30.77. Pruche, in his edition of *De Sp. S.*, accepts most of these, sometimes slightly varying the text of the *Enneads* to which Basil is said to allude. Furthermore, he adds a comparison between 22.53 and *Ennead* 1.7.1, though noting more appositely that this chapter generally has a "saveur platonicienne" — by which phrase he means to refer directly to Plato[264] as well as to Plotinus; and in fact there is no specific reference to Plotinus. Finally, Pruche finds no particular allusion to Plotinus in chapter 30 — where it is identified by Henry — referring in his note only generally to

[261] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, pp. 32-38.
[262] Gribomont, review of Dehnhard, p. 492.
[263] Ibid., p. 491.
[264] *Ph.* 67A; *Phaedr.* 250CD; *Rep.* 611B ff.

the reversion to paganism in general which Basil suggests is characteristic of the Arians. Before examining chapter 9 of *De Sp. S.*, therefore, I propose to discuss the other possible references to Plotinus in *De Sp. S.* in sequence.

i. *De Sp. S. 16.38.20-21: καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω με ἢ τρεῖς εἶναι λέγειν ἀρχικὰς ὑποστάσεις*

This is one of the more well known supposed quotations of Plotinus by Basil; it is cited as such, for example, by Henry in the *États*, by Henry and Schwyzer in their edition of Plotinus, and by Pruche in his edition of *De Sp. S.*. It does not occur in *De sp.*, so could not be derived from that source. It does, however, occur in one of the quotations from Plotinus to be found in Eusebius,[265] a work which Basil certainly read. In itself, therefore, it provides no proof that Basil had read Plotinus either in Porphyry's edition or that of Eustochius. We should also note the context: Basil is rejecting an interpretation of his words which would have him, in effect, teaching tritheism and a doctrine that makes the "act of the Son" incomplete. In other words, as Christians of the time were given to put it, he says he is neither a pagan nor a Jew (for subordinationists, those who diminished the significance of the Son, were often said to Judaize). It should be admitted, however, that the word *ἀρχικός* does not apparently occur in such discussions; talk is more usually, as in Athanasius, of *μερισμέναι ὑποστάσεις*.[266] Here certainly a division of the godhead is being referred to — and repudiated — just as Basil repudiates it in our text. Presumably no Christian would say, as such, that there is more than one *ἀρχή*, or *ἀρχικὴ ὑπόστασις*. The language that Basil uses is, therefore, of pagan origin, though he may have heard it, in polemic, from a Christian opponent. If so, that opponent, though not necessarily Basil, may have known its origin. At all events we are making no progress in discovering this. If the passage reached Basil from a source other than Eusebius — and that it is Eusebian, as I shall suggest, is more likely than that it comes from Plotinus directly — all we know is that it did not come from *De sp.*

ii. *De Sp. S. 17.41*

This section deals with the notion of *ὑπαρίθμησις* and, according to Pruche,[267] Basil is probably thinking of Stoic and Neoplatonic philosophy

[265] *Praep. ev.* 11.16.4.

[266] So Athanasius, *Exp. fid.* 2. The point is clearly made by Dionysius of Rome (arguing against the Sabellians) *ap.* Athanasius, *De decr.* 26.

[267] B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint Esprit* (Paris 1968) p. 392.

when he says that this notion comes from "the wisdom of the world." Henry is a little more hesitant,[268] but thinks that Basil has Neoplatonism chiefly in mind. But there is no reason to believe that the term itself is Neoplatonic. Basil's opponents, as the entry *ὑπαρίθμησις* in *PGL* suggests, are most likely to be Anomoeans of some kind or another, whose source may be a work of Stoicism or Aristotelianism — we have discussed *τεχνολογία* already — but which is certainly not Neoplatonic. In fact we have to admit we do not know the precise origin of the technical language in this chapter: the only thing we do seem to know is that it is neither Platonic nor Neoplatonic. I can see no evidence that the other supposed parallels marked in Henry's *États* are parallels at all.

iii. *De Sp. S. 18.44-45*

According to Henry[269] the polytheism rejected here is certainly the theory of three hypostases as taught in *Ennead* 5.1. But our discussion of the traditions of Middle Platonism is sufficient to remind us[270] that both Middle Platonists and Christians influenced by them before the time of Plotinus were liable to talk of first, second and third gods. Certainly these texts of *De Sp. S.* refer to a theory of three principles; and certainly Plotinus held such a theory. But from that it does not follow that Basil had Plotinus totally or primarily in mind; or even that he had him in mind at all. As in the language of chapter 17, Basil has enough Christian opponents to account for his denying subordinationism. We should further add that the brief *De sp.*, which does not talk of three principles, is not the source of *De Sp. S.* at these points.

Finally Pruche tells us[271] that the Plotinian inspiration of the formula *μονὰς πρὸς μονάδα* seems beyond doubt. Plotinus' version (of course) is *μόνος πρὸς μόνον*,[272] and, if that is what Pruche has in mind, it should be observed that it is not a peculiarly Plotinian phrase[273] (though by the twentieth century it may seem so); nor in *De Sp. S.* does Basil avail himself of Plotinus' special use of *μόνος πρὸς μόνον*, which refers to the relation of the soul to God.

[268] *États*, p. 183.
[269] *États*, p. 183.
[270] For further reminders see Dillon, *The Middle Platonists*, pp. 367 ff.
[271] *Basile*, p. 408.
[272] 6.9.11, etc.
[273] See E. Peterson, "Herkunft und Bedeutung der *ΜΟΝΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΜΟΝΟΝ*-Formel bei Plotin," *Philologus* 88 (1933) 30-41.

iv. *De Sp. S. 18.47*

Again we have a passage about first, second and third gods; again there is no reason to see any specific allusion to 5.1, as Henry does, attaching himself merely to the words *τρίτη δὲ ἡ τῆς ψυχῆς φύσις ... τρίττα* appearing in 5.1.10.1-6. More originally, Pruche finds an allusion to *Ennead* 5.4.1.4, but this is no better. Again, to be sure, there is talk of first, second and third; but again there is no reason to suppose Basil is thinking of this text. Now *Ennead* 5.4 is not quoted by Eusebius, nor by the author of *De sp.*; were Basil in *De Sp. S.* 18 thinking of 5.4 he would have to know Plotinus first hand. But we are far from being able to demonstrate that he is going beyond what was a Middle Platonic as well as a Neoplatonic commonplace.[274]

v. *De Sp. S. 30.77*

This passage tells us that those who confuse the persons (Sabellians) are judaizing, those who oppose the natures (Arians) are paganizing: a standard charge, as our discussion of 16.38 has already suggested. Pruche wisely declines to follow Henry at this point; thus he sees no reference to Plotinus in particular.

This brings us to the end of our discussion of texts of *De Sp. S.* outside chapter 9, where Basil has sometimes been said to be using Plotinus. Our conclusion must be that in these sections Basil does not use Plotinus via *De sp.*, nor does he obviously allude to any text of the *Enneads* either directly or through the quotations in Eusebius. Our only hesitation is with the title *τρεῖς ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις* — and this, as we have seen, affords no clear evidence for direct contact with Plotinus' text. More likely than that Basil thought of Plotinus specifically, when he used the title, *and nothing more*, of *Ennead* 5.1 in *De Sp. S.* 16 is that the phrase *ἀρχικαὶ ὑποστάσεις*, *perhaps* coined originally by Plotinus, signified by Basil's time a well-known and objectionable set of attitudes. It remains possible, of course, that this is incorrect, and that Basil drew the title, and nothing more, from Plotinus directly, or more probably from Plotinus in Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica*.

I revert to *De sp.* If Basil wrote *De sp.*, he knew more about *Ennead* 5.1 than he could find in Eusebius, and probably he knew the title of the treatise directly as well as from Eusebius. Hence the likelihood of his

[274] Perhaps we should note that Pruche (*Basile*, p. 413) finds Basil alluding with the phrase *δόγμα τῆς μοναρχίας* to Dionysius of Rome (in Athanasius, *De decr.* 26), a possible source we have already considered (note 266) for talk of three hypostases.

using 5.1 directly anywhere in *De Sp. S.* increases, though we still have the anomaly that *only* the title looks like a *specific* reference in *De Sp. S.* (apart from chapter 9) to *Ennead* 5.1. But in any case we have already observed that the authorship of *De sp.* is still an open question. And if Basil did not write *De sp.*, we cannot even claim that he knew from Plotinus what the title of *Ennead* 5.1 was. If Basil is innocent of *De sp.*, his knowledge of the title of 5.1 in *De Sp. S.* 16 is derived from Eusebius or from some other now unidentifiable source.

E. *De spiritu* and *De Spiritu Sancto* 9

We must now turn to chapter 9 of *De Sp. S.*, written, according to an important proposal of Dörries, somehwat later than chapters 1 to 8 and 10-27,[275] which latter reflect the debate at Sebaste in 373 between Basil and Eustathius. Chapter 9, therefore, is possibly open to other theological influences. Even the scholar who doubts Dörries' thesis would have to admit that it would gain plausibility if we could show Basil behaving relatively differently in chapter 9 on the one hand and in chapters 1 to 8 and 10 to 27 on the other. Let us consider a number of texts:

i. *De Sp. S.* 9.22.25 *ff.*: *πρὸς ὃ πάντα ἐπέστραπται τὰ ἁγιασμοῦ προσδεόμενα, οὗ πάντα ἐφίεται ...*

Henry compares *Ennead* 1.7.22-23;[276] he is cautiously followed by Pruche who finds the influence of Plotinus undeniable throughout chapter 9 but does not specify. But *οὗ πάντα ἐφίεται*, used elsewhere by Basil in unplotinian contexts, is a well-known echo of the opening of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*,[277] and the notion of "conversion" to God is a Christian commonplace.[278] But, runs the objection, conversion to God (neuter) accompanied by the Aristotelian echo is a conjunction found in *Ennead* 1.7. Does not the coincidence mean something? As further evidence on the matter we should observe that in *De Sp. S.* 5.7 Basil uses the words *εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπέστραπται τὰ σύμπαντα*, and continues with some

[275] H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto* (Göttingen 1956). Dörries' thesis is doubted by B. Pruche, "Autour du traité sur le Saint-Esprit de Saint Basile de Césarée," *RSR* 52 (1964) especially 216-223. It is hospitably received, however, by J. Gribomont, "Ésotérisme et tradition dans le *Traité du Saint-Esprit* de saint Basile," *Oecumenica* 2 (1967) 40-41.

[276] *États*, p. 178.

[277] 1094A. So Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 71; but Dehnhard wrongly suggests the influence of Eusebius' *On Psalms*: see Gribomont, review of Dehnhard, p. 490.

[278] Cf. Clement, *Strom.* 7.7; and generally P. Aubin, *Le problème de la "conversion"* (Paris 1963).

similar remarks about the desire of the soul (ἀσχέτῳ πόθῳ, ἀρρητῷ στοργῇ, etc.) which remind us, though not clearly enough to suggest immediate derivation, of *Ennead* 1.6.7.13 ff., a section where Plotinus uses the verb ὀρέγομαι of our desire for the good. So one could say that in *De Sp. S.* 9 Basil echoes his own ἐπέστραπται and not unreasonably associates it with a well-known Aristotelian tag. Indeed Plotinus' phrase πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐπιστρέφειν πάντα could itself, by Basil's time, have become well-known; thus the use of it would not entail direct use of Plotinus even though the phrase is plotinian. At this point we must suspend judgment: Dehnhard certainly seems to neglect the possible importance of the coincidence of famous phrases; we should not, however, *over*estimate its importance at this stage.

ii. *De Sp. S. 9.22.25:* ἀλλὰ ζωῆς χορηγόν · οὐ προσθήκαις αὐξανόμενον ...

Following Henry,[279] Pruche sees two clear parallels with the *Enneads*:[280] ζωῆς χορηγόν echoes *Ennead* 6.9.9.49, while προσθήκαις αὐξανόμενον depends on 6.7.41.16-17. This is an important claim, if true, for it may ensure Basil's direct use of two treatises of Plotinus other than 5.1. But it is not to be believed lightly. For, if correct, it would imply that Basil is consciously making the kind of use of Plotinian texts which, in view of what everyone would have to say is his limited interest in Plotinus, would need clear demonstration. Basil may have heard these phrases in general discussions without knowing that they had any particular connection with Plotinus; and if that is the explanation, it hardly encourages us to talk of Plotinus' influence on Basil. Dehnhard proposes a possible solution: ζωῆς χορηγόν is to be compared with a section of *De sp.* (ζωὴν παρέχει, τρόπος τῆς χορηγίας)[281] where Dehnhard finds the author of *De sp.* dependent on other material, in this case, he thinks, the *Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus*, as well as on *Ennead* 5.1.[282] The word ἁγιασμοῦ in *De Sp. S.* 9.22.26-27 might seem to confirm this; it is absent in all the Plotinian texts, but present in Gregory Thaumaturgus and *De Sp. S.* 9, while *De sp.* has τοὺς ἁγίους ἁγίους ἐποίησε. So much, if so, for a direct quotation of *Ennead* 6.9, but a final word must await comment on Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dehnhard's case is weakened by the too general "parallels" he sees in the following section. As for the phrase οὐ προσθήκαις αὐξανόμενον, it certainly *reminds* us of *Ennead* 6.7, but cannot be said to be derived from it in any significant sense.

[279] *États*, p. 179.
[280] Pruche, *Basile*, p. 325.
[281] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 52.
[282] Ibid., p. 8.

iii. *De Sp. S. 9.22.39-40: οἷ ἀπολαύει τὰ μετέχοντα ὅσον αὐτὰ πέφυκεν*

Henry,[283] followed again by Pruche, thinks of *Ennead* 2.9.3.1-3, but the similarities are again very general and limited in scope. A similar idea occurs, but to argue derivation is to assume that only Basil and Plotinus ever wrote or thought about the ideas in question. Again on the theme of direct influence, we must conclude "unproven," and indeed "implausible." The same — more so — applies to Henry's further comparison of *Ennead* 5.1.6.37.

iv. *De Sp. S. 9.23.1-23*

The opening of this chapter, with its language of *οἰκείωσις* and *ἀλλοτριότης*, seems to provide stronger evidence of direct linkage between Basil and Plotinus. Henry and Pruche confidently cite *Ennead* 5.1.10.24-26 (a passage not quoted by Eusebius or *De sp.*), and the parallel is more substantial and sustained. It cannot be said to be conclusive, but direct use by Basil of *Ennead* 5.1 at this point in chapter 9 is more credible than the other parallels we have considered. The same cannot be said, however, of Henry's claim that in lines 9 ff. Basil moves to the use of *Ennead* 1.6.9.11 ff. Pruche again follows Henry here, though Henry admits that the vocabulary now is "less plotinian," but he seems unwise to do so. It is interesting to note that while certain Plotinian commonplaces occur both in Plotinus and in Basil, the peculiarly Plotinian (and Numenian) archaism *ἀγλαΐα* (*Ennead* 1.6.9.14) does not appear in Basil — who interestingly uses *ὄμμα* where Plotinus has *ὀφθαλμός*: a little point, but significant against direct borrowing. Henry's case is again weakened when he has to cite other Plotinian texts (2.9.2.16-18; 5.8.10.26-27) to account for *De Sp. S.* 9.23.18-19 (*ἀποστίλβει … ἐλλαμφθεῖσαι*); again we are supposed to posit Basil as cento-maker, a much more implausible notion in 375 than in 360. But Dehnhard's[284] attempt to explain this latter material as an expansion of an earlier version in *De sp.* is also very much less than convincing. Basil's use of philosophical commonplaces is probably adequate to deal with the whole section.

v. *De Sp. S. 9.23.24-25: ἡ ἐν θεῷ διαμονή, ἡ πρὸς θεὸν ὁμοίωσις, τὸ ἀκρότατον τῶν ὀρεκτῶν, θεὸν γενέσθαι.*

Much of this language, and all of the content, is to be found in Christian writers before Basil,[285] as well, of course, as in Platonists of various sorts.

[283] *États*, p. 179.
[284] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 53.
[285] See C. F. H. Johnston, *The Book of St. Basil the Great on the Holy Spirit* (Oxford 1892) p. 54, n. 4; he offers many references.

But Henry wants to draw particular attention to θεὸν γενέσθαι.[286] This must, he believes, be directly Plotinian: the source is the θεὸν γενόμενον of 6.9.9.59. It must be granted to Henry that the phrase is very striking, and that no exactly worded parallel has thus far been adduced. But we should note that it is the two words alone for which a good case might be made for *direct* derivation from *Ennead* 6.9; the rest could come from any Platonic or Christian Platonic source, verbal or written. And it is legitimate to wonder whether reference to the text of Plotinus is required to account for so striking a phrase. We must allow that Basil *may* have quoted *Ennead* 6.9 here, though so striking a phrase could have been familiar to the learned or fairly learned while its origins were unknown to the person using it. So we have to conclude not that Henry is right, and that we have an unambiguous use by Basil of *Ennead* 6.9, but that there is a *possible* use of Plotinus in this passage. It is interesting that in the *Index testium* of Henry-Schwyzer, volume 3, this reference no longer appears.

vi. *Conclusion*

What then are our conclusions about *De Sp. S.*? That it is possible, but far from necessary or even likely, that Basil used *Ennead* 1.7 in 9.22.20 ff.; that it is even less likely that he used 2.9 and 5.1 in lines 39-40; that it is more likely that he used 5.1 in section 23; that it is possible that θεὸν γενέσθαι in section 23 derives directly from *Ennead* 6.9. And of Dehnhard's case that *De Sp. S.* 9 uses not Plotinus directly, but *De sp.* as a source, only one dubious passage (9.23.25 ff.) remains. At least this much of a positive nature may be concluded: that whereas in the remaining chapters of *De Sp. S.* it is almost certain that there is *no* direct use of Plotinus, or use of Plotinus via *De sp.*, in chapter 9 the matter is in doubt. Clearly this tells in favour of Dörries' thesis of a later composition of chapter 9 — after the remaining chapters of *De Sp. S.* We may now consider possible Plotinian influence on other texts of Basil outside *De sp.* and *De Sp. S.*

F. Other Texts of Basil

i. *HFide [15]*[287]

In the *États* Henry[288] suggested that the opening sections of *HFide* [15] (θεοῦ μεμνῆσθαι ... αἰσθήσεται)[289] are influenced by *Ennead* 5.1.1.1-33. But

[286] *États*, p. 182. For θεοποίησις see Nygren, *Agape and Eros*, p. 428.
[287] PG 31: 464 ff.
[288] *États*, p. 175.
[289] 464B-C.

the thought-context is entirely different; an example: when Plotinus cites *τόλμα* as an origin of evil for souls, Basil says it is *τολμηρόν* to try to speak in detail in theology. In general Plotinus is talking of souls forgetting their fatherland, Basil of the difficulties of theologizing and the necessity of silence. Happily the Henry-Schwyzer *Index* has dropped the suggestion that at this point Plotinus is the source of Basil.

After his supposed use of 5.1.1 Basil, according to the *États*, moves to *Ennead* 5.1.2.14-17 (and back to 1.6.7.37-39, 1.6.8.1-3, and finally 6.9.9.1-2): this takes him from *σὺ δέ, εἰ βούλει* to *γεννηθεὶς Υἱός*,[290] after which he moves to a section in which he restates his position against various Arian or semi-Arian formulae. In the Henry-Schwyzer *Index* some of these claims are dropped, but Basil is still said to be dependent on 5.1.2.14-18 and 6.9.9.1-2. For the sake of completeness we will comment on the whole passage.

As far as 5.1.2.14 ff. goes, despite the authority of the Henry-Schwyzer *Index*, it is interesting to note that Basil does *not* use the terms *ἡσυχία* or *ἥσυχος* here, despite the appearance of *ἥσυχον* in 5.1 and in *De sp.*, and his own use of *ἡσυχία* in *EGNaz.* [2], a passage which we shall consider shortly. Secondly while *De sp.* takes over the phrase *περικείμενον σῶμα* (presumably from 5.1.2), Basil in *HFide* [15] has only the much less impressive *τὸ σῶμα σεαυτοῦ*. Thirdly although *HFide* [15] has a sequence *γῆν, θάλασσαν, ἀέρα, οὐρανόν*, the striking *ἥσυχος μὲν γῆ, ἥσυχος δὲ θάλασσα* of *Ennead* 5.1 is absent. The *De sp.* version, which uses *ἥσυχον*, but merely lists *οὐρανός, γῆ, θάλασσα*, seems to fall between the two. At this point we can only conclude that *if* there is a Plotinian source at all for this part of *HFide* [15], *De sp.* is more likely than 5.1.2.[291] As for 1.6.7.37 ff. the only "worthy" parallel is "earth," "air," "water"; and that is simply not enough. For 1.6.8 we have only *κάλλος ἀμήχανον*, which goes back to Plato's *Symposium*;[292] there is no reason to posit Plotinus as an intermediairy.

Which brings us to the possible use of 6.9.9.1-2, claimed by Henry in the *États*[293] and again in the Henry-Schwyzer *Index* as the source of the opening of chapter 2. This passage is particularly informative in that we can observe within a short space the technique of parallel passages, its uses and abuses. The essence of the argument appears to be that Plotinus

[290] 465A12, 465C13, respectively.
[291] So Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, pp. 60-61.
[292] 218E2.
[293] *États*, p. 176.

writes, sequentially, as follows: *πηγὴν ζωῆς, πηγὴν νοῦ, ἀρχὴν ὄντος, ἀγαθοῦ αἰτίαν, ῥίζαν ψυχῆς*. Basil in the parallel passage, has the following: *φυσικὴ ἀγαθότης, παντῶν ἀρχή, αἰτία τοῦ εἶναι τοῖς οὖσιν, ῥίζα τῶν ζώντων, πηγὴ τῆς ζωῆς*. Surely no further comment is needed on what Henry called an "Indice net d'une réminiscence précise des Ennéades." Dehnhard prefers to invoke the influence of Gregory Thaumaturgus.[294]

So far we appear to have drawn a blank with the *HFide* [15], at least in so far as a hunt for specific Neoplatonic sources rather than vague terminological parallels with Platonism is concerned. Our last hope — for *HFide* [15][295] — must rest with the set of passages Henry lists from *Ennead* 5.1.4, to which Dehnhard adds other sections of *Ennead* 5.1.4 and 5.1.3.[296] For these latter passages Dehnhard prefers to see the influence of *De sp.*; but the comparison in three columns which he sets up between Plotinus, *De sp.* and *HFide* [15], while certainly showing once again the very close connection between Plotinus and *De sp.*, also reveals how much vaguer are the "references" in *HFide* [15] to either of its possible sources. Dehnhard certainly has shown that *Ennead* 5.1.3-4 could be the *ultimate* source for *HFide* [15], but the language of *HFide* [15] is substantially different from the other two in parts, while in other parts remaining close. For example both Plotinus and *De sp.* have *ἡ συνοῦσα θερμότης*, where *HFide* [15] shows *συνουσιώμενος* and later *ἀχώριστον τῷ πυρὶ τὸ θερμαίνειν*; Plotinus again has *οὐκ ἐπίκτητον, ἀλλ' ἐν αἰῶνι πάντα* and *De sp. οὐδὲν ἔχον ... ἀλλ' αἰδίως πάντα ἔχον*, while *HFide* [15] has the variant *οὐδὲν ἐπίκτητον αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ὕστερον ἐπιγενόμενον*. Definite conclusions from all this as to the relationship of *HFide* [15] either to *De sp.* or to *Ennead* 5.1 are hard to draw. Of course, we know that at some stage Basil did read (some say write) *De sp.*, and also that this part of Plotinus was *not* available to him in Eusebius. We might deduce from the later evidence that Cyril of Alexandria knows *Ennead* 5.1 (and, to judge from his silence about the rest, 5.1 alone — but not merely from Eusebius) that this treatise circulated separately, at least from Porphyry's edition, a phenomenon we have previously considered in the light of its use by Eusebius. If that is so, then its use by Basil in *HFide* [15] would become slightly more likely. But not very likely; the vagueness of the allusions in *HFide* [15] is far from suggesting that when writing his homily Basil took a fresh look at his text of Plotinus. Perhaps slightly more plausible is a modification of Dehnhard's position: *if* but only if Basil is influenced by

[294] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 58, n. 33.
[295] PG 31: 468C ff.
[296] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 57.

any "plotinian" material in *HFide* [15],[297] it is more likely that *De sp.* is the intermediary than that Basil quotes Plotinus directly.

The parallels offered by Henry for *Ennead* 5.1.6 and *HFide* [15] are too vague to need further discussion.[298] We have to settle for no direct and only slight indirect "Neoplatonic" material in the *HFide* [15] as a whole.

ii. *Epistula Gregorio sodali (EGNaz. [2])*[299]

Chapter 2 of Basil's letter to Gregory of Nazianzus contains much praise of ἡσυχία. That — and a few more commonplaces — induced Henry to think of *Ennead* 5.1.2.11-14, 5.1.12.12-20, 6.9.7.14 ff.,[300] and Theiler to invoke Porphyry, *De abstinentia* 109.9.[301] Of course ἡσυχία and its virtues are extolled by Plotinus[302] and Porphyry, and it is hardly surprising that Basil, doubtless finding well-known ideas to his taste, speaks similarly in an early letter.

iii. *In Hexaemeron 2.7 and 6.9: the Hexaemeron and Contra Eunomium*

In his edition of Basil's *Hexaemeron* for the series *Sources chrétiennes* Giet has said most of what needs to be said about Basil's sources in this work.[303] Although Giet, following Gronau,[304] exaggerates the influence of Posidonius — which is at best unproven — his account is mostly sensible and well-based on provable references. He has in fact developed in his edition the earlier studies of Courtonne,[305] and for *Hex.* 7 and 8 those of J. Levie.[306] In particular Giet has followed Levie in arguing that for much of *Hex.* 7 and 8 Basil's principal source is some kind of epitome of Aristotle. This epitome does not reproduce Aristotle particularly faithfully; in it traces of Aelian, Oppian, Theophrastus and others may be detected. All of which makes it rather surprising that Giet seems to betray no uneasiness with the alleged use of the text of Plotinus by Basil argued for by Henry in

[297] PG 31: 468C ff.

[298] *États*, pp. 177-178.

[299] Courtonne, 1: 6-8; PG 32: 224-228.

[300] *États*, pp. 171-172; cf. 5.5.8.3.

[301] W. Theiler, review of *États*, *BZ* 41 (1941) 172.

[302] See V. Cilento, "Mito e poesia nelle Enneadi di Plotino," in *Les sources de Plotin* (Geneva 1960) pp. 307-309. For Basil's general interest in ἡσυχία see Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 48; also T. Špidlik, *La sophiologie de s. Basile* (Rome 1961) pp. 88-91.

[303] S. Giet, *Basile de Césarée, Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron* (Paris 1968) pp. 47-69.

[304] K. Gronau, *Posidonios, eine Quelle für Basilius' Hexahemeron* (Braunschweig 1912).

[305] Y. Courtonne, *S. Basile et l'Hellénisme* (Paris 1934).

[306] J. Levie, "Les sources de la 7e et la 8e homélies de saint Basile sur l'Hexaéméron," *Musée belge* (1920) 113-149.

the *États*. And Basil's sources are said to be not only the plausible 5.1, and the less plausible 1.6, but, according to Henry, the downright unlikely 2.8. Such indeed is the weight of tradition and blind respect for authority.

Ennead 2.8, as Bréhier already realized when writing his *Notice* in the Budé edition of Plotinus, is a school treatise:[307] it is concerned with the question of why distant objects appear smaller. In it Plotinus discusses five school views and gives his preference to one of them, that of Aristotle. It is likely that Plotinus himself is using a manual at this point, and if Plotinus, why not Basil who, as we have already noted, is not averse to the use of manuals. To defeat this reading of the situation very strong evidence would be required, which Henry has not provided. First he cites the (Porphyrian) title of Plotinus' tract, the weakest evidence of all; and far from even verbally identical with what is found in Basil's *Hex*. 6.9. He then compares Basil's *πέδιον ... πολύ* with Plotinus' *ὀρῶν ... πολλάς*. And that is all from *Ennead* 2.8.1. Chapter 2 provides merely *πολὺ ... τὸ ὄρος* and *ἐπὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, plus *ὄψις ... ἐκτεινομένη*, as though phrases of this sort were not virtually unavoidable in discussion of so technical a topic.

Henry believes that *Hex*. 6.9 is very closely related to *C. Eun*. 3.6, where two of the supposed echoes of Plotinus recur: *ὀρῶν τε παμμεγέθων* and later *οὐρανοῦ*![308] *C. Eun*. also contains the phrase *τὸ περικείμενον σῶμα*, and for this Henry recalls *Ennead* 5.1, as he did when he found the phrase in *De sp*. We may note first that *τὸ περικείμενον σῶμα* does not occur in the *Hexaemeron*, only in *C. Eun*. 3.6[309] — which substantially, if not totally, weakens the case for Plotinian influence on *Hex*. 6.9. As for *C. Eun*. 3.6, *Ennead* 5.1 or *De sp*. might be the origin, as Dehnhard has argued. But for the words *τὸ περικείμενον σῶμα* in isolation, or rather accompanied only by *ὀρῶν τε παμμεγεθῶν* and *οὐρανοῦ* (not from 5.1 or *De sp*.), only a scholar would have avoided the obvious conclusion: they are a banality going back to Aristotle.[310]

We turn now to Henry's "parallel" between *Hex*. 2.7 and *Ennead* 1.6.[311] The situation is rather similar. Again there are a few, indeed slightly more, verbal parallels between Plotinus and Basil. But, according to Henry, it is not these which persuade him of Basil's use of Plotinus; it is "l'allure de tout le passage et l'ordre dans lequel les idées sont exposées."

[307] Theiler (*BZ* 41 [1941] 171) inevitably thinks of Porphyry, though he notices the possibility of pre-Plotinian sources for Basil.

[308] For all this see *États*, p. 174.

[309] See also Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 62.

[310] *GA* 764B30.

[311] *États*, pp. 172-173.

The first of these claims is subjective, and the second has no weight if it looks as though we are dealing with traditional school doctrine. And that is exactly what we have in this case. In *Ennead* 1.6.1 Plotinus refers to a standard and especially Stoic view that the beauty of an object is to be explained in terms of the symmetry of its parts.[312] Basil refers to the same standard view in his discussion, but he is *particularly* concerned with the question of the beauty of light, of gold and the evening star (Plotinus has gold, lightning and stars in general); and Basil's discussion is largely in terms of the pleasurable impact of light during the process of vision, a question with which Plotinus does not concern himself. It is only the banal parts of the texts, those dealing with a *communis opinio* that Basil and Plotinus have in common. Such a *communis opinio* is perfectly adequate to explain the similarities of vocabulary. Courtonne observes that both Basil and Plotinus are concerned about the beauty of "simples," that is, substances supposedly composed of similar parts, which, it is said, are not accounted for in the Stoic theory.[313] But while Basil is thinking of light and gold, of material objects, the whole point of Plotinus' treatment is to move to the beauty of immaterial "simples." Furthermore, it should be noted that whereas Plotinus, for philosophical reasons, rejects the "symmetry" theory of beauty *in toto*, it is possible that Basil, confusedly, only rejects it for some (viz. "simple") bodies.

So much for Basil's use of Plotinus (as claimed by Henry and others) in the *Hexaemeron*; and for that matter in *Contra Eunomium* as well. For I can find no further evidence of his influence in either work.

G. Basil and Plotinus: Provisional Results

In all the Basilian or putatively Basilian texts that we have considered, the influence of Plotinus, whether direct or indirect, can be detected with certainty only in *De sp.* and in *De Sp. S.* 9. *De sp.* certainly uses *Ennead* 5.1 while *De Sp. S.* 9 uses 5.1 independently of *De sp.* Furthermore, the remote possibility of Basil's use of 6.9, and even 1.7 and 2.9, cannot be denied for *De Sp. S.* 9; perhaps further enquiry may bring one of these possibilities a little nearer to probability. Of other Basilian texts it is just possible that Basil used *De sp.* in *HFide* [15]; it is rather less likely that he used 5.1. Nor should we forget that Basil (though he apparently neglected

[312] Cf. Cicero, *Tusc. Disp.* 4.13.31 (SVF 3: 279).

[313] Courtonne, *S. Basile*, p. 132.

this source) could have known Plotinus through the passages of *Enneads* 4.7 and 5.1 to be found in Eusebius. What then does all this tell us about Basil's *utilization* of Plotinus? First of all that *De Sp. S.* 9 shows that he uses *Ennead* 5.1 directly — and that it is possible on the evidence so far that this is the only Plotinian treatise he so uses. He makes no use of the texts of 4.7 he could have found in Eusebius. Now I have already suggested, as a result of a consideration of the use of 5.1 by Eusebius, Cyril of Alexandria and Theodoret, that this treatise probably circulated separately. That factor might also supply the clue to why Basil probably knew very little Plotinus. If he read 5.1 in Porphyry's edition, or even in that of Eustochius, he would presumably have read much more Plotinus along with it. But Porphyry's account in his *Life of Plotinus* makes it quite clear that some of the treatises, especially the earlier ones — 5.1 is number 10 — were in circulation long before any complete edition of Plotinus was published. For the sake of clarity I should mention that 6.9 immediately precedes 5.1: number 9 in Porphyry's collection; thus if Basil knew 6.9 our general thesis would hardly be affected. 1.7 and 2.9 are chronologically 54 and 33, so that if I was convinced that Basil knew these two treatises, I should have further minor difficulties on my hands. But I am not so convinced.

But the question of 6.9 affords us a good way to return to the still unresolved problem of *De sp.* and of its author, for related to this question is the matter of Basil's attitude to Plotinus in general. I have already observed that Dehnhard finds the phrase *ζωῆς χορηγόν* in *De Sp. S.* 9.22.25 to be dependent not on *Ennead* 6.9.9.48, but on the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus in *De sp.* Here we should also advert to our discussion of the phrase *θεὸν γενέσθαι* in *De Sp. S.* 9.23, which, some say, derives directly from *Ennead* 6.9.9.59. We held this claim to be still unproven, though it is more plausible than the claim for *ζωῆς χορηγόν*, since this time *De sp.* cannot be the source.

At this point, a definitive conclusion about the status of *De sp.* can be delayed no longer. I have noted Gribomont's doubts that it was actually written by Basil and, in some measure, approved them. Let me pursue the matter further in the light of the now complete analysis of "Plotinian" material in Basil. Dehnhard's view of *De sp.* is that it is a document composed by Basil on the basis of *Ennead* 5.1, the Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus, Origen and other sources. This interpretation of the content of *De sp.* is largely accepted by Gribomont, but has recently been challenged by Abramowski in an article in which she argues that the so-called "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus," so far from being a source for Basil (or the author of *De sp.*), is rather to be regarded as itself in some

way dependent on Basil.[314] If this were to prove correct, it might seem that the *prima facie* likelihood of Basil's being the author of *De sp.* would increase: the *De sp.* would appear to be his blend of material later known as the "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus" with Plotinus. For it is certain that the first ascription of the Creed that *we* know to Gregory Thaumaturgus (together with the first publication of its full text) is made by Gregory of Nyssa[315] *after* Basil's death. However, if *Basil* wrote *De sp.*, we have to credit him at some stage of his career with a degree of respect for Plotinus (at least for *Ennead* 5.1) which we might otherwise never have suspected.

Let us now inspect at least the major points of Abramowski's argument that the "Creed" (if that is the proper rendering) of Gregory Thaumaturgus is dependent on Basil:

1. The first extant complete version of the "Creed" that we have is to be found in Gregory of Nyssa, who is also the first to mention the ascription of this material to Gregory Thaumaturgus. The date of Gregory's *Life of Gregory* in which this appears is uncertain, but it is between 381 and 395.
2. Gregory of Nazianzus appears to quote from the "last section" of the "Creed" in 380 or 381,[316] but not as the work of Gregory Thaumaturgus, but of "one of the inspired men" (θεοφόρων) of not long ago. (Caspari,[317] implausibly, thought that this θεόφορος must be Gregory Thaumaturgus, referred to rhetorically.)
3. Basil himself makes no use of the "Creed," though he had ample opportunity to do so, especially in his dispute with Atarbius of Neocaesarea.[318] (In *ENeoc. pm.* [210] there is mention of Gregory's statement of faith [ἔκθεσις πίστεως], but Basil denies that it contains an imprecise reference to the relation of the Father and the Son: the real source of this is a dialogue with a pagan named Gelianus, which Basil admits often contains expressions [e.g., κτίσμα, ποίημα] which give comfort to heretics.)

From point 3, we may assume that no "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus" known to Basil could have contained much material which he could

[314] L. Abramowski, "Das Bekenntnis des Gregor Thaumaturgus," *ZKG* 87 (1976) 145-166.

[315] Ibid., 145. For the text see *Vita Greg. Thaum.*, PG 46: 912D-913A.

[316] *Or.* 31.28; *Or.* 40.42.

[317] C. P. Caspari, *Alte und neue Quellen zur Geschichte des Taufsymbols und der Glaubensregel* (Christiania 1879) p. 27; *contra* Abramowski, "Das Bekenntnis," p. 150.

[318] *ENeoc.* [204]; *ENeoc. cl.* [207]; *ENeoc. pm.* [210].

use in his own controversies. Behind which lies the more basic fact that at the time of Gregory Thaumaturgus the question of the nature of the Holy Spirit is not prominent. The great emphasis put on it in Gregory of Nyssa's version of the "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus" is in itself suspect; we may detect a late fourth rather than a late third-century hand, as the quotation by Gregory of Nazianzus might also naturally lead us to suppose.

According to Dehnhard, Basil used the *authentic* "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus" when composing *De sp.* Yet the evidence for such use is thin indeed: it is little more than that the phrases *ζωὴ ζώντων αἰτία, πηγὴ ἅγια, ἁγιότης ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός* and *πνεῦμα ἅγιον, ἐκ θεοῦ τὴν ὕπαρξιν ἔχον καὶ δι' υἱοῦ πεφηνός* from the "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus" — in the version, moreover, of Gregory of Nyssa — resemble certain phrases in *De sp.* But since there is certainly much material in *De sp.* which derives neither from Plotinus nor from Gregory Thaumaturgus, these few phrases invite the alternative explanation: namely that they derive not from the authentic "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus," but from the ideas, not necessarily the pen, of Basil himself. What then is the truth about the "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus"? Basically Abramowski is right: there was such a "Creed" (*ἔκθεσις*); Basil refers to it in *ENeoc. pm.* [210]. He apparently knows its content, though he makes no use of it — presumably because it was related to third century problems and thus no help in his Trinitarian dealings with Atarbius or anyone else in the fourth century. The document which Gregory of Nyssa produced and which Dehnhard claims as a source for Basil, is a reworking of the original "Creed" by someone close to Basil; and as Abramowski points out, its material on the Spirit seems to depend on the work of Basil himself.

Where then does this leave us with *De sp.*? The work is to be seen as a cento composed of Plotinus, *Ennead* 5.1, and various other texts of largely Origenist provenance. It need not even come from a Cappadocian milieu, though it probably does; what we know is that it appears at a time and from a milieu where Plotinus, Origen and some Origenists were valued, and where there was a serious concern with the theology of the Holy Spirit, a concern which clothed itself in language later judged appropriate to Gregory Thaumaturgus. As to date, it is just possibly used by Basil in *HFide* [15], written after 370; and it is also just possibly a source of parts of *De Sp. S.* 9.22 and 23, which were written no earlier than 375.

An important question remains: if Basil met *De sp.* only late in his life, why should he take much interest in it, especially if many of the purely theological ideas to be found there were his own? The time has come to evaluate the basic thesis of Dehnhard: that Basil used *De sp.* in *De Sp. S.* 9.

Our own investigations have shown that any such use that he might have made is far less than Dehnhard supposed. Of the uses of *De sp.* by Basil proposed by Dehnhard we are left, as we have seen, with a slight possibility in one passage of *HFide* [15], and with *De Sp. S.* 9, 22 and 23. Before closing this section of the discussion, therefore, we should return to the problem of *De sp.* or *Ennead* 6.9.9 (and in particular the phrases ζωῆς χορηγόν [1.48] and θεὸν γενόμενον [1.59]) as possible sources for these chapters of *De Sp. S.* 9. θεὸν γενόμενον, we were earlier inclined to suggest, is perhaps a commonplace, and the use by Basil in *De Sp. S.* 9.23.25 of θεὸν γενέσθαι need not persuade us of direct Plotinian influence. But if it were to look probable that Basil's ζωῆς χορηγόν is directly Plotinian (from 6.9.9.48) we should have to reconsider.

Dehnhard, of course, invokes *De sp.* 15: ζωὴν παρέχει, τρόπος τῆς χορηγίας,[319] phrases which he thought were dependent on ἁγιασμοῦ χορηγός, etc., from the "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus"; and we allowed that the appearance of ἁγιασμοῦ (present in "Gregory Thaumaturgus" and reflected by τοὺς ἁγίους ἁγίους ἐποίησε in *De sp.*) might confirm this. But Gregory Thaumaturgus can now be left aside, and our question reformulated thus: does the presence of ἁγιασμοῦ in *De Sp. S.* 9 make it *certain* that *De Sp. S.* 9's ζωῆς χορηγόν derives not from the *Enneads* (χορηγὸς ἀληθινῆς ζωῆς, 6.9.9.49-50), but from *De sp.*, although *De sp.* has the less close τρόπος τῆς χορηγίας? It certainly does not; indeed we know that in *De Sp. S.* 9 Basil used *Ennead* 5.1 directly, and it is possible that he used 6.9.9 as well. The possibility is slightly increased by his use in the same chapter of the phrase θεὸν γενέσθαι, though we have tried to dismiss this as commonplace. Furthermore, if *De sp.* is not a source of *De Sp. S.* 9, evidence for its use by Basil has all but evaporated (only a slight possibility remains for *HFide* [15]), and with it Dehnhard's thesis.

I conclude that before 375 Basil had come across parts of *Enneads* 5.1 and 4.7 in Eusebius, but he took no interest in them; by 375 or later, when he wrote *De Sp. S.* 9, he knew *Ennead* 5.1 directly, and possibly also 6.9. I have already noted that 5.1 is number 10 and 6.9 number 9 in Porphyry's chronological list. I do not, of course, conclude that Basil used Porphyry's complete edition of the *Enneads*. The fascinating problem remains, to which I shall return: can we account for Basil's interest in at least a little Plotinus in 375, but not before? To this question may be added a second: is Basil's belated interest in Plotinus in any way related to the appearance of *De sp.*?

[319] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, p. 52.

H. Porphyry and Iamblichus in Basil

In view of the very limited use by Basil of Plotinus, as our earlier investigations of the fourth century would have led us to predict, we should not expect to find very much influence of Porphyry or Iamblichus either. But although Iamblichus' influence on fourth century Christianity is generally recognized as minimal,[320] the same, unfortunately, cannot be said of Porphyry. We have already noted how Theiler,[321] revising Henry's attempt to find *Ennead* 2.8 (on how objects seen from a distance appear small) in *Hex.* 6.9, preferred to find a school-tradition mediated through Porphyry rather than go back directly to a pre-Plotinian source. Theiler, in his discussion, cites Calcidius, chapter 272, as a parallel for Basil, and I have already discussed the tendency, now unhappily immortalized by Waszink and his pupils, to think that Calcidius must reflect Middle Platonic (and other) doctrine through Porphyry rather than by direct use of pre-Plotinian sources. But as for Calcidius, so for Basil, the introduction of Porphyry is an unnecessary complication: Occam's razor should be applied.

I have also commented adequately on Theiler's invocation of Porphyry to explain the use of ἡσυχία in Basil; and similarly scant credence can be given to what appears to be one more attempt of Theiler's to find rules for derivation of doctrine. The parallel between a phrase of Basil's in *EGNaz.* [2] 2.55 (ἀκοῆς τὸν τόνον τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλυούσης and τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκλύει τὸν τόνον in Simplicius' commentary on Epictetus' *Encheiridion* reveals Theiler's method. The parallel points "fast automatisch" to Porphyry, he says, since Iamblichus has to be ruled out. Of course, it does no such thing. The doctrine is Stoic and found in Simplicius' commentary on a Stoic text. Basil also uses Stoic material, few would deny it. Furthermore in general Theiler's attempts to see Porphyry's *De abstinentia* and *Sententiae* in Basil are vague and quite imprecise. The same can be said of Porphyry's *De regressu*, and here another feature of Theiler's technique — and not only in dealing with Basil — can be identified. If, he wants to say, a doctrine looks a little nearer to Porphyry's *De regressu* (as reconstructed) than to Plotinus, it comes from Porphyry. Porphyry or Plotinus? The obsession runs on. At most one might deduce that Porphyry's *De regressu* influenced the intellectual milieu in these regards more than the *Enneads*,

[320] See H. Dörrie, "Gregors Theologie auf dem Hintergrunde der neuplatonischen Metaphysik," in *Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie*, edd. H. Dörrie et al. (Leiden 1976) p. 29.

[321] *BZ* 41 (1941) 171.

and was thus *indirectly* more responsible for Basil's (and others') use of Neoplatonic ideas about the return of the soul. But often the ideas are not even purely Neoplatonic, but generally of the Platonic tradition, as Justin Martyr already knew; and it should be added that because Porphyry perhaps over-emphasized the notion of the return of the soul (in *De regressu*) in a *possibly* unplotinian fashion, that fact of that emphasis is insufficient to establish Porphyry as a source whenever such material is found in other writers.

Basil's second letter is, in my view, an excellent example of how "platonically," even "neoplatonically," a Christian can talk, without giving the scholar any reason to believe that he is necessarily following any Neoplatonic source, or possibly any particular source at all. There is nothing of the "platonic" or "ascetic" tradition found there which a careful reading of Origen could not have provided, particularly to a man who presumably read a number of the works of Plato himself when he was a student. Certainly there are "platonic" ideas here; certainly there are "Stoic" ideas here: that is, ideas with which contemporary Platonists or Stoics (if any) might concur. But to invoke Porphyry, or even Plotinus, for that matter, is to mistake the spirit of the age. Put Epictetus, Origen and Numenius together (*exempli gratia*) and you have no need here of Plotinus or Porphyry.

It might seem a pointless exercise to go through the unsatisfactory attempts of Theiler to read Porphyry into Basil; one wishes that it were. But it is necessary because the assumption "if not Plotinus, then Porphyry," can reappear in strange guises. In particular one should beware of an attempt to see in Porphyry's exaggerated version of Plotinus' personal asceticism a mode of neo-Platonism more attractive *and therefore* more influential on Basil. Here, for example, is E. F. Osborn discussing a passage of Porphyry:[322] "Plato chose an unhealthy part of Athens as the place for his Academy. The philosopher meditating on death despises luxury and lives free from want on a slender diet. 'For he who in this way mortifies the body will obtain all possible good through self-sufficiency and be made like the divine.' The worship of the supreme God can employ neither material sacrifice nor verbal utterance — only silent contemplation is appropriate. This is the kind of Platonism which Basil knows and understands."[323]

[322] *De abst.* 1.36, 1.54, 2.33.

[323] E. F. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (1976) p. 99. Osborn seems to be influenced by the dated comments of E. Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse monastique de S. Basile, Essai historique* (Maredsous 1949) pp. 70-74, 344, 351 ff. Amand, it should be noticed, does not claim to have shown that Basil did use *De*

Certainly Basil knew and understood it, but he did not need Porphyry to tell him about it. Much of it had been in Platonism since the *Phaedo*, and the mixture of Platonic and Pythagorean asceticism (as in Numenius) easily pre-dates Plotinus. What seems to have misled Osborn — and he is quoted only *exempli gratia* — is the belief that Porphyry's version of these Platonic themes is not only different from Plotinus', but that it *could not* predate him. Such a belief largely derives from the overemphasis on the titles and context of Porphyry's *De regressu animae* and *De abstinentia* as indicating a novel and unplotinian morality. Doubtless Porphyry emphasized bodily asceticism more than Plotinus (though he may not have practised it more); in this he reverted to earlier strains of Platonism and Pythagoreanism: it is thus misleading for Osborn to say that Basil's Platonism is more dependent on Porphyry than on Plotinus. It could in these matters be dependent on neither. Perhaps the passage on the unhealthy locale of the Academy tipped the scales in Porphyry's favour. Basil quotes it in *Ad adolescentes* 9.81. But Basil had been to Athens and the theme is commonplace; it also occurs in Aelian's *Varia Historia* 9.10, a source, among others, for Basil's *Hexaemeron*.

Such legendary material may be particularly liable to mislead. Also in *Ad adolescentes* is to be found a story about a companion of Pythagoras named Cleinias. The story itself is also extant in Iamblichus' *Life of Pythagoras*.[324] Hence, says a modern editor,[325] it is possible that Basil knew Iamblichus' work. But the name Cleinias is not given by Iamblichus, and a common source for Iamblichus and Basil is the more likely explanation, for even if Basil could have read Iamblichus, he would have had to read the same material elsewhere to find the name.

We have suggested both in this section and at an earlier stage of our discussion that the influence of Porphyry on Basil is likely to have been

abstinentia, but he believes that to be the case. Amand is also followed by P. Courcelle, "Grégoire de Nysse, lecteur de Porphyre," *REG* 80 (1967) 406.

[324] On Iamblichus' sources in general see E. Rohde, "Die Quellen des Iamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras," *RhM* 27 (1872) 23-61; also A. J. Festugière, "Sur une nouvelle édition de 'De Vita Pythagorica' de Jamblique," *REG* 50 (1937) 470-494. Festugière observes (p. 471) that the direct sources of Iamblichus are the Neopythagoreans Apollonius, Nicomachus, Moderatus.

[325] N. G. Wilson, *St. Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (London 1975) p. 59 on 7.47-53. Wilson seems to follow R. Reitzenstein (*Der Athanasius Werk über das Leben des Antonius* [Heidelberg 1914]) in thinking that Athanasius too knew the *Life of Pythagoras* when he wrote the life of St. Antony. One must admit that this is possible, but Iamblichus' sources might seem more plausible than Iamblichus himself.

minimal: for a variety of reasons that of Iamblichus is almost certain to have been non-existent. Let us finally return to more basic issues.

I. Plotinus the Philosopher and Basil the Bishop

In 375, as we have seen, Basil knows *Ennead* 5.1 and possibly 6.9. In addition, we assume that he knew *some* of 5.1 long before 375 — though he did not use it — by reason of his acquaintance with Eusebius' *Praeparatio evangelica*, which quotes 5.1 and 4.7 extensively. 4.7 is also an early work of Plotinus (number 2), so it adds nothing surprising to our view of the circulation of Plotinian treatises separately. We notice that it is the early treatises of Plotinus which first appear in the Christian Fathers. We have already observed Cyril of Alexandria's use of 5.1 and of 5.1 alone. Have we any external evidence as to why Basil might have become interested in Neoplatonic material not in his student days, but towards the end of his life? To this, two further witnesses might be called: Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa, and although this is not the place to touch extensively on the influence of Neoplatonism in these authors, a few observations may further our immediate aim to understand the development of Basil.

In fact we do not need to say much of Gregory of Nazianzus. Although he has a certain knowledge of Greek philosophy, especially of Plato, his general attitude is often critical or hostile. And his knowledge is largely limited to the earlier teachers, Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle (an artificial thinker with poor notions about Providence), the Stoics and Cynics, and the Epicureans: all of these he suggests are worthy of attack and refutation.[326] But he offers no similar comment on contemporary or more nearly contemporary teachers. His knowledge of Plotinus appears to be slight, and of no real help to us at present. Henry and Schwyzer claim that in one of his poems he echoes *Ennead* 5.2.1,[327] a claim which I am inclined to deny or at least think doubtful. More plausible, however, is their suggestion that in his *Third Theological Oration* he refers to lines 8 and 9 of the same chapter.[328] Here Gregory actually says that he is citing one of the Greek philosophers who spoke of an *ὑπέρχυσιν* of goodness and of goodness overflowing like a mixing bowl. And Plotinus does write of the One, *οἷον ὑπερρύη καὶ τὸ ὑπερπλῆρες αὐτοῦ πεποίηκεν ἄλλο*. Not too close, one might suppose; but Gregory says that this occurs in a writing "On the

[326] *Or.* 27.9 (*Theol.* 1), PG 36: 19C.
[327] See their *editio maior, ad loc.*; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poem. dog.* 29.12, PG 37: 508.
[328] *Or.* 29.2, PG 36: 76C.

First Cause and the Second." This is not Porphyry's name of the treatise 5.2, but we note that Gregory's title is rather nearer the version found in the Arabic,[329] where the essay is called "The First Cause and the Things that originate from it."[330] So it may be argued that Gregory does quote *Ennead* 5.2 here, but not in Porphyry's edition. And that makes his use of Plotinus in the *Poem* slightly more likely. But in the end all this helps us but little with Basil. The third Theological Oration was delivered after Basil's death while Gregory was at Constantinople, at the Church of the Anastasis; and the poem was almost certainly composed after he had retired from the Capital in 381. Neither composition tells us anything which might clarify Basil's position in 375. The most natural interpretation of Gregory of Nazianzus' use of *Ennead* 5.2, not in Porphyry's edition, is that he came across it, probably alone or with only a few other Plotinian essays, when he was in Constantinople. We note that 5.2 is number 11 in Porphyry's chronological list. Basil, as we have seen, knows 5.1 (number 10) and perhaps 6.9 (number 9).

Let us turn to our second witness, Gregory of Nyssa. In fact we have to treat of only one text, since the *De virginitate* is probably the only major work of Gregory's to have been composed before Basil's death in 379. Dehnhard suggested that Basil was directly influenced by his younger brother,[331] an idea which has not been welcomed,[332] since it is generally held — perhaps unjustly — that Basil failed to recognize young Gregory's talents. In favour of Dehnhard's proposal it might be argued that Basil's view of Gregory was at least sufficiently high to secure his promotion to the dignity of bishop. Basil had hopes — in which he was disappointed — that Gregory would be an effective ally in the ecclesiastical struggles in which he, Basil, was engaged. It was also, apparently, at Basil's suggestion that Gregory set about writing the *De virginitate* — which implies that Basil's opinion of his theological qualities was considerable.

Nonetheless, I have no wish to endorse Dehnhard's thesis, that the *De virginitate* is a source for Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*. We are more aware than was Dehnhard of the chronological problems surrounding the date of the *De virginitate* itself. As Gribomont has observed,[333] the

[329] *Theol. Arist.* 10.10.

[330] I quote from the translation of G. Lewis in Henry-Schwyzer's *editio maior*. I should like to thank Professor Michael E. Marmura for checking the Arabic.

[331] Dehnhard, *Das Problem*, pp. 77-84.

[332] See Gribomont, review of Dehnhard, p. 490; and Daniélou, review of Dehnhard, pp. 158-160.

[333] J. Gribomont, "Le panégyrique de la virginité, œuvre de jeunesse de Grégoire de Nysse," *RAM* 43 (1967) 250.

conventional view that dates *De virginitate* to about 371 depends exclusively on Gregory's reference to Basil as bishop,[334] entailing — as is asserted — that he himself did not yet possess a see. But the inference lacks substance: if Gribomont's translation is correct, as I believe it to be, Basil, when himself a bishop, refers to his uncle as "our most venerable uncle and bishop."[335] The *De virginitate* could have been written at any time between 371 and 378; and it could indeed — *pace* Dehnhard — be a beneficiary rather than a source of the *De Spiritu Sancto*.

But even though I do not wish to argue that the *De virginitate* is a source of *De Sp. S.*, some consideration of the Plotinian influence in the *De virginitate* may still be informative. It could be the case, either that it was Gregory who interested Basil in Neoplatonic material or, more cautiously, that the composition of the *De virginitate* is evidence for a renewed interest in Plotinus during the 370s. To put ourselves in a position to explore these avenues, let us briefly review the state of scholarship on the Plotinian content in the *De virginitate*. In this matter, as in so many others in the course of our present enquiry, it is necessary to be specific. Vague parallels in the moral-ascetical area are hardly adequate; they may merely point to the spirit of the age. More helpful are fairly precise and repeated verbal echoes, especially if they fall in groups; and for our purposes the Index prepared by Aubineau for his splendid edition provides an adequate guide. At first sight Aubineau's list of references to Plotinus looks impressive; yet in most of them, apart from those to *Enneads* 1.6 and 6.9, Plotinus is listed *among others* as offering similar ideas: in other words, in these passages we are not dealing with specifically Plotinian or even Neoplatonic material. Apart from references of this type, Aubineau only provides *Enneads* 1.2.3.12 and 6.3.4.3 as possibly direct sources for specifically Plotinian material. The first of these is most unlikely, the second more plausible, but not necessary. So with the dubious exception of 6.3 (a late treatise of Plotinus) we are left with Gregory's use, to which Daniélou,[336] as well as Aubineau, has pointed, of *Enneads* 1.6 and 6.9, numbers 1 and 9 on Porphyry's chronological list. We noted that Basil may have used 6.9 in *De Sp. S.*; some, as also noted, have detected the influence of 1.6 in the *Hexaemeron*, though I have

[334] *De virg.*, ed. Aubineau, p. 250.

[335] So Gribomont, "Le panégyrique," p. 250; Basil, *EGNys*. [58], PG 32: 408B; Courtonne, 1: 145.6-7.

[336] For J. Daniélou, see his communication, "Grégoire de Nysse et Plotin" (résumé), in *Actes du Ve congr. de l'Ass. Budé* (Paris 1954) pp. 259-262, and his review of Dehnhard, pp. 158-160. See also D. Balás, *Metousia Theou* (Rome 1966) p. 63.

argued that this is implausible, thus proving a devil's advocate against my own present proposal. Nevertheless, if Basil used 5.1 and 6.9 in *De Sp. S.* 9, and Gregory of Nyssa used 6.9 and 1.6 in chapters 10 to 12 of the *De virginitate*, a work composed at roughly the same time, it would not be reckless to suggest that the common use of these early treatises of Plotinus by Basil and Gregory is hardly coincidental. The likelihood that Basil introduced Gregory to Plotinus seems less in view of the reported character, activities and interests of the two brothers. Is it too much to suppose that it is because of Gregory's interest in Plotinus that Basil too grew interested in him at this period?[337] If that is admitted to be at the least plausible, does it offer any help towards identifying the author of the ultra-plotinian text *De sp.*? *De sp.*, as we have noted, is often supposed to be an early work of Basil's. I have denied its Basilian authorship. That Basil penned a work of this kind during his episcopate is peculiarly unlikely; still that is no reason why the work could not have been composed in the 370s. The final step confronts us of crediting Gregory of Nyssa with the authorship of *De sp.*[338] — and why should we balk at it? Gregory at this time was interested in Plotinus and shows it in *De virginitate*. Furthermore *De sp.* uses material on the Holy Spirit probably dependent on Basil and later drawn up by Gregory as the "Creed of Gregory Thaumaturgus"; the coincidence has weight. For the date of composition, any time after 370 but before 375 will do, for if Gregory wrote *De sp.* it probably precedes *De virginitate*. And if Gregory's *De sp.* came to the attention of Basil, it could be that Basil's satisfaction both impelled him to urge Gregory to write *De virginitate* and encouraged him to make limited use of Plotinus in chapter 9 of his own *De Sp. S.* Let me add in conclusion that even if Gregory's authorship of *De sp.* be rejected, the likelihood of his having interested Basil in Plotinus remains.

[337] The question arises whether Gregory used Porphyry's edition. In view of his limited knowledge of Plotinus in *De virginitate*, I should incline to deny it. Possible evidence for his use of it is offered by Courcelle, who argues, in "Grégoire de Nysse, lecteur de Porphyre," pp. 404-405, that in chapter 23 of *De virginitate*, Gregory uses the response of Apollo to the question of Amelius about Plotinus quoted by Porphyry in the *Vita Plotini* (ch. 22). The argument is less than compelling: Courcelle's "parallels" are all of commonplace material in such contexts; and in any case the reply of Apollo was presumably known to others besides Porphyry.

[338] Henry (*États*, p. 168) thought that the phrase *γοητευουσῶν γυναικῶν* in *De sp.* (ed. Dehnhard, p. 8, 1.23) for Plotinus' *τῶν γεγοητευκότων* (*Enn.* 5.1.2.13) indicates the monastic preoccupations of the young Basil (ca. 360). It might equally well indicate the comparatively youthful fervour of the anti-matrimonial Gregory of the *De virginitate*.

J. Epilogue

In discussing Basil of Caesarea I have looked for precise parallels with Neoplatonic texts. My enquiry indicates that for most of his life Basil was uninfluenced by Neoplatonic material; and this is the conclusion predicted by my earlier survey of the fourth century. I would not wish to muddy the waters again by devoting time to the vaguely Platonic commonplaces which Basil (or Athanasius, or Gregory of Nazianzus) shares with Plotinus (or Plutarch or, for the ingenious, Posidonius). Nor do I wish to propose general parallels for Basil in the manner espoused by the *Cambridge History of Later Greek and Early Mediaeval Philosophy*, where we read of Gregory of Nazianzus that he "adumbrates the synthesis of the Christian revelation with the triadic structure of the Neoplatonic universe which the ps.-Dionysius was later to expound: the triple rhythm of *monè, proodos, epistrophè*."[339] As a result of such a summary — in no way borne out by the text of Gregory of Nazianzus himself — Sheldon-Williams thought himself justified in coming to a conclusion which implicates Basil as well as Gregory, that "Gregory's assimilation of Christianity to Platonism is thus much more profound and has wider implications than Basil's." I hope at least to have indicated that an analysis of Basil's relation to Plato and Platonism needs to proceed along quite other lines.

In his homily to the young on the merits (and limitations) of Greek literature, written, it is often and probably wrongly assumed, during his tenure as bishop of Caesarea, Basil offers what is essentially a rhetorician's or literateur's view of the Hellenic past, a view which reflects much of the experiences of his own student years and of his abortive career as a professor of rhetoric. It is important to recall yet again that although Basil alludes to the lives and ideas of philosophers, they are philosophers safely distant from his own age and usually, I submit, to be valued as stylists, or at most moralists, rather than as thinkers. Neither Middle Platonic nor Neoplatonic philosophers are offered as models, or used philosophically, though Plutarch in particular is used extensively as a source. It is hard when reading the address to avoid the impression that a literary education is emphasized rather as the background or decoration of a cultured man than as a basis for a Christian understanding. Later on, in *EEust.* [223],[340]

[339] I. P. Sheldon-Williams, in *The Cambridge History*, ed. A. H. Armstrong, p. 446; compare also p. 442.

[340] *EEust.* [223] 2, PG 32: 824A; cf. Špidlík, *Sophiologie*, p. 146. I am, in fact, inclined to date the *Ad adolescentes* to the period of Basil's teaching in Caesarea, after his return from Athens.

Basil himself laments the time he wasted on profane studies, and if we view these studies in the light of the treatise, such a stance is very intelligible. They are devoid of contemporary or nearly contemporary issues, even to a remarkable extent in ethics, let alone in metaphysics. Gregory of Nazianzus and Gregory of Nyssa too, as we have observed, are ambivalent about pagan "culture,"[341] and they both share Basil's disinclination to allude directly to current purely philosophical debate. In view of this it is perhaps the more surprising to find Basil stirred in the last years of his life by readings in Plotinus. However, surprise should not lead us to underestimate the evidence of the text of *De Sp. S.* 9. Despite his neglect of Plotinus in his youth, despite his love of the monastic way with its strongly anti-intellectualist emphases, despite his years as a bishop, wielding authority rather than reading books — almost, we might say, despite himself — Basil was still able — I have suggested under the influence of a younger brother of very different temperament — to profit from one or two of the writings of the greatest of the latter-day Platonists and to put them to the service of the new policy. If the address to the young is datable to Basil's immediately post-student days, we must conclude that shortly afterwards Basil gave up the practice of rhetoric, but later, was "converted" — to however limited a degree — to some more contemporary philosophy. But we should end with a *caveat*: Basil is a true supporter of the Council of Nicaea and all that that implies. There is not a trace of the influence of Neoplatonic speculation in that area of Trinitarian theology from which the Council had excluded Platonism forever. And it must be admitted that though, in the area of moral/ascetical thought where Platonism was still allowed to flourish, Basil may have become interested, however mildly, in Plotinus towards the end of his life, his utterances might have been very similar in content whether or not he ever read any "original" Plotinus at all. They need not entail more than a synthesizing of earlier versions of Platonism and Stoicism.

[341] For Gregory of Nazianzus' traditional-sounding praise of Platonism see especially *Or.* 31.5; but this must be juxtaposed with texts which emphasize faith (*Or.* 28.28, etc.). See recently Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, pp. 167-174.

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Saint Basil and the Rhetorical Tradition

George L. Kustas
State University of New York at Buffalo

In a very carefully crafted letter Gregory of Nazianzus seeks the advice of his friend Basil on the dispute regarding the divinity of the Holy Spirit and reports to him the objections that a monk had recently voiced against Basil's stance on the matter.[1] The letter, dated 372/373, includes possibly the earliest reference to the appellation "Great" by which Basil came to be traditionally known.[2] The monk's sarcastic use of the term suggests that it

[1] *Ep.* 58, PG 37: 113A-117B; Gallay, pp. 73-77. It should be noted that the English translations of Basil's works used throughout this article are, for the ascetical and exegetical writings those of M. Wagner, *St. Basil, Ascetical Works* (New York 1950) and A. C. Way, *St. Basil, Exegetic Homilies* (New York 1963); for the letters, R. J. Deferrari, *St. Basil, The Letters* (London/Cambridge, Mass. 1926-1934), and for the *Asceticon*, W. K. L. Clarke, *The Ascetic Works of St. Basil* (London 1925). I have, however, on occasion felt free for purposes of emphasis to prefer either a phrase of my own or one taken from the older translations, sometimes more accurate, by B. Jackson, *The Treatise De Spiritu Sancto, the Nine Homilies of the Hexaemeron and the Letters of St. Basil the Great* (New York 1895; Grand Rapids 1968). Jackson's translation has been used for the *De Sp. S.* Where no published translations exist I have supplied my own.

[2] *Ep.* 58.7, PG 37: 116A; Gallay, p. 75. *Ep.* 25, PG 37: 60C-61A; Gallay, p. 33, also has the phrase and may be earlier. Gallay puts it between 370 and 373. *Ep.* 46, PG 37: 98A-B; Gallay, pp. 59-60, late 370s, addressed to Basil, already is moving in this direction: *ἡ μεγάλη φωνὴ καὶ σάλπιγξ, τὸ τῶν λόγων βασίλειον … ἡ σὴ μεγαλοφωνία*. References to Basil's greatness are subsequently frequent in the documents of the period and *pro forma* throughout the Byzantine centuries. E.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 53 (AD 384-390), PG 37: 109A; Gallay, p. 70, *Or.* 43.1, PG 36: 493A; 43.10, 505B; 43.70, 601C. In Gregory's autobiographical *Poem.* 2.1.11.222-225, PG 37: 1044-1045, Basil is *σοφώτατος* and *τὸ μέγα ὄφελος* of Gregory's life, and in *Poem.* 2.2.1.302, PG 37: 1473B stands second *ἐξ Ἀαρὼν μεγάλου*. Cf. also Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.74, PG 45, 272D, Jaeger, 1: 47.23 and 48.3; 1.76, 273B, Jaeger, 1: 48.25; 1.129, 289D, Jaeger, 1: 66.2; and the encomium by St.

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 221-279.

was already in vogue, in itself a remarkable fact. Except for a few instances of self-evaluation as in the case of Pompey and the Emperor Caracalla, antiquity had not assigned the epithet to any living person. Both Alexander, whose exploits initiate the tradition, and Constantine I had had to wait several decades after their death to be so designated.[3] Further, those who had previously been honored were all from the political and military sphere. With Basil we move for the first time to the world of religious culture.

The esteem in which he was held is clear from the opening lines. To Gregory Basil is "the guide of life and teacher of the faith," *βίου καθηγητὴς καὶ δογμάτων διδάσκαλος*.[4] His influence on him in both capacities is such

Ephraem in its Greek version, *S. Ephraem Syri Opera. Monumenta biblica et ecclesiastica* (ed. S. Mercati, Rome 1915). Mercati, 1: 190, thinks that it has its source in an original done in Basil's lifetime and translated soon after his death.

We shall in the notes to this paper cite a large number of parallels from the two Gregories to Basil's ideas. They are included not in order to establish a possible unity of Cappadocian thought but to help clarify Basilian perceptions and as part of ongoing research into trends in fourth-century rhetorical sentiments.

[3] For an excellent historical treatment see P. P. Spranger, "Der Grosse. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung des historischen Beinamens in der Antike," *Saeculum* 9 (1958) 22-58. Interest in size is a marked feature of the fourth century, as one can see from the dimensions of the architecture and statuary, not to mention the voluminous literary productions. Maximus and Magnus are common *praenomina* of the period. Constantine and others call themselves *maximus* on their coins, though in the logic of history "Great" is a higher title than "Greatest." Basil himself is given to the terminology. One finds *μεγαλόνοια, μεγαλοφυΐα, μεγαλοψυχία,* and *μέγεθος* as titles of address in the letters. See Way, pp. 163-164; L. Dinneen, *Titles of Address in Christian Greek Epistolography to 527 AD* (Washington, DC 1929) pp. 40, 46, 100. Cf. also *EArin. ux.* [269] 2, PG 32: 1000C-1001B; Courtonne, 3: 140.27-29; 141.23-24; and the interest in the greatness of God's creation, *Hex.* 6.9 *ad fin.*, PG 29: 137C-148A; Giet, pp. 370-389. Basil can also be called *πολύς*: Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Macr.*, PG 46: 965B; Woods-Callahan, 8.1: 377.10; *De an.*, PG 46: 12A. *Πολὺς καὶ μέγας*: Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.27, PG 36: 533B.

[4] Cf. Basil's phrase *διδασκάλῳ καὶ ἡγεμόνι*: *ENeoc. pm.* [204] 7, PG 32: 756B; Courtonne, 2: 180.36. Gregory of Nyssa regularly calls his brother *διδάσκαλος*, as in *C. Eun.* 1.81, PG 45: 276A; Jaeger, 1: 50.14 and *Ep.* 13.4, PG 46: 1049A; Jaeger, 8.2: 45.24. *Καθηγητής* is very common in late Greek to refer to one's mentor. Somewhat less frequent is *καθηγεμών*, which appears to stress leadership more rather than guidance, though the distinction is not pressed. Gregory of Nazianzus calls the city of Caesarea his *καθηγεμὼν καὶ διδάσκαλος*, *Or.* 43.13, PG 36: 512A, and speaks of Basil as his *καθηγεμών*, ibid., 43.22, PG 36: 525A. In both passages he is talking of his youth. Later in the same oration, when he is measuring his influence on him in maturity, Basil is *καθηγητής*: ibid. 33, 541A. Cf. Hesychius: *καθηγεμών· ὁδηγός, διδάσκαλος*. Stephanus explains *καθηγητὴς* as *dux vitae*, adding *honestiore nomine dicitur pro διδάσκαλος*. In general, *καθηγητής/καθηγεμών* emphasizes more the moral suasion of the teacher than the intellectual content of the lessons, if not both together. *Διδάσκαλοι* and *καθηγηταί* in Matthew 23.8-10 are indiscriminately *magistri* in the Latin Vulgate. Cf. the description of God, *HPs. 1* 3, PG 29: 216B: *ὁ κοινὸς τοῦ βίου διορθωτής, ὁ μέγας διδάσκαλος, τὸ πνεῦμα τῆς ἀληθείας, σοφῶς καὶ ἐντέχνως* (on this pair see

that he declares, "I am purely yours." The language is more than the usual *captatio benevolentiae*. It is rather an announcement of the issue in the letter itself. "Teacher of the faith" has reference to the exact, uncompromising statement of the tenets of Christianity as a theologian, assisted by his training in logic and in philosophy generally, might formulate it. "Guide of life," on the other hand, is the application of the standard, adjusted so as to make it effective in human affairs. Its associations are social and political, closer, as we shall see, to rhetoric than to philosophy.[5] The remainder of the letter divides along precisely these lines. Basil's failure to call the Holy Spirit God is an instance of his use of οἰκονομία, the technical term for adaptation of means to ends. The monk argues for the opposite, categorical definition, what in Patristic writings is called ἀκρίβεια,[6] and Gregory, disturbed that he and his teacher were being

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n. 176 below) προεβάλετο. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 5.32, PG 35: 705B, where Zeus is described as both counsellor and sovereign of the gods: μήστωρ καὶ ὕπατος. By adding the copula to this Homeric phrase (e.g., *Poem* 339) Gregory succeeds in underlining both the conceptual contrast and the unity of the two terms. For God as teacher see also p. 260 below. From Gregory of Nyssa we have *De virg.* 23.3.4, PG 46: 408D; Cavarnos, 8.1: 336.21: καθηγεμόνα τε καὶ διδάσκαλον; *De perf.*, PG 46: 253A; Jaeger, 8.1: 174.22: διδασκάλῳ καὶ ὁδηγῷ πρὸς τὸν βίον: *C. Eun. refut.* 136, PG 45: 529B; Jaeger, 2: 371.1: διδάσκαλον καὶ καθηγεμόνα. Cf. also ibid., 189: 533A-B; 2: 392.15-22; 212-216, 564A-D; 2: 402.1-403.21; *De cast.*, PG 46: 312A. The Word is St. Paul's καθηγεμὼν καὶ διδάσκαλος, *In subj.*, PG 44: 1304A. Athanasius is καθηγητὴς καὶ διδάσκαλος, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 25.11, PG 35: 1213A (further described here as μεγάλη φωνή). Scriptural support for the sentiment comes from Matthew 5.19: "Whosoever shall do and teach them, the same shall be called great in the kingdom of heaven."

[5] The contrast may be put in other ways as well, e.g., absolute versus relative (or, perhaps better, relational), or, in more philosophical language, One versus Many. We may note that the Christian term for a monk, μοναχός, is φιλόσοφος. The sarcastic description of the Emperor Julian by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.112, PG 35: 648D, as ὁ καινὸς δογματιστής τε καὶ σοφιστής similarly both contrasts and combines philosophy and rhetoric.

[6] Cf. the two components of Christian life as presented by Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 24.2, PG 46: 1089A; Pasquali, 8.2: 75.13-14: διαιρῶν εἰς δύο τὴν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολιτείαν, εἴς τε τὸ ἠθικὸν μέρος (~οἰκονομία) καὶ εἰς τὴν <τῶν> δογμάτων ἀκρίβειαν; also *De bapt.*, PG 46: 432A: ἡ πίστις τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἑαυτῆς, τὴν ἀγαθὴν πολιτείαν, ἐπιζητεῖ: and for the connection between ἀκρίβεια and διδασκαλία Fr. 3, PG 46: 1112A (= John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*, PG 96: 509D): τῶν διδασκάλων ἀκριβέστεροι. Note also the parallel distinction in Christian theology between God's authority, ἐξουσία, and his οἰκονομία, e.g., Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.19, PG 36: 128B. According to Gregory, Basil was able to assume charge of the church at Caesarea thanks to his benevolence, *Or.* 43.33, PG 36: 541A: τὴν εὔνοιαν εἰσφέρων τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἀντελάμβανε, καὶ ἦν θαυμαστὴ ἡ συμφωνία καὶ ἡ πλοκὴ τοῦ δύνασθαι. This came about through Basil's knowing the laws both εὐπειθείας and πνευματικῆς τάξεως, ibid., 540D. Cf. also his remark on the power of φίλτρον combined with ἐξουσία, *Poem.* 2.1.11.341, PG 37: 1053: δεινὸν δὲ φίλτρον ἐστὶ σὺν ἐξουσίᾳ. *Poem.* 2.2.4.2-3, PG 37: 1506, calls attention to the law governing both men and beasts: κάμπτεσθαι φιλότητι, λόγου δ' ἰότητι σοφοῖο. In *Ep.* 53, PG 37: 109A; Gallay, p. 70, Basil's greatness lies in his ἀλήθεια and

censured for an excessive use of *οἰκονομία*, writes to ask how far the principle should be applied in the present case. He seeks in other words for the relation between the two positions, a relation that in the beginning of the letter is epitomized in the very person of Basil described as both guide of life and teacher of the faith.

Gregory is working with the two meanings that *οἰκονομία* carries in Patristic writings. It can stand at one pole against *ἀκρίβεια*, but it can also include its opposite in a higher synthesis. God's *οἰκονομία* combines his wisdom with his philanthropy.[7] So too Basil's here.[8] It is in the context of questioning Basil's *οἰκονομία* that the monk calls him Great.

φιλία. On *οἰκονομία* in Eastern Orthodox thought see H. Alivisatos, *Ἡ οἰκονομία κατὰ τὸ κανονικὸν Δίκαιον τῆς Ὀρθοδόξου Ἐκκλησίας* (Athens 1949) and J. Kotsonis, *Προβλήματα τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς οἰκονομίας* (Athens 1957; French translation by P. Dumont [Gembloux 1971], but without the useful index of the original). Both books treat the subject mainly from the point of view of canon law, but also discuss the wider meaning. Articles on various aspects of the concept are very numerous. See, most recently, J. R. Erickson, "Oikonomia in Byzantine Canon Law," in *Law, Church, and Society. Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, edd. K. Pennington and R. Somerville (Philadelphia 1977) pp. 225-236, and the items cited therein. M. Kertsch, "Begriffsgeschichtliches aus den Grabreden Gregors von Nazianz," *Jahrbuch der österreichischen Byzantinistik* 23 (1974) 11-28, discusses some of the meanings of the term in Gregory as well as his use of compounds with *μεγαλο-*.

[7] Cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 11.8, PG 32: 1269A: *τὸ παρὰ τοῦ σοφοῦ καὶ ἀγαπῶντος ἡμᾶς* [sc. *θεοῦ*] *οἰκονομηθέν*; *EMarit.* [203] 1, PG 32, 737A; Courtonne, 2: 167.6: *κατὰ τὴν δικαίαν κρίσιν τοῦ πάντα ἐν σοφίᾳ οἰκονομοῦντος θεοῦ*. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.28, PG 35: 556A: *κατὰ τὴν ἄρρητον αὐτοῦ σοφίαν τε καὶ κυβέρνησιν, καθ' ἣν ... ᾠκονόμει*. For *οἰκονομία* as the resolution of opposites see idem, *Or.* 6.8, PG 35: 732A: *τῷ ἐναντίῳ τὸ ἐνάντιον οἰκονομήσας*; *Or.* 17.4, PG 35: 969B: *παιδεύει διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων ἡμᾶς ὁ θεός*; God's *σοφία* knows how *διὰ τῶν ἐναντίων τὰ ἐνάντια οἰκονομεῖσθαι*, *Or.* 24.13, PG 35: 1184C (the passage describes St. Cyprian's conversion to Christianity and compares him to Joseph. Cf. the note *ad loc.*: "sic Joseph per servitutem et ignominiam ad gloriam pervenit"). *Poem.* 1.2.10.86, PG 37: 686: *ὁ γὰρ σοφῷ τὰ πάντα ποιήσας λόγῳ / καὶ τὴν ἄφραστον τῶν ὅλων ἁρμονίαν / ἁρμοσάμενος τῇ τῶν ἐναντίων κράσει / κόσμον τε τάξας τοῦτον ἐξ ἀκοσμίας, κτλ.* In similar fashion Gregory of Nyssa describes *οἰκονομία* as uniting opposites through *σοφία*: *In Cant.* 8.4.9, PG 44: 948C-949A; Langerbeck, 6: 255.5-256.5; *De mort.*, PG 46: 524D; Heil, 9.1: 55.17-18. Cf. also *De hom. opif.* 1, PG 44: 129D: *ἡ τοῦ θεοῦ σοφία τῷ μὲν ἀεικινήτῳ τὸ ἄτρεπτον τῷ δὲ ἀκινήτῳ τὴν τροπὴν ἐνεποίησε, προμηθείᾳ τινὶ τάχα τὸ τοιοῦτον οἰκονομήσασα.*

For the relation between *οἰκονομία* and *πίστις* see 1 Tim. 1.4: *οἰκονομίαν τὴν ἐν πίστει* and cf. Luke 12.42: *ὁ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος ὁ φρόνιμος*. The faithfulness of God (*πιστός*: 1 Cor. 1.9; 10.13) is treated in terms of *οἰκονομία*, *In Cant.* 14.5.14, PG 44: 1069C-D; Langerbeek, 6: 408.14-409.11. For the combination *πίστις/βίος*, i.e., faith and good works, as marking the true Christian see *De inst. chr.*, PG 46: 288B-289B; Jaeger, 8.1: 43.8-20; and the celebration of St. Ephraem, *Vita*, PG 46: 824A-B: *ὁ καλὸς καὶ πιστὸς οἰκονόμος τῆς χάριτος, ὁ τοὺς λόγους τῶν ἀρετῶν ἀναλόγως τοῖς ὁμοδούλοις σιτομετρῶν, καὶ τὴν δεσποτικὴν οἰκίαν οἰκονομούμενος ἄριστα. ... ἑαυτὸν περιφανῆ βίῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ κατεσκεύασεν*. Gregory of Nazianzus praises his mother as *ἀρίστη οἰκονόμος καὶ πιστοτάτη*, *Or.* 18.21, PG 35: 1009B, and describes his father as follows, ibid., 18.27, 1017B-C: "While he himself was gentle, if anyone ever was, his energy was in proportion to his gentleness. Although the two

The antithesis *οἰκονομία-ἀκρίβεια* is but an expression of that larger issue that challenges all of antiquity, to wit, the opposition between philosophy and rhetoric, and in its resolution we have the reason for Basil's renown. Basil is great because he joined in his thought and in his life's work these two main cultural currents of the ancient world.[9] This assessment by his

qualities, simplicity and severity, are generally repugnant and opposed to each other, the one naturally implying gentleness without enterprise, the other energy without kindliness, in him they were blended in a marvelous unity. On the one hand, he acted like a severe man, yet he displayed gentleness. On the other, he readily gave way as though a stranger to practical affairs, yet he displayed energy in patronage, in fearlessness of speech, and in every kind of ministry. He combined the wisdom of the serpent in regard to evil with the simplicity of the dove in regard to good, nor did he suffer his wisdom to degenerate into evil action, nor his simplicity into stupidity, but he fashioned and perfected from both, so far as it was possible, one form of virtue": *ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς ἥμερος μέν, εἰ καί τις ἄλλος, ἐνεργὸς δὲ κατὰ τὸ ἥμερον. δύο γάρ τούτων ὡς τὰ πολλὰ μαχομένων ἀλλήλοις καὶ ἀντικαθισταμένων, ἁπλότητος καὶ τραχύτητος, καὶ τῆς μὲν τὸ ἥμερον ἐχούσης μετὰ τοῦ ἀπράκτου, τῆς δὲ τὸ πρακτικὸν δίχα τοῦ φιλανθρώπου, ἐκείνῳ συνῆλθε θαυμασίως ἀμφότερα: πράττειν μὲν ὡς αὐστηρῷ μετὰ τῆς ἡμερότητος· ὑφίεσθαι δὲ ὡς ἀπράκτῳ μετὰ τῆς ἐντελείας ἐν προστασίαις, ἐν παρρησίαις, ἐν εἴδει παντὶ κυβερνήσεως. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄφεως φρόνιμον περὶ τὸ κακὸν τῷ τῆς περιστερᾶς ἀκεραίῳ περὶ τὸ καλὸν ἀναμίξας, οὔτε τὸ φρόνιμον εἴασε κακοῦργον γενέσθαι, οὔτε τὸ ἁπλοῦν ἀνόητον· ἀλλ᾽ ἓν ἀρετῆς εἶδος, ὡς μάλιστα ἐνῆν, ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων ἀπηκριβώσατο.* One thinks of Thucydides' famous celebration of the Athenian character in the *Funeral Oration* 2.37.2-3; 40.1.4-5.

For the social side of *οἰκονομία* and its theological implications see *Or.* 25.5, PG 35: 1204C: Hero, the Cynic philosopher, chooses the socially responsible form of life. This meets the test of virtue through its outward extension to humanity and is thus close to divine *οἰκονομία*, which Gregory describes as both creating the world and binding it in love and, through Christ's association with us in the Incarnation, recalling sinful mankind to the good: *τὸ δὲ κοινωνικὸν καὶ ἐπίμικτον, πρὸς τῇ βασάνῳ τῆς ἀρετῆς, ἔτι καὶ εἰς τοὺς πολλοὺς διατεῖνον, καὶ θείας οἰκονομίας ἐγγύς, ἣ καὶ πεποίηκε τὸ πᾶν καὶ φιλίᾳ συνέδησε, καὶ τὸ ἡμέτερον γένος ἐκπεσὸν τοῦ καλοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπεισελθοῦσαν κακίαν, ἐκ τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐπιμιξίας καὶ ὁμιλίας πάλιν ἀνεκαλέσατο.* Cf. also Gregory's poem on the Logos, 1.1.32.21-24, PG 37: 512-513, who is described as having gently arranged the daily interchange of day and night, thus honoring the law of friendship and brotherhood: *σὺ νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ἀλλήλαις εἴκειν ἠπίως ἔταξας, νόμον τιμῶν ἀδελφότητος καὶ φιλίας* (*ἠπίως* is strategically placed so as to modify both the infinitive and the main verb). In *Or.* 4.14, PG 35: 544 God has shown his *φιλανθρωπία* through both *ὑπόμνησις* and *ἄνεσις*, admonition and remission.

[8] For Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil's theology is the result of *καιρός* directed by the Holy Spirit, *Or.* 43.69, PG 36: 589B: *θεολογίαν ἣν ὁ καιρὸς ἐποίει μετὰ τοῦ πνεύματος*. One observes here the spiritualizing of the old Gorgianic concept and of the process of rhetorical invention itself. Basil is compared to John the Baptist, ibid., 75, 597A-B: both as heralds of Christ and both standing between the two Testaments "abolished the letter of the one by publishing abroad the spirit of the other, and by the dissolution of the visible law, bringing about the realization of the law that was hidden": *καὶ οὗτος Χριστοῦ κῆρυξ ... καὶ οὗτος μέσος τῶν δύο διαθηκῶν, τῆς μὲν καταλύων τὸ γράμμα, τῆς δὲ δημοσιεύων τὸ πνεῦμα καὶ ποιῶν πλήρωσιν τοῦ κρυπτομένου νόμου τὴν τοῦ φαινομένου κατάλυσιν.* In the anonymous Byzantine *Σύγκρισις* of Basil and Gregory Basil is great because he did great things and what could be greater than *θεολογεῖν*? *Rhet. Gr.*, Walz, 1: 635.22-35.

[9] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.62, PG 36: 577A-B describes Basil's synthesis of the solitary and community life in his monastic foundations in similar terms. His purpose was

contemporaries[10] is the equivalent of the secular vision of the Roman emperor as both absolute ruler and as kindly monarch solicitous of the welfare of his subjects,[11] and is reflected also in other contrasts of the time, as we shall see.

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that neither *τὸ φιλόσοφον ἀκοινώνητον ᾖ μήτε τὸ πρακτικὸν ἀφιλόσοφον*. The two principles are then further contrasted as follows: "The one is more tranquil and stable and leads to union with God, but it is not free from pride because its virtue escapes testing and compassion. The other is more practical and useful, but does not escape turbulence. Basil reconciled and united the two in the most excellent way." Ibid., 43.65, 581D, Basil is praised for his dual capacity of power in words and ability to communicate them: *τῆς ἐν λόγοις τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ τὸ τῆς διδασκαλίας κράτος τὰ πέρατα οἰκειούμενον*, "making the ends of the earth his own." Cf. ibid., 43.66, 584C: his *δύναμις* lies in *ἡ τοῦ λόγου σπορὰ καὶ διάδοσις*. For a similar view of the monastic life as a harmonizing of opposites cf. *Or.* 6.2, PG 36: 724B-C: *μέτρα κατηρείας καὶ ἀνέσεως, καὶ ἡ δι' ἀμφοτέρων μίξις καὶ κρᾶσις, τὸ ἁπαλὸν τῷ γενναίῳ, τὸ αὐστηρὸν αἰδοῖ σύγκρατον, ὡς μηδ' ἕτερον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἑτέρου παραβλάπτεσθαι ἀλλὰ ἀμφότερα δι' ἀλλήλων εὐδοκιμεῖν· μέτρα τῆς εἰς τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιμιξίας καὶ ὑποχωρήσεως, τῆς μὲν τοὺς ἄλλους παιδαγωγούσης, τῆς δὲ τῷ πνεύματι μυσταγωγούσης, καὶ τῆς ἐν τῷ κοινῷ τὸ ἄκοινον φυλαττούσης, τῆς δὲ ἐν τῷ ἀμίκτῳ τὸ φιλάδελφον καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, κτλ.* Note also his remark in his autobiographical poem, 2.1.11.310, PG 37: 1051, that he chose for himself a balance between the two types of life: *μέσην τιν' ἦλθον ἐρημικῶν καὶ μιγάδων, τῶν μὲν τὸ σύννουν, τῶν δὲ τὸ χρηστὸν φέρων*.

The same claim is made for Athanasius, *Or.* 21.19-20, PG 35: 1101C-1104D. Like the great mediator and reconciler that he was, following the example of Christ who made peace through his blood between things at variance, in his sojourn among the desert monks Athanasius harmonized the solitary with the communal life. Thus he showed that priesthood is capable of contemplation and contemplation requires a spiritual guide. He thus combined the two, calm action and active calm, just as the great David did, a man of at once the most active and most solitary life: *οἱ δὲ νόμον ἀγάπης τῇ κοινωνίᾳ στέργοντες, ἐρημικοί τε ὁμοῦ καὶ μιγάδες ... τούτοις ὁμιλήσας ὁ μέγας Ἀθανάσιος, ὥσπερ τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων μεσίτης καὶ διαλλακτὴς ἦν, τὸν εἰρηνοποιήσαντα τῷ αἵματι τὰ διεστῶτα μιμούμενος· οὕτω καὶ τὸν ἐρημικὸν βίον τῷ κοινωνικῷ καταλλάττει, δεικνὺς ὅτι ἔστι καὶ ἱερωσύνη φιλόσοφος καὶ φιλοσοφία δεομένη μυσταγωγίας. οὕτω γὰρ ἀμφότερα συνηρμόσατο καὶ εἰς ἓν ἤγαγε καὶ πρᾶξιν ἡσυχίαν καὶ ἡσυχίαν ἔμπρακτον ... καθ' ὃ καὶ Δαβὶδ ὁ μέγας πρακτικώτατός τε ἦν ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ μονώτατος*. Later in the same work, the two qualities in Athanasius are described by the symbols of the adamant and the magnet, ibid., 21.31, 1120A-B: *ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δὲ εἰπεῖν, δύο λίθων μιμεῖται φύσεις ἐπαινουμένων· γίνεται γὰρ τοῖς μὲν παίουσι ἀδάμας, τοῖς δὲ στασιάζουσι μαγνῆτις, ἀρρήτῳ φύσεως βίᾳ τὸν σίδηρον ἕλκουσα καὶ τὸ στερρότατον ἐν ὕλαις οἰκειουμένη*. (For his interest in magnet and iron cf. also *Poem.* 1.2.29.97-98, PG 37: 891; 2.1.11.720, 1079.) One notes that David's and Athanasius' greatness rests on the same basis as Basil's. The Athanasian encomium is earlier than the Basilian one and clearly influences its patterns of thought. The two are assigned to the early 80s. See the Introduction to the respective orations, C. G. Browne and J. E. Swallow in NPNCF 7. Further on the same theme: Athanasius' synodal letter to the Emperor is *βασιλικὸν ὄντως καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές*, ibid., 33, 1124A. Athanasius resolves the conflict between Latins and Greeks on the issue of Person versus Hypostasis in speaking of the members of the Trinity by dealing with both sides *πράως καὶ φιλανθρώπως* while at the same time accurately weighing the meaning of their expressions: *τὸν νοῦν τῶν λεγομένων ἀκριβῶς ἐξετάσας*. Hence, once he determined that there was no difference in doctrine, he allowed each side to keep its own term and bound them together in unity of action: *τὰ ὀνόματα συγχωρήσας*

At the core of *οἰκονομία* is the notion of accommodation to circumstance, whether in the daily management of an estate, as originally, or in church affairs, or in God's providential concern for his creatures as seen

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συνδεῖ τοῖς πράγμασιν, ibid., 35, 1125A-B. Athanasius is here *ὡς ἀληθῶς ἄνθρωπος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μέγας τῶν ψυχῶν οἰκονόμος*. Cf. *ἁπλοῦς τὸν τρόπον, πολυειδὴς τὴν κυβέρνησιν*, ibid., 36, 1125C; both "peacable and a peacemaker," *εἰρηναῖον καὶ διαλλακτήριον*, ibid., 1128A.

Similarly, St. Cyprian showed in his dealings with people *τὸ ὑψηλόν τε ὁμοῦ καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, ὡς ἴσον ἀπέχειν εὐτελείας καὶ αὐθαδείας*, *Or.* 24.13, PG 35: 1185A. In *Or.* 26.9, PG 35: 1240B, *φιλοσοφία* and *φιλανθρωπία* stand as opposites. Note also *σοφὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος*, *Or.* 26.10, PG 35: 1241B, i.e., the same concept seen both in its absolute and in its relative (*φιλο-*) value. *Φιλόσοφε καὶ σοφέ*, *Or.* 25.2, PG 35: 1200B; cf. ibid., 25.6, 1205; and note *σώφρονές τε καὶ φιλοσώφρονες*, *Or.* 24.9, PG 35: 1180A. Further on this phenomenon, which is found in both Basil and, in much greater supply, in Gregory, nn. 172 ff. below.

On friendship in general see K. Treu, "*Φιλία* und *Ἀγάπη*. Zur Terminologie der Freundschaft bei Basilius und Gregor von Nazianz," *StudClas* 3 (1961) 421-427, with valuable bibliography, and L. Vischer, "Das Problem der Freundschaft bei den Kirchvätern Basilius der Grosse, Gregor von Nazianz, und Chrysostomos," *ThZ* 9 (1953) 173-200. Compounds with *φίλος* proliferate in late antiquity, as one gleans from *GEL*, and can occur at either end of the unit, as e.g., *φιλόθεος* and *θεόφιλος*. The habit is no doubt to be seen as part of the extensive contemporary quest for establishing meaningful relationships in a disparate world. See pp. 265-269 below. P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1978) devotes a whole chapter to the notion of the monk and others as "friends of God."

[10] Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.13, PG 36: 512C: *ῥήτωρ ἐν ῥήτορσι ... φιλόσοφος ἐν φιλοσόφοις*; 33, 541A: *σύμβουλος ἀγαθός, παραστάτης δεξιός, τῶν θείων ἐξηγητής, τῶν πρακτέων καθηγητής* (var. *ὑφηγητής*), *γήρως βακτηρία, πίστεως ἔρεισμα, τῶν ἔνδον ὁ πίστοτατος, τῶν ἐκτὸς ὁ πρακτικώτατος*. For another such long list see *Or.* 18.1, PG 35: 985A. Sect. 35, 1032C, describes Basil as *τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν τοῦ κυρίου ἐζωγραφημένον, τὸν ἐν λόγοις μετὰ τὸν Λόγον, τὸν ἐν φιλοσόφοις σοφόν, τὸν ἐν κοσμικοῖς ὑπερκόσμιον, κτλ.*, and considers even this applause not enough. Cf. also *Ep.* 19.6, PG 37: 53B; Gallay, p. 27 (dated 365), in which Gregory calls on Basil's help and, punning on the name, speaks of him as *τὸ πνεῦμα Βεσελεήλ, τοῦ σοφοῦ τῶν τοιούτων ἀρχιτέκτονος λόγων τε καὶ δογμάτων*, a sentiment repeated in *Or.* 43.43, PG 36: 553B. The reference is to the architect of the ark of the covenant in Exodus 31.2-3, who is described as filled "with the spirit of God, in wisdom and understanding and in all manner of workmanship." Cf. also Exodus 35.30-35 on the same theme. All English versions other than the King James take verse 34, *καὶ προβιβάσαι γε ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ ἐν τῇ διανοίᾳ*, as having to do with teaching (e.g., RSV: "he has inspired him to teach"; King James: "gave improvement in understanding"). Appreciation for this Biblical figure is already in Basil, *Hex.* 1.5, PG 29: 16A; Giet, p. 108. Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 44.2, PG 36: 608B; Gregory of Nyssa, *De deit. adv. Evagr.*, PG 46: 545A-B; Gebhardt, 7.1: 333.2-10; *C. Eun.* 3.9.49-50, PG 45: 876C-D; Jaeger, 2: 282.17-29. On *σύνεσις*, "understanding," see p. 279 below. Note also Basil's phrase regarding creation: *τὸ μέγα τοῦτο καὶ ποικίλον ... ἐργαστήριον*, *Hex.* 4.1, PG 29: 80B; Giet, p. 246.

Further puns on Basil's name: *βασιλισμὸν ἡμῖν καὶ φιλιππισμόν* (Gregory of Nazianzus coins "Basilizing" on the basis of Demosthenes' "Philippizing," 18.294): *Ep.* 50.5, PG 37: 104A; Gallay, p. 65; cf. also *Or.* 43.77, PG 36: 600A; also n. 2 above; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16, PG 67: 1332C: *τὰ βασιλέως φρονεῖν*, referring to Basil's being called upon to adopt Valen's Arianism. Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.*, PG 82: 1161B, has *ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος καταλαβὼν τὰ βασίλεια*, the palace. Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carm. epit.* 119.25, PG 38: 73; *Ep.* 4.5,

in the Incarnation. It is not the imposition of a rule but the exercise of a function and has properly to do not with compromise but with adjustment. Its psychological roots lie in the sense of a plural world conceived ideally as a harmonious interaction among its members,[12] an interaction to be achieved not despite but through their distinctiveness and individuality. The Latin term is of course *dispensatio*, which with its suggestion of weighing and judgment contains elements that are, at least on the surface, absent from its Greek counterpart. The rhetorical tradition will help us to understand the cluster of associations attaching to these terms.

In the second century BC Hermagoras of Temnos reworked the scheme of the five functions of rhetoric, invention, arrangement, style, memory, and delivery, and substituted his own system. Though his work does not survive, traces of his terminology and structure can be seen in most of the later rhetorical tradition, Greek or Latin. His most radical change was to substitute for *τάξις*, the second of the functions, a large heading called *οἰκονομία* that included *τάξις* as one of its subdivisions along with *κρίσις* (*iudicium*) and *λέξις*, style.[13] Arrangement thus becomes not simply a taxonomical exercise and discourse not an inflexible and independent ordering of the fruits of invention as atomic parts, but an active force, a

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PG 37: 25B; Gallay, p. 4; Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.569, PG 45: 1101B; Jaeger, 1: 392.21-22. St. Ephraem's **Encomium* adopts many words beginning with beta such as *βότρυς, βάσις, βηρύλλιον,* and *βίβλος* in varied celebration of his achievements. The account of the hospice for the poor named *Βασιλειάς* is in Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.34, PG 67: 1397A. For the title *βασιλεὺς λόγων* in use among the Sophists see L. Robert, "Épigrammes relatives à des gouverneurs," *Hellenica* 4 (1953) 95-96; cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 24.1, PG 37: 60B; Gallay, p. 32 (said of Themistius); cited by C. Jungck, ed. *Gregor von Nazianz. De vita sua* (Heidelberg 1974) s.v. line 256, p. 163.

[11] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.80, PG 36: 604A, asks that we regard Basil as *νόμος ἔμψυχος*, a common designation at the time of the Roman emperor. See in general U. Knoche, *Magnitudo animi. Untersuchungen zur Entstehung und Entwicklung eines römischen Wortgedankens* (Leipzig 1935); R. Gautier, *Magnanimité. L'idéal de la grandeur dans la philosophie païenne et dans la théologie chrétienne* (Paris 1951); Spranger, "Der Grosse," pp. 43-46. Cf. also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 5.27, PG 35: 697B. The populace, wishing to call down divine wrath upon Julian, invoke the Lord now as master, now as kind father: *τὰ μὲν ὡς δεσπότην ἐπικαλούμενοι, τὰ δὲ ὡς πρὸς πατέρα χρηστὸν ποτνιώμενοι*; and note the contrast between God's shepherd's crook and His heavy rod of iron: ibid., 5.29, 701A. On Gregory's metal symbolism see further n. 9 above.

[12] Not only is it the role of the orator to bring about this harmony through his persuasive faculties, but he is, for Gregory of Nazianzus, harmony personified: *ἁγνὸς δὲ ῥήτωρ, εὔκρατος ἁρμονία*, *Poem.* 1.2.32.64, PG 37: 921. On this important text see further n. 210 below.

[13] Full discussion in D. Matthes, "Hermagoras von Temnos 1904-1955," *Lustrum* 3 (1959) 187-213.

true process, and one that is affected by intellectual, moral, and aesthetic impulses as they attach to both judgment and style. Hermagoras was immediately concerned with the practical purpose of producing an effective courtroom speech, but the underlying rationale of the system can at the same time be regarded as a reflection within scholastic rhetoric of the wider thrust in the Hellenistic and Roman age to see man whole, as a complex and unified being, active in time and place. Christianity, with its own reasons for emphasizing the individuality of man before his Creator, could profit in its own definitions of *οἰκονομία* from such a development. There is room here for sympathy before human weakness — hence *φιλανθρωπία* as a closely related concept[14] — as well as for the recognition of man's potential when integrated into God's cosmos. Further, these values need not refer to man alone as a thinking and speaking personality but might be seen writ large in God's own functions.

Οἰκονομία, then, in the larger sense has to do with the fittingness of things in a process looking to human benefit. Fittingness, however, could take many forms. In addition to right social relationships and to the coherence of the physical world, there was also an all-important temporal factor. The old Gorgianic *καιρός* could be interpreted historically as well. Of the many differences that divide philosophy from rhetoric in antiquity this is one of the most deep-seated. As against Isocrates history is Plato's short suit.[15] Both agreed that the weakness of rhetoric lay in the fact that it could be attacked for opportunism, for exploiting the moment at hand for sometimes nefarious ends, and that the sophists lacked a standard against which to measure and be measured. Being, as they were, the secularists of the time, appeal to deity was for most of them precluded, for others perfunctory. Isocrates' solution as we see it in such works as the *Panegyricus* and *Panathenaïcus* is to evoke an Athenian past, in which the tutelary deities play a vital role, as a gauge and inspiration for present action. Mankind is thus fitted into a religiously sanctioned historical continuum that helps to determine the values by which he lives.

The relation between rhetoric and history is codified sometime in the Hellenistic age by the addition of *μνήμη*, memory, as the fourth item in the

[14] See the two articles by J. Kotsonis in *AktAthen* 18 (1955): "*Τὸ 'Φιλάνθρωπον' εἰς τοὺς Κανόνας τοῦ Μ. Βασιλείου*," 14-20; "*Τὸ Χριστιανικὸν 'Φιλάνθρωπον' καὶ οἱ Κανόνες τῆς ἐκκλησίας*," 289-295.

[15] The case of Aristotle is more complex. With his interest in temporal change he is closer to rhetoric and we must not forget that he started his career as a rhetorician. Many of the historians of the succeeding centuries come from the Peripatetic tradition. Still, no one would call Aristotle a historian.

list of rhetorical functions.[16] The immediate reference was probably to the orator who had to memorize his speech in preparation for delivery, and its inclusion must owe much to the fact that, as rhetoric became the educational discipline, memory, that is to say, memorization, became an even more common pedagogical requirement than it had been. Yet the phenomenon should be viewed against a wider background. The period when it is introduced is characterized by a heightened awareness of the classical past, a past that, through the principle of imitation of the ancients (μίμησις ἀρχαίων), becomes an ever-present vision in educated society. When eventually the strong Roman emphasis on the *mos maiorum* was added to these trends, imperial society was able to rely on a vital historical consciousness as a means of understanding its place in the world order.

The fifth of the rhetorical functions is delivery. Aristotle knew of discussion of the subject by others, but its formal incorporation into what became the traditional pentad belongs to the Hellenistic age[17] and is, once again, to be viewed as a reflection of the orator seen as a complete psychic and somatic presence who in the moment of his speech gives expression to his personality full and whole.

No one among the Church Fathers is more sensitive to this message from the old pagan world than Basil. It is the ideal discourse of the members of the physical universe in all the beauty of its moral order that makes up the inspiring vision of the *Hexaëmeron*. Of course the inspiration is by no means exclusively rhetorical property. Rhetoric and philosophy interacted in antiquity in more subtle and plastic ways. Rhetoric sometimes initiated, but its usual role was to formulate and disseminate ideas coming to it from the more fixed philosophical traditions or from the general culture. With its control of the schools rhetoric was the indispensable conduit through which ideas became known and operative. This is especially true in the highly rhetorical culture of the fourth century. Hence what Basil receives from philosophy or elsewhere regularly passes first through a rhetorical filter and is seen by him, as it must also by us, in rhetorical terms.[18]

[16] On ancient memory see H. Caplan, "Memoria. Treasure-House of Eloquence," in *Of Eloquence. Studies in Ancient and Mediaeval Rhetoric*, edd. A. King and H. North (Ithaca, N.Y. 1970) pp. 196-246.

[17] *Rhet. Γ*.1.3, 1403b20-1404a24. See the notes to *Cicero, Ad C. Herennium*, ed. and tr. H. Caplan (Cambridge, Mass. 1954) pp. 188-192.

[18] Be it noted that we are not speaking here of Hermagoras' influence on Christianity, direct or indirect, but of patterns of thought in the centuries that concern us for which he is on the pagan side a prime representative.

The patterns and perceptions of pagan rhetoric that came to him through the masters of the Second Sophistic, still in full force in his day, he transforms anew.[19] The catholicity of his outlook, however, is such that we are not served up simply an updated version of a possible alliance between rhetoric and philosophy. Basil's rhetorical thought may more properly be understood as a theology of the literary logos. Together with Gregory of Nazianzus and, to a lesser degree, Gregory of Nyssa, who learn much from him, Basil succeeded in giving to epideictic, the dominant form of Greek letters in late antiquity, a religious foundation. There is thus established in the second half of the fourth century a full Christian language that, no longer limited to genre, such as apology or historiography, could evoke and respond to the full beauty of the Christian message as a whole. It is this language that came to serve as a model for all subsequent cultivated Christian speech. In the pages that follow we shall try to define the model and its underlying theory in comparison with what preceded it.

Basil's contribution, however, is much more than a literary one. Discourse and social expression for him intertwine as two aspects of a common process in the life of nature herself. His understanding of that process is rooted in Christian principles and demands that direct the morphology not only of speech but also of all cultured Christian life. Basil helped to form a Christian union between culture and politics, taken in the wide sense as social action, that in the intimacy between logos and communal norm that it held forth, marked the definition and the quest of much of the Christian world in aftertime. Let us, as is proper, start with the divine.

Basil had the option in the *De Spiritu Sancto* of arguing the divinity of the Holy Spirit on the basis of the contemporary shibboleth, *ὁμοούσιος*. He adopted instead another term, *ὁμότιμος*, "of like honor."[20] The choice was determined to a degree by the ecclesiastical battles of the day. Pruche makes a case that Basil's formulations become sharper as time goes on according to the needs of the church and as circumstances required or

[19] One cannot but agree wholeheartedly with R. Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus, Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford 1969) p. 156: "Rhetoric in the ancient world was simultaneously a science, an art, an ideal of life, and the pillar of classical education and culture."

[20] Similarly, *C. Eun.* 3 *ad init.*, PG 29: 653A-657C, argues the issue on the basis of the *ἀξίωμα* of the members of the Trinity. In *EApokr. fus.* 1, PG 31: 905B, the question is whether each of the Ten Commandments is *ὁμότιμος* with the others. Cf. also *HAtt.* [3] 7, PG 31: 196B, on man's potential *ὁμοτιμία* with the angels.

allowed.[21] This in itself, due allowance being made for the independent development of Basil's own thought on the issue, is an exercise in *οἰκονομία*. There is, however, another element conditioning the selection. *Ὁμότιμος* belongs to rhetoric and *ὁμοούσιος* to philosophy. The nature of substance is not a rhetorician's concern. Honor, on the other hand, taken as applied ethics, involves a relation. One needs an object to honor, and one must judge when to honor it, how, and to what degree. Indeed, the theme of the glorification of the Holy Spirit appears also in Basil's earlier writings.[22] In our treatise, however, it forms the cornerstone of argument. The *De Spiritu Sancto* attempts to justify theologically the re-introduction of an old doxology that reflected in his view the trinitarian formula making up part of the baptismal rite.[23] Basil thus combines faith, doxology, and baptism.[24] It is the *λόγος* as a particular phrase both fixed in time and forming part of the living liturgical witness of the church that validates his contention and gives substance to his public act.

Further, much of the discussion in the treatise turns on formulas involving the prepositions *σύν* and *μετά*. The sense of fellowship of the Spirit with God the Father is what informs the work.[25] It is remarkable how frequently we meet vocabulary having to do with relation in various aspects. Terms such as *οἰκεῖον, πρόσφορον, σύμμετρον, ἴσον, ἀκόλουθον, ὅμοιον, ὁμιλία, ὁμολογία,* and their opposites, as for example, *ἀλλότριον* and *ἀνόμοιον*, abound.[26] Basil took up his pen against the Anomoeans, whose very name convicts them of what for him is the cardinal sin of unrelatedness, disconnection, or dissociation, not only to advance an all-important theological issue but because heresy did violence to something fundamental to his nature. How strongly developed the social instinct is in Basil we may see from his outcry against those who accused him of innovation:

[21] Pruche, pp. 80-110, esp. 80-82, 104-110.

[22] Cf. *ETer. fl.* [105], PG 32: 513B; Courtonne, 2: 7.28 (AD 372); *EEup.* [159] 2, PG 32: 620C; Courtonne, 2: 86.7.10-11 (AD 373); cf. also *EEpiph.* [258] 2, PG 32: 949B; Courtonne, 3: 102.17 (AD 377); *C. Eun.* 3.1, PG 29: 653B (AD 364); et al. See Pruche, pp. 88-89.

[23] Based on Matthew 28.19, cited p. 233 below.

[24] See *De Sp. S.* 27.68, PG 32: 193C-D; Pruche, p. 490.16-23. Discussion: Pruche, pp. 148-153.

[25] Cf. ibid. 27.68, PG 32: 193B; Pruche, p. 488.5-6: *ἡ δὲ [φωνὴ] σὺν τὴν πρὸς θεὸν κοινωνίαν τοῦ πνεύματος ἐξαγγέλλει.*

[26] E.g., *ἀλλότριον*, *De Sp. S.* 10.24, PG 32: 109D (Pruche, p. 332.2); ibid. 15.34, 128C (364.4); ibid. 16.40, 141C (388.24); *ἀνόμοιον*, ibid. 2.14, 73A-B (260); ibid. 10.11(bis); ibid. 12.17(bis). Cf. *ἀλλοιότερον*, ibid. 10.24, 112B (332.17).

> How then can I be an innovator and creator of new terms, when I adduce as originators and champions of the word whole nations, cities, custom going back beyond the memory of man?[27]

This is a special kind of *traditio*: the verdict of society itself in continuous *operation* across time and space.

The thrust of argument in the *De Spiritu Sancto*, as Pruche points out,[28] depends on two Scriptural passages in particular: Matthew 28.19, "baptizing them in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," and 1 Corinthians 12.4 on the diversity of gifts given to us by the Holy Spirit. Matthew presents to us the Trinity in its transcendent reality; Paul the externality of divine action. The one expresses the real order of the three Persons; the other indicates the order according to which we ascend, by steps successively accommodated to our human condition, from the Holy Spirit, who extends his gifts among us, through the Son to the Father. The one text stands, let us say, for rhetorical *οἰκονομία* and the other for a kind of philosophical *ἀκρίβεια*. Even more to the point is their conjunction. Basil in effect intertwines absolute and relative on the divine level. It would be excessive to assert that *ὁμότιμος* was consciously chosen for its rhetorical associations. We may rather be content to allow that the choice that was made has rhetorical content and was colored by a cast of mind that, acutely sensitive to this most prominent of the cultural trends of the day, saw the issue at hand in largely rhetorical terms. A number of scholars have pointed out that *ὁμότιμος* and *ὁμοούσιος* amount to the same thing.[29] If so, we may perhaps claim that his understanding of the *οὐσία* of the Holy Spirit is framed by rhetorical considerations. Rhetoric, the exoteric, and philosophy, the esoteric disciplines of antiquity, meet here on ideal ground.

From matters purely divine we move to the divine and human. A different application of the principle of accommodation may be seen in *Ad virginem lapsam* (*Ad virg.* [46]). The graphic imagery throughout helps evoke a sense of the reality of sin and of the Lord's compassion alike. The

[27] *De Sp. S.* 29.75, PG 32: 208C; Pruche, p. 515.1-5. The point about heresies is that they are antisocial. *EAlex.* [139] 1, PG 32: 581C; Courtonne, 2: 57.14-15: *μισάνθρωπον αἵρεσιν*; and cf. *ETer.* [214] 2, PG 32: 785B; Courtonne, 2: 203.13, where the opposite of truth is not, as one might expect, falsehood, but dissension: *φιλονεικότερον μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθέστερον*.

[28] P. 376 n. 1. See also Neri, pp. 90-91, for parallels in *De bapt.* and elsewhere.

[29] K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen 1904) p. 126; G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate* (Paris 1923) p. 150, n. 5, quoted by Pruche, p. 81, n. 1; so also G. Florovsky, "The Function of Tradition in the Ancient Church," *GOTR* 9 (1964) 193-194.

strong remonstrance in the first half of the work depends for its effect on some of the most vivid of Old Testament imagery. Then, as Basil turns from remonstrance to the hope of repentance and deliverance, we move by slow degrees to quotations from the New. Yet the stern justice of the Hebrew Scriptures is not forgotten in the course of our introduction to God's loving kindness. The work is a unity, and strict adherence to the moral law is integral to its purpose, but the law has its proper locus in the overarching embrace of God's *φιλανθρωπία*.[30]

The literary technique reinforces the message of *Ad virg.* [46]. Consider the drumbeat recital of what awaits the sinner in hell:

> What strength will [the soul] have to endure those endless and intolerable scourgings in the regions where is the fire unquenched, the worm that administers everlasting punishment, the dark and horrible abyss of Hades, the bitter moans without end, the violent lamentation, the wailing and gnashing of teeth...?

and its opposite:

> Recall that 'good confession (1 Tim. 6.12)' which you confessed in the sight of God and angels and men.... Remember the solemn assembly, the sacred chorus of virgins, the congregation of the Lord and the Church of saints; ... remember the chorus of angels, with the saints, about God; remember the spiritual life in the flesh and the heavenly life on earth; remember the days of calm, the nights of enlightenment, the spiritual songs, the tuneful psalms, the holy prayers, the pure and untarnished bed, the procession of virgins, the temperate board....[31]

We shall have occasion again to comment on the antinomial cast of Basilian thought.[32] Sentences such as these move beyond the usual effect of pleonasm and hyperbole. They are rather the stylistic expression of a deeper instinct, the same that prompts the composition of the *Hexaemeron* with its paean on the multitudinousness of existence.[33] Basil's feeling for

[30] Cf. *τὸ φοβερὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον*, *EAmph.* [234] 1, PG 32: 869A; Courtonne, 3: 42.17; *HPs. 61* 5, PG 29: 418B; *HPs. 114* 3, PG 29: 489A. See below.

[31] *Ad virg.* [46] 5, PG 32: 380B; Courtonne, 1: 123.45-124.51; ibid. 372B-C; Courtonne 1: 117.11-118.29. Note also the staccato series of rhetorical questions, Sect. 2, 372C-373A; 118.29-44, and interspersed in small groups throughout. Rufinus' translation of this work is in PG 31: 1785B-1790A. For another description of hell cf. *HPs. 33* 8, PG 29: 372A-B.

[32] See n. 172 below.

[33] See Y. Courtonne, *S. Basile et l'Hellénisme* (Paris 1934) p. 214, who suggests that they help to explain the thought and impose with more force on the attention of the audience. Some indeed are purely redundant, as, e.g., the flat *ποιῶν εἰρήνην καὶ εἰρηνοποιήσας*: *HPs. 33* 10, PG 29: 376C; others, such as *τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον μέρη πρὸς ἄλληλα*

the multi-faceted plurality of reference of any single event, as here the maiden's transgression, rouses in him the attempt to recreate its fulness through a panoply of sharp images, each distinct yet related to the whole to which they refer. We end the reading of such passages feeling not only his own response to the event but the psychical content of the event itself.

A number of sequences of this sort help keep the theme of *Ad virg.* [46] before us in all its immediacy. They are reinforced by another technique, equally striking and effective, namely, personification. In an echo of the famous passage in Plato's *Crito* where the laws address Socrates in prison to remind him of his duty to them, Basil has the laws of God loudly groan, though, as Courtonne notes, they now speak the words of Christ.[34] Then, in the same passage, "the souls of the saints would groan," and John the Baptist, though dead, "may even now be crying out and shouting to us."

συναρμόζοντα καὶ τὸ πᾶν ὁμόλογον ἑαυτῷ καὶ σύμφωνον καὶ ἐναρμονίως ἔχον: *Hex.* 1.7, PG 29: 20A; Giet, p. 116, have a much deeper thrust. See W. Hengsberg, *De ornatu rhetorico* (Bonn 1957) pp. 84-86; Way, p. 177; J. M. Campbell, *The Influence of the Second Sophistic* (Washington, DC 1922) pp. 27-28, for additional examples. The habit, however, does not permit us to characterize Basil's style as full. His sentences are neither long nor complex and the Gorgianic figures are kept within bounds. Courtonne, *Hellénisme*, p. 240, notes that the *Hexaemeron* shows a preference for both symmetry and asymmetry, a judgment that can be extended to his other works as well and suggests that the standard is rather variety and accommodation to the requirements of the moment. As for the Byzantine verdict, Photius uses such adjectives as pure, clear, and distinct in speaking of the *Hexaemeron* and remarks on Basil's persuasiveness, pleasantness, and brilliance. The words "flow like a stream gushing forth spontaneously from a spring." Hence one need not consult other models, not even Plato and Demosthenes: *Bibliotheca*, cod. 141. Similarly for the other works: codd. 142-144; see also codd. 43, 137, 191. For Basil specifically as a model for epistolography see Photius, *Ep.* 44, Book 2, PG 102: 861D. John Siceliotes, eleventh century, speaking more generally, calls the style of Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Chrysostom collectively brilliant and dignified (*Prol. Syll.*, Walz, 6: 405.10-12). John Mauropus in the same period speaks of brilliance and clarity, natural suitability, the capacity to represent vividly the nature of things so that one sees rather than hears what is being described, and, in short, Basil's giving life to lifeless words: *λαμπρὸν καὶ διάτορον τῆς γλώσσης καὶ τὸ περὶ πᾶν εἶδος λόγου προσφυὲς καὶ κατάλληλον ... τὰς φύσεις τῶν ὄντων ἐναργῶς* (on this term see p. 252 below) *παριστᾷ ... τρανῶς πάντα διασαφεῖται ... διαζωγραφεῖται καὶ δείκνυται, ὡς δοκεῖν τὸν ἀκροατὴν ὁρᾶν μᾶλλον ἤπερ ἀκούειν τὸ παρ' ἐκείνου λεγόμενον · μόνος γὰρ τῷ ὄντι Βασίλειος τοῖς ἀψύχοις λόγοις ψυχὴν ἐχαρίσατο* (*Johannis Euchaïtarum metropolitae quae in codice Vaticano 676 supersunt*, ed. P. de Lagarde, *AGWG* 28 [1882] 113). The measure throughout these texts is the Christian one of the salvation of souls, as, e.g., Photius, *Bibliotheca*, cod. 191, Bekker, 154a12. Similarly, Courtonne, *Hellénisme*, p. 241, speaks of "life" as a principal stylistic quality of the *Hexaemeron*. Hengsberg, *De ornatu*, pp. 319-320, quotes similar judgments from two older modern writers, Tillemont and DuPin. See also the anonymous Byzantine *Σύγκρισις* of Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus, *Rhet. Gr.*, Walz, 1: 630-636.

[34] *Ad loc.* Matthew 5.28: "Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart," and Deut. 5.21: "Thou shalt not covet thy neighbor's wife." *Ad virg.* [46] 1, PG 32: 369A; Courtonne, 1: 116.15-20. *Crito* 50A-54D.

There are other instances of this tactic throughout the work, interspersed with graphic vignettes from Old Testament history. They reach their crescendo at the end in the supremely beautiful personification, presented this time through the sustained poignancy of a narrative sequence, of the Godhead itself:

> The Father stands awaiting your return from your wandering. Only come back, and while you are still afar off He will run and throw Himself upon your neck; in embraces of love He will enfold you, already purified by your repentance. He will first put a robe upon you, a soul which has put off the old man and all his works; He will place a ring on the hands which have been cleansed of the blood of death; and He will bind sandals to the feet which have turned away from the road of evil to the path of the Gospel of peace. And he will proclaim a day of happiness and joy for His own, both angels and men, and in every way will celebrate your salvation. For He says, 'Amen, I say to you, that there is joy in heaven before God upon one sinner that doth penance.' And if some one of those who think they stand finds fault because you have been quickly received, the good Father Himself will speak in your defense, saying, 'It was fit that we should make merry and be glad, for this My daughter was dead, and is come to life again; she was lost, and is found.'[35]

Οἰκονομία here, the joining of man and God, is brought about through the literary instrument of personification, or rather "humanization," of the Deity, who now embraces the repentant maiden. Personification was a time-honored exercise in the schools, under the name *ἠθοποιΐα*. It is, however, one thing to recreate an episode from the life of Alexander or the Virgin Mary and quite another to do what Basil does here. By an adroit use of the antithetical mode not only are praise and blame, two species of composition traditionally kept distinct, encompassed in one literary vehicle. The *Ad virg.* [46] is at its most inimitable in collecting the two within the larger union of justice and mercy, past and future, heaven and hell. The intensely concrete presentation of these themes — in, one might add, the epistolary genre, specially given to the conveyance of ethos[36] — makes them all instinct with life. The traditional rhetorical

[35] 369C-D; 116.22-117.37. Cf. also *EMart.* [74] 2, PG 32: 448A; Courtonne, 1: 175.9-11, where "the porticoes ... lament over what is being done"; *EAmph.* [150] 4, PG 32: 605C; Courtonne, 2: 75.14-15: "the caves and the rocks will wait for us." In *Asc. Pr3* 4 (PG 31: 900D), the words of Scripture stand at Christ's tribunal as so many *πρόσωπα* and confront us with their admonitions. Cf. also *Hex.* 7.4, PG 29: 157B; Giet, p. 412: *ἀκούσωμεν παρὰ τῶν σιωπώντων* (i.e., the fish); *HPs. 48* 10, PG 29: 456A: *διαλέγεται ὁ λόγος* (i.e., Scripture).

[36] See Theon (late first or early second century AD), *Progymnasmata*, von Spengel, 2: 115.20-22, who classes the letter as a form of *ἠθοποιΐα*.

materials provided by Basil's schooling attain a new stature. If the mark of a good education is the ability to transcend it, he has used his Christian genius here to remarkable success.

Having examined first the divine and second an instance of its relation to the human, let us look next at man's own world and how rhetoric helped Basil to visualize it. The two habits we have been considering, emphasis on the concrete and the use of sequences, are among the most characteristic features of the Basilian logos. They form what we may perhaps call his cinematographic style, a succession of discrete images animated as parts of a running whole.[37] Such pictorial trains — the best example is the well-known introduction to the commentary on the Psalms, hymnal in quality like the hymns it celebrates[38] — are frequent in his pages. They act as a kind of narrative, but, paradoxically, what they "narrate" is not a number of events but a single reality that is made to yield its full emotional spectrum of meaning within the moving skein. Indeed, Basil is little given to historical recital in the ordinary sense. On the few occasions when he is called upon to review the past, as in the homily on Gordius the Martyr,[39] or when he gives the background to an ecclesiastical altercation and includes in it an account of his upbringing,[40] he does not so much relate as describe. In such passages it is the flow not so much of events as of pathos, or perhaps of both together, that we come to sense. Accordingly, aside from Biblical episodes — he tends not to dwell even on these — we find little specific mention of the more distant past, Christian or pagan, or of those who made it. Nor does history as isolated, corroborating units of experience much interest him. When such notices appear,[41] they are not so much true *exempla* enfolded within the pattern of thought but serve rather as anecdote, giving a light moral seasoning to the theme.

[37] One notes that in *De Sp. S.* the rarer, active meaning of παράδοσις as transmission or communication appears on a par with the passive sense of the thing transmitted. Details in Pruche, p. 139.

[38] *HPs. 1* 2, PG 29: 212C-213B; cf. also *EItal.* [92], PG 32: 477A-483A; Courtonne, 1: 198.1-203.47 (and his notes pp. 200-201).

[39] *HGord.* [18], PG 31: 489B-508A.

[40] *EEust.* [223], PG 32: 820C-833C; Courtonne, 3: 8.1-17.26.

[41] Pericles and Alexander: *Ad adolesc.* 7, PG 31: 576D-577A; Wilson, pp. 27.10-28.44; Vespasian: *EItal.* [92] 3, PG 32: 481C; Courtonne, 1: 202.26; the unusual mention of the geese that saved the city of Rome, *Hex.* 8.7, PG 29: 181C; Giet, p. 466; the second-century Gnostic, Valentinus: *ESoz.* [261] 2, PG 32: 969C; Courtonne, 3: 117.16. On the other hand, the mention of Croesus and Cyrus the Great, *EAndr.* [112] 2, PG 32: 524C; Courtonne, 2: 14.29-31, in a letter addressed to a Roman general is more like an *exemplum*. Most such notices are in the letters.

Basil's emphasis on the nexus of reality has aesthetic overtones as well. It is the very concatenation of people or things that he finds beautiful, as when in a letter to the Neocaesareans he remarks on the episcopal succession in their church:

> The Lord, beginning with Gregory, the great leader of your church, down to the blessed departed one, has added one to the other, ever fitting them together like costly gems to a setting and thus has graced you with the marvelous beauty of your church.[42]

In addition to their function of allowing us to see a topic from all possible perspectives Basil's use of lists helps also to confirm his strong sense of order. Here too, however, one detects a movement away from mere taxonomy to a more organic conception. Hence *τάξις* is regularly joined to *ἀκολουθία*.[43] In the beginning of the *Asceticon*, for example, he responds to a query regarding the order and sequence (*τάξις καὶ ἀκολουθία*) of the Ten Commandments. The *τάξις*, he says, is given by God. The first is the most important, but the second is similar to it, fulfills it, and "is dependent" upon it.[44] In *De baptismo* 2 *παρὰ τάξιν* is one of the types of

[42] *ENeoc. ec.* [28] 2, PG 32: 309A; Courtonne, 1: 69.43-48; similarly, *EAnc.* [29], PG 32: 312B-C; Courtonne, 1: 71.27-34: "The limbs of the church, knitted together by his superintendence as by a soul, and joined into a union of sympathy and true fellowship [*εἰς μίαν συμπάθειαν καὶ ἀκριβῆ κοινωνίαν συναρμοσθέντα* — on which phrase see n. 179 below], are not only steadfastly preserved by the bond of peace for the spiritual communion but will also be preserved forever, if God will grant us this boon — that all the works of this blessed soul, wherein he labored for God's churches, may rest firm and unshaken."

[43] The phraseology is older, but Basil extends it across a broader spectrum of interests. *Τάξις* and *ἀκολουθία* together: Chrysippus, fr. 920, *SVF* 2. The terms are to be connected with the Stoic requirement that one live *ἀκολούθως τῇ φύσει*. Chrysippus, fr. 6, *SVF* 3. Cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Stromat.* 2.19.101.1, GCS 1: 168.9: *ἀκολουθία τῆς φύσεως*; Origen, *Hom. in Lucam* fr. 15, GCS 49: 233.3: *εἱρμῷ καὶ τάξει*; applied to the historical record by Eusebius, *C. Marcell.* 1.1, GCS 2: 26.

[44] *EApokr. fus.* 1, PG 31: 905B-908B: *ἐξ αὐτῆς ἠρτημένην*. The verb *ἀρτάω* has more the notion of dependent and fitting relation rather than subordination; hence is not far from *ἀκολουθία*. The issue, as he remarks, is an old one, first aired in Matthew 22.36-39. *Τάξις καὶ ἀξίωμα* (see n. 22 above) is the phrase used in *C. Eun.* 3.1, PG 29: 653B-656B, in arguing the issue of the Holy Spirit. On the matter of the first two commandments, on which according to Matthew 22.40 hang all the law and the prophets, see also Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant.* 14.5.15-16, PG 44: 1080A, 1085C-D; Jaeger, 6: 419.3-18; 428.7-17, who understands the *ἀγαπητικὴ σχέσις πρὸς τὸν πλησίον*, i.e., the Second Commandment, as *συνείδησις*, "conscience," and considers it along with the first, which he connects with *πίστις* (cf. 1 Tim. 3.15), as forming one of the two foundations of truth in the soul. No doubt Basil, by placing this discussion at the beginning of the *Asceticon*, similarly intends the two to stand as a symbol of the harmony between the solitary and the communal life that he will propose for his monks in the pages that follow. It is not amiss to suggest, since the prophets are the orators of the Hebraic tradition, that we have here another analogue with philosophy and rhetoric. See also n. 49 below.

sinful action;[45] yet when he comes to discuss it he does so in terms of *ἀκολουθία*.[46] The *Quaestio* to which the discussion is a response is in fact so formulated.[47] Further, from the supporting Scriptural quotation, I Cor. 14.40, "Let all things be done decently and in order" (*πάντα εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν γινέσθω*),[48] it is clear that aesthetic elements reside in this set of values as well. Clearly, there is in Basil's mind a close connection between beauty and order. Occasionally we find the term *εὐταξία*, "good order," substituted for *τάξις*,[49] as in *Mor. PrI*,[50] where he declares his hope that the "conformity and harmony" (*ἀκολουθία τε καὶ εὐταξία*) of nature and of human society "may exist in a pre-eminent degree in the church of God, to which are addressed the words (1 Cor. 12.27), 'Now you are the body of Christ and individually members of it'."[51] Finally, such conformity he regards as ideally inviolate: one notes the not uncommon phrase, *ἀναγκαῖον καὶ ἀκόλουθον*.[52]

Thus order to Basil means in part sequence. In turn, logic is the logic of time and experience.[53] This issues from his use of the term *ἀκολούθως* to

[45] 8.1, PG 31: 1600C; Neri, p. 360.24.

[46] 8.7, PG 31: 1608C-D; Neri, pp. 378.196-380.211; cf. *De bapt.* 1.1.3, PG 31: 1520C; Neri, pp. 140.143-148; 2.8.7, PG 31: 1608D; Neri, p. 380.211.

[47] 8.1, PG 31: 1600A; Neri, p. 358.3-4: *μὴ ἀκολούθως κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Θεοῦ γινόμενον*.

[48] The prescription of I Cor. is to be promoted through *ἀγάπη*: *EApokr. fus.* 21, PG 31: 976C. Further references to the Pauline text: *EApokr. fus.* 24, PG 31: 981D-984B (on good order obtained through obedience); 33, 997B-C (on how to address the nuns), *EApokr. br.* 72, 1133A; 108, 1156C; 238, 1241C; 276, 1276C, et al. See P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto 1979) p. 119. The terms *πρέπον* and *εὔτακτον* appear in some of these passages. See next note. Cf. also *EApokr. br.* 266, PG 31: 1264B: *καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ καὶ τάξει εὐσχήμονι*.

[49] The object of life is to imitate the good order of heaven: *τὴν ἐν οὐρανοῖς εὐταξίαν*, *HMund.* [21] 5, PG 31: 549A. *Εὔτακτον καὶ εὐσχήμονα*: *EApokr. fus.* 45.2, PG 31: 1033A. In the monastery the superior provides for the *εὐταξία καὶ οἰκονομία τῶν ἔργων*: *EApokr. br.* 173, PG 31: 1197A; and in *Mor. PrI* 2, PG 31: 656B, *εὐταξία* and *συμφωνία* are seen in the social organization of bees obedient to their leader. The term *ἀκολουθία* is also to be connected with knowledge. *EApokr. fus.* 49, PG 31: 1037D, prescribes that disputed points be referred to the community or superior through some approved person: "In this way the investigation of the question will be more fittingly and intelligently (*ἀκολουθοτέρα καὶ ἐπιστημονικωτέρα*) carried on, for knowledge and experience (*ἐπιστήμη καὶ ἐμπειρία*) are nowhere more essential than in matters of this kind." *Ἀκόλουθος καὶ προσήκουσα*: *C. Eun.* 2.31, PG 29: 645B; with *ἁρμόζον*: *Mor. PrF.* 1, PG 31: 677B-C. See also nn. 118, 161 below.

[50] 3, PG 31: 657D-660A.

[51] RSV. The less literal King James says "members in particular."

[52] *EElp. ep.* [205], PG 32: 757A; Courtonne, 2: 181.17-18 (of the right time and place for a meeting); *De bapt.* 1.2.3, PG 31: 1564C; Neri, p. 264.856; reversed in *EApokr. br.* 95, PG 31: 1148D-1149A. Cf. *ἀκόλουθον καὶ ὀφειλόμενον*: *EAndr. ux.* [269] 1, PG 32: 1000A; Courtonne, 3: 139.1; *De bapt.* 1.1.1, PG 31: 1513C-1516A; Neri, p. 124.27-37: *ἀναγκαῖον ... τάξιν ... ἀκολούθως ... πρέπουσαν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν τάξιν*. See also n. 118 below.

[53] *Ἀκόλουθον* is frequent in *C. Eun.* in the sense of strict syllogistic conclusion ("it follows that ..."), since the treatise is given to close argumentation. See e.g., 2.10, PG 29:

interpret Christian traditio. *EEup.* [159] states forcefully his position on the Holy Spirit. The explanation that he gives, he says, is

> according to the sense of the Scriptures (*ἀκολούθως*): namely, that as we are baptized, so also do we believe; as we believe so also do we recite the Doxology. Since, then, baptism has been given to us by our Saviour in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, we offer the confession of our faith in accordance with (*ἀκολούθως*) our baptism, and in accordance with (*ἀκολούθως*) our faith we also recite the Doxology, glorifying the Holy Spirit along with the Father and the Son, because we are convinced that he is not foreign to the divine nature. For that which had been alienated by its nature would not have shared in the same honors.[54]

The use of the grammatical correlatives, "as ... so" (*ὡς … οὕτως*), together with the triple insistence of *ἀκολούθως* binds this liturgical message within a strong confession of faith.

Τάξις and *ἀκολουθία* extend to the universe as well. The whole of creation, human society with its arts and cities, the animals, the air and the sky and the choruses of stars, exhibit their array (*τὴν ἑαυτῶν ἐπιδείκνυνται τάξιν*).[55] So too human bodily development follows the sequence of nature (*ἡ φύσις κατὰ τὴν ἑαυτῆς ἀκολουθίαν*).[56] The annual generation of plants is so described:

> For, as tops, from the first impulse given to them, produce successive whirls when they are spun, so also the order of nature (*ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀκολουθία*), having received its beginning from that first command, continues to all time thereafter, until it shall reach the common consummation of all things.[57]

589C; 2.26, 633A; 3.1, 656A; et al. Cf. *ESoz.* [261] 3, PG 32: 972A; Courtonne, 3: 117.2-3: *τὸ ἐν διανοίαις ἀκόλουθον*. Note also his philological requirement that in interpretation we take into account the *εἱρμός* of a passage of Scripture: *HPs. 48* 9, PG 29: 453A. One may also note that *εὐταξία* is the Stoic term for practical judgment; hence not far from *κρίσις*. Cf. two basic Stoic definitions: *SVF* 3: 64.31: *εὐταξίαν δὲ ἐπιστήμην τοῦ πότε πρακτέον καὶ τί μετὰ τί καὶ καθόλου τῆς τάξεως τῶν πράξεων εὐταξία ἐστί … δύναμις τεταγμένη βεβαία τῶν ἐξῆς ἀλλήλοις κειμένων ἐν ἔργῳ καλῶς ἀποδοτική, κατ᾽ ἀρετὴν ἀνυπέρβλητος*; 3.67.1: *εὐταξία δὲ ἐμπειρία καταχωρισμοῦ πράξεων ἢ περὶ τὰς πράξεις ἔχουσα τὸ βέβαιον ἢ τοὺς καταχωρισμοὺς τῶν πράξεων*. It itself is subject to *σωφροσύνη*: 3.64.22; 73.6, and thus acquires a moral base. Clearly the conception could also be applied to rhetorical *τάξις*. Cf. English "tact."

[54] PG 32: 620C-621A; Courtonne, 3: 86.5-87.14. See p. 233 above. The phraseology is adopted by Gregory of Nyssa, *Ep.* 24.8, PG 46: 1092B; Pasquali, 8.2: 77.12-17; *Ep.* 5.7, PG 46: 1032C; Pasquali, 8.2: 33.18-20.

[55] *HAtt.* [3] 6, PG 31: 212B-C; Rudberg, p. 33.11-17.

[56] **Hex.* 10.13, PG 44: 269D; Smets-van Esbroeck, p. 200.41. Citations from *Hex.* 10 and 11 will be made henceforth from this edition but without prejudice regarding authenticity. See the *praefatio* by H. Hörner, *Gregorii Nysseni Opera*. Supplementum (Leiden 1972).

[57] *Hex.* 5.10, PG 29: 116C-D; Giet, p. 322.

In sum, ἀκολουθία explains not only mental and moral process but the life of nature herself. It acts as operating principle for both φύσις and λόγος in the organic association of their constituent parts.[58] The very nature of the parts of the universe is properly to relate and combine; that is, to form contexts. The world is a social place, a κοινωνία.[59] Ἀκολουθία provides Basil with a structural gauge of meaning for its contextual relationships. He has sought to understand the components of τάξις. As the term supplied by Scripture and other sources he does not spurn it, but his instinct seems to lie rather with the more energetic ἀκολουθία, and he tends often so to understand it.

Let us look further into φύσις and λόγος. Basil proposes to understand them not as mere correlatives but as fundamentally identical, following the equation between the law of nature and the divine commandment that marked God's creative act.[60] This conception he applies to his own type of creation, the literary logos or homilies of the *Hexaemeron*, which accordingly become a re-production on the human scale of the divine pattern. Various methods are used for this purpose, of which periodic structure is one. None of the objects visible or perceptible to us in the world, he explains, is unique or simple or pure, but all form a circle and harmonious choir, since "all are in unison and have mutually

[58] Λόγος is for Basil διά-λογος. Even God's creative command in Genesis 1.7 is so described, though, as he points out, there is no question of voice, hearing, even words or audience in the usual sense, but "the communication of the will (i.e., to His Only Begotten) comes from the very thoughts in the mind, as one might say": *Hex.* 3.2, PG 29: 53C-56C; Giet, pp. 190-196. Scripture adopts this method of description in keeping with our faculties so as to advance us διεξοδικῶς by ὁδῷ τινι καὶ τάξει to Christ. Some of the meanings of ἀκολουθία that J. Daniélou records for Gregory of Nyssa; see his "Akolouthia chez Grégoire de Nysse," *ReSR* 27 (1953) 219-249 (= with modifications, chap. 2, "Enchaînement," pp. 18-51 in his *L'être et le temps chez Grégoire de Nysse* [Leiden 1970]) appear already in Basil.

[59] *Hex.* 4.5, PG 29: 89C-92A; Giet, pp. 266-268; cf. *Hex.* 3.9, PG 29: 76C; Giet, pp. 238, 240. This sense of movement should be taken together with the frequent use of road imagery, much of it inspired by Scripture (e.g., "the road of the Lord," Mark 12.4, Matthew 22.16; Christ's "I am the road," John 14.6; et al.). Cf. *EAmph.* [150] 2, PG 32: 604A; Courtonne, p. 73.5-7: "There is only one way leading to the Lord, and all who travel toward Him are companions of one another and travel according to one agreement as to life"; and the effective image, *EPatrph.* [244] 2, PG 32: 913C; Courtonne, 3: 75.26, of a conclave of people "all beaming with joy and eager like runners on the road to peace" (Luke 1.79; Rom. 3.17); *HPs. 1* 5, PG 29: 221D-224A; *HAtt.* [3] 4, PG 31: 205C; Rudberg, p. 29.8-16; *HProv.* [13] 7, PG 31: 440C-D; and see also the tables in Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 106-107, 123-126, for other references.

[60] *Hex.* 5.10, PG 29: 116C; Giet, p. 320: τὸ μικρὸν τοῦτο πρόσταγμα εὐθὺς φύσις μεγάλη καὶ λόγος ἔντεχνος ἦν; and see Giet's note for further references. Cf. also κατά τε φύσιν καὶ λόγον: *EApokr. fus.* 37.3, PG 31: 1013A; *Hex.* 3.10, PG 29: 79A; Giet, p. 240.

corresponding elements."[61] Similarly, the general movement of the individual homilies in the work is circular, from the word of God to the universe that He has created, then to human society seen ideally in His church, and thence to the individual Christian, who is thereupon connected with his Creator and seen, as it were, *sub specie aeternitatis*. Thus the period, one of the oldest habits of Greek prose, acquires a kind of ontological sanction: it is God's own creative style.

The pattern can be seen framed as a group of rhetorical questions in *Hexaemeron* 6:

> Indeed, if transient things are thus, what will be the eternal? And, if visible things are so beautiful, what will be the invisible? If the grandeur of the heavens transcends the measure of the human intellect, what mind will be able to explore the nature of the everlasting? If the sun, subject to destruction, is so beautiful, so great, so swift in its motion, presenting such orderly cycles, possessing a magnitude so commensurate with the universe that it does not exceed its due proportion to the universe; if by the beauty of its nature it is as conspicuous in creation as a radiant eye; if the contemplation of it is incapable of satisfying us, what will be the beauty of the Sun of Justice (Mal. 4.2)? If it is a loss to the blind man to be unable to look upon this, how great a loss is it to a sinner to be deprived of true light?[62]

In this passage, after the initial contrast between the eternal and the transient has been established, we are taken on a journey by steady degrees from the invisible absolute to the heavens, then with a further limitation to the sun, first the sun in its physical beauty and the orderliness of its course, then the sun beautiful as a symbol of justice, that is, its social dimension, then to the virtuous individual who as a member of the universe is fulfilled in the contemplation of its eternal wonder. In this way the last entry is tied to the first and we are witness to a stylistic periodicity that confirms the unity of creation.

The design of *Hexaemeron* 4 taken as a whole provides a larger example.[63] We are at the start presented with a picture of human community and then quickly lifted across all time to view the whole order of creation. Then, the divine setting having been established, we

[61] *Hex.* 4.5, PG 29: 89C-92A; Giet, pp. 266-268 (see note 59 above). Cf. *Hex.* 2.8, PG 29: 49C; Giet, p. 180, in which the circle, beginning and ending at the same point, is described as the pattern of eternity.

[62] *Hex.* 6.1-2, PG 29: 120A-B; Giet, pp. 328-330.

[63] PG 29: 77C-93C; Giet, pp. 244-276.

concentrate on two elements in it, air and water. Air is the nourishing bond of the physical world. Like water, it is

> soft and fluid by nature, providing the proper and uninterrupted sustenance to all creatures that breathe, but yielding and parting around bodies in motion ... flowing round to the rear of the objects which cleave it.[64]

The preamble thus joins the physical and social order, not, however, as fixed entities, but in their movement within time and space, a movement that we as individuals through memory, "going back in thought,"[65] reflect and can recapture, and that is based on God's word, for it is the voice of God that makes nature "and the command given at that time to creation provided the future course of action (ἀκολουθία) for the creatures."[66]

The same functions assigned to air are given to water, "both that which sustains us and is provided for our other needs, and also that orderly gathering of it into the appointed places."[67] Orderly movement, it cannot be said too often, is what excites the Basilian mind. He will concentrate not on water but on the flowing properties of the waters: "At present my discourse is about the moving waters,"[68] he says, and, indeed, most of *Hexaemeron* 4 sees water in this light. Even when he talks about pools and reservoirs, he is interested rather in the process by which they are formed.

At the end of the homily the same themes are developed, but in reverse order. The reasons why water is good are reviewed, starting this time with its physical properties in combining with other elements, then moving to its social utility and finally ending with the extension of the social reference to the church and its members. The gathering of the waters becomes the gathering of the church itself,[69] still "more beautiful,"[70] as it sends forth a harmonious prayer,

[64] 4.1, PG 29: 80B-C; Giet, p. 246.

[65] Ibid.

[66] *Hex*. 4.2, PG 29: 81C; Giet, p. 250: θεοῦ φωνὴ φύσεώς ἐστι ποιητική. Cf. *Hex*. 2.7, PG 29: 44C; Giet, p. 170. In *Hex*. 4.4, PG 29: 88B; Giet, p. 262, ἀκολουθία τοῦ λόγου refers to the digression into which the flow of his thoughts has taken him.

[67] *Hex*. 4.1, PG 29: 80C; Giet, p. 246.

[68] *Hex*. 4.3, PG 29: 81D; Giet, p. 252.

[69] Ἐκκλησίας τοιαύτης σύλλογος: *Hex*. 4.7, PG 29: 93C; Giet, p. 274. On the other hand, the gathering of the waters is συναγωγή, used *passim* in the homily, from the Genesis text. Obviously he cannot call the Christian church a συναγωγή; hence σύλλογος here (cf. συλλογιμαῖα already, ibid. 3, 81D; 252; and συλλογή, ibid., 84D, 256; 4.4, 85A; 256 (bis), though one has also the suspicion that the substitution is made because he finds compounds with λόγος more to his liking, and in keeping with Christian ideas.

[70] *Hex*. 4.7, PG 29: 93C; Giet, p. 274.

> the mingled voice of men and women and children, as of some wave beating upon the shore. A deep calm preserves it unshaken, since the spirits (i.e., winds: πνευμάτων) of evil are not able to disturb it with heretical teachings.[71]

Pre-eminent is what water does for man:

> It is good before God above all because it encircles the islands, providing them with both ornamentation and safety. Then, too, it joins together through itself mainlands far distant from each other, affording unhindered intercourse to sailors, through whom it bestows also a knowledge of things unknown: it becomes a patron of wealth to merchants, and it easily supplies the needs of life, providing for the exportation of superfluous articles by the prosperous and granting to the needy the remedy for their wants.[72]

We tend to think of the sea as separating one shore from another. To Basil it is rather what conjoins.[73] Thus water becomes an agent for unity, that basic Basilian quest, across a broad application of wealth, commerce, and knowledge.

Water symbolism makes up the second largest single category of imagery in Basil's writings.[74] Clearly, it is a good symbol for the

[71] Ibid.

[72] *Hex.* 4.7, PG 29: 93B; Giet, p. 274.

[73] A similar sentiment is in Philo, *De Provid.* 2.65, cited by Courtonne, *Hellénisme*, p. 136, who also compares Seneca, *Quaest. nat.* 5.18 and *De benef.* 4.28. Cf. *EMarit.* [203] 3, PG 32: 741A; Courtonne, p. 170.4-6: God has separated the islands from the continent by the sea, but has united islanders and mainlanders in love.

[74] The first is medical analogies of various sorts, which are in very great supply and which are deliberately omitted from this paper since a special monograph would be required to do them justice. I limit myself to a few observations. First, his chronic illness helped to keep the subject in the foreground of his thought. Second, we know from Gregory of Nazianzus that he had studied medicine extensively while in Athens: *Or.* 43.28, PG 36: 528B: "Medicine, the result of philosophy and laboriousness, was rendered necessary for him by his physical delicacy and his care of the sick. From these beginnings he attained to a mastery of the art." Third, Christianity emphasized the physical in important ways: witness the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh, the Incarnation itself, the Church as the body of Christ, the Eucharist, the healing ministry, the common Patristic images of the "athletes" of Christ, and Basil's own emphasis on the health of the soul (cf. *HAtt.* [3] 4, PG 31: 205B; Rudberg, pp. 28.23-29.3; *HIeiun.* [1] 1, PG 31: 164B; Christianity as the ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία: *EAtarb.* [65], PG 32: 421C; Courtonne, 1: 155.19-20; et al.). Scriptural support: 1 Cor. 12.26 and elsewhere. Fourth, medical imagery is common in the Second Sophistic, a large impetus being provided by Aristides' hypochondria, which he turned practically into a literary mode (see G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* [Oxford 1969] pp. 71-75). Fifth, Basil is affected by the strong ancient tradition that included medicine in humanistic pursuits, as we see it exemplified in figures such as Galen and in the iatrosophists. Further, a reading of the Hippocratic writings must have impressed him, as it had Plato and Thucydides, with the emphasis on the body as an organism built up of parts effectively operating at the fulness

modulation of physical process, but it can stand for social and political process as well, whether in its stormy violence or its serene flow,[75] and, indeed, for the movement of speech itself,[76] which is thereby seen as reflecting the very rhythms of nature.

This rich aquatic gallery[77] has many parallels in the literature of the time, pagan and Christian,[78] but it is also a distinctive statement of the author's feeling for the flux of experience, the current of existence itself. He muses,

> Our life is a river, flowing ceaselessly and filled with alternating waves, one upon the other. Part has already flowed away; part still follows its course.

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of their individual capacity, a view which reinforced his understanding of the system of the physical cosmos and of fellowship in the church. Finally, we must make due allowance for the fact that health is a common human concern in all ages and a daily topic of conversation. That it is so prominent in his pages constitutes further proof of how close he is to the basics of life. K. G. Bonis' bibliography in BHP 51: 172-181, lists a considerable number of special studies on the subject. See also Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 123-126.

For our purposes it is noticeable that a very large number of the medical references are presented in illustration of the view that the doctor is a wise man through knowing how to judge and treat individual circumstances of disease. His *σοφία*, in other words, lies in his *οἰκονομία*. Cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 2.1, PG 32: 1136A: *κατὰ τοὺς σοφοὺς τῶν ἰατρῶν*; ibid., 8.7, 1229D: *ὡς ἰατρὸς ἐμμελὴς καὶ φιλάνθρωπος*. Cf. **Asc. Pr5* 1, PG 31: 884A: one must, as in medicine, find what is *σύμμετρον καὶ εὐάρμοστον καὶ ἐπωφελές*; *HLac.* [26] 3, PG 31: 1444A: one seeks medical advice in order to determine what is *οἰκεῖον τῷ σῷ πάθει*. For the theological extensions of the sentiment see *De bapt.* 1.1, PG 31: 1516B; Neri, pp. 126.47-128.49: we must believe in and obey the Lord as *δεσπότῃ καὶ βασιλεῖ καὶ ἰατρῷ καὶ διδασκάλῳ ἀληθείας*. In *EGNaz.* [2] 3, PG 32: 229C; Courtonne, 1: 9.8-9, the Scriptures are compared to a public dispensary where one may find the specific remedy, *τὸ πρόσφορον φάρμακον*, for one's infirmity. So too specifically the Psalms: *HPs. 1* 1, PG 29: 212A. Basil sees the pilot in the same light as the doctor: *EAmph.* [161] 2, PG 32: 629C; Courtonne, 2: 93.2-6: like a wise helmsman, *νοήμων κυβερνήτης*, we must rise superior to whatever blasts the winds of heresy may bring; et al. For *λόγος* itself as *ἰατρός* see Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 12.1, PG 32: 1280B: *τίς γὰρ λόγος εὑρεθείη τοσαύτης συμφορᾶς ἰατρός*; cf. 18.2, 1340A-B.

[75] See the extended metaphor, *HProv.* [12] 17, PG 31: 421B-C: "Take care lest the surges of life capsize you...; be a pilot secure of life...; the Spirit will lead you forward into that serene and tranquil harbor of the will of God." (Campbell's translation. For other passages see his *The Influence*, pp. 105, 116-117.) Note also the description of shipwreck, i.e., ecclesiastical dissension, *EAth.* [82], PG 32: 460A-B; Courtonne, 1: 184.10-185.1.

[76] See pp. 14, 16. Cf. *ὁρμὴ τοῦ λόγου*, *EMax. schl.* [277], PG 32: 1013C; Courtonne, 3: 150.32.

[77] Besides the *Hexaemeron* a rough count yields 78 references in the rest of the corpus to storms, fountains, pilots, rivers, and the like, serving as both similes and metaphors. For the sermons alone see the statistics in Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 106-107, 125-126, and his remarks, pp. 97, 105, 108, 116, 130-131.

[78] See Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 98, 145, for Basil's use of metaphor in general, including water images; for Gregory of Nazianzus see Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, pp. 92-95. Cf. also the beautiful image in Gregory of Nyssa of the word as living water nourishing the soul (John 4.10; 7.37-39; Cant. 4.15; Jer. 2.13-15) *In Cant.* 9.4.15, PG 44: 977A-C; Jaeger, 6: 291.16-294.2.

> Part has just now gushed forth from its spring: another is about to do so. All of us hurry to the common sea of death.[79]

In a more cheerful vein he will speak of those material goods that give life an "easy flow."[80] Elsewhere, knowledge is like a mighty river, enlarged from streams joining it on many sides,[81] and in another passage we note the parallel with speech:

> As a rill of water reveals its true source, so the nature of one's speech shows the character of the heart that brought it forth.[82]

Basil uses other models beside water to describe life's process. The topic of *Hexaemeron* 5 is the germination of the earth. Note the vegetal symbolism at the end of the homily:

> Let us all hasten, full of fruit and good works to this [i.e., the common consummation of all things], in order that, planted in the house of the Lord, we may flower in the courts of our God [cf. Ps. 91.14] in Christ Jesus our Lord.[83]

In such a passage we have an example of a metaphor actually absorbed, as it were, into the homily and describing its purpose and design. The tactic is used in the peroration of practically all the homilies of the *Hexaemeron*.[84] In the sixth, for example, the homily is seen as itself a form of

[79] *HMund.* [21] 11, PG 31: 561B-C, said in consolation. Cf. just before: "You used to quaff a limpid stream of life. Drink with patient endurance this turbid draught." Cf. "this deep flood of life," τὸν βαθὺν (var. βραχὺν) τοῦτον τοῦ βίου κλύδωνα: *EEust.* [223] 2, PG 32: 824B; Courtonne, 3: 10.19-20; *ENect. cons.* [5] 2, PG 32: 241A; Courtonne, 1: 18.36-39. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De benef.* 1, PG 46: 469B; Van Haeck, 9.1: 107.17-18: life is like a ῥεῦμα ποταμοῦ, πᾶν τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνον ἐλαύνων πρὸς τὸ τῆς φθορᾶς τέλος; *In quat.*, PG 46: 481D, 484D; Van Haeck, 9.1: 120.29, 122.26.

[80] Εὔροιαν: *EAmph.* [236] 7, PG 32: 884D; Courtonne, 3: 54.6. The term is Stoic. Cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 4.7, PG 32: 1180B. On the other hand, riches run past their possessors like a raging stream that bestows its favors now on one now on another: *HPs. 61* 5, PG 29: 481A. In another connection stationary wealth for Basil is useless. It must be κινούμενον in commerce to be productive: Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 5.1, PG 32: 1168B. Cf. *HPs. 44* 1, PG 29: 388C; *ENect. cons.* [5] 1, PG 32: 240A; Courtonne, 1: 17.21; *EAmph.* [150] 1, PG 32: 601A; Courtonne, 2: 72.1; *ESophr.* [32] 2, PG 32: 317B; Courtonne, 1: 75.16; and note the "spiritual stream," πνευματικῷ νάματι, that flows from a pure heart: *EAnt.* [168], PG 32: 641A; Courtonne, 2: 103.14; et al.

[81] *Ad adolesc.* 8, PG 31: 588B; Wilson, p. 35.4-9; cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 2.1, PG 32: 1136B. *ECol. cl.* [227], PG 32: 853B; Courtonne, 3: 31.44-47, compares the spread of the teaching of the Gospel to a fecundating stream. For Gregory of Nyssa St. Paul is a river who with the waves of his thought crests up to paradise itself, *In Cant.* 11.5.3, PG 44: 1004B-C; Langerbeck, 6: 326.11-327.7.

[82] *EPaion.* [134], PG 32: 569D; Courtonne, 2: 48.4-6.

[83] PG 29: 116D-117A; Giet, p. 322.

[84] Except 1 and 11.

nourishment, however weak, supplied by the speaker and similar to the spiritual food provided by the Lord Himself, which is in fact its theme. This association of the talk, the talker, and what is talked about reaches its highest refinement in *Hexaemeron* 9, where the homily acquires a life of its own and is joined to the diurnal rhythm of the world, so that it comes to an end with the coming of the end of the day itself, as the speaker puts his words to rest.[85] To Basil the rhetorician the logos is an actual speech at a specific time from a specific pulpit, which through its concrete particularity and personality has its place in and evidences God's living universe. Homilies come to be in effect biological form, animate like the animate existence they describe. The sentiment no doubt drew in part from the Aristotelian impulses in the *Hexaemeron* as a whole, but it has even deeper roots in the Basilian habit of viewing any event, including literary expression, as an integer of all the elements that give it its reality and meaning, viz., its form, its content, its function, and its locus in a physical and temporal setting. We come as a result to perceive it holistically, as a thorough and vital, substantive totality. The inspiration for this feeling must derive in the final analysis from the special spiritual dynamism with which he invests the words of Scripture[86] and which acts to give his formulations a freshness that is lacking in their Second Sophistic counterparts and an immediacy that contrasts also with the more distant presence of the logos in the Origenistic conception, from which he surely draws. Further, the Old Testament habit of personifying the manifestations of nature, as in the Psalms and the Song of Solomon, would assist him in relating the divine utterance to the physical cosmos, so that he can be inspired to declare, "It is the divine word that is the origin of things made."[87] In short, the *Hexaemeron* is not mere exegesis. It mirrors in unified image God's word and God's world.

[85] PG 29: 208B-C; Giet, p. 522. For a different type of integration of nature and person cf. *EGNaz.* [14], PG 32: 275B-277C; Courtonne, 1: 42.1-45.45, which describes in loving detail his family's retreat in Pontus and the solitude and serenity that it gave him. A close parallel in mood and intention is Pliny the Younger's description of his villa, *Ep.* 17, Book 2.

[86] *EApokr. br.* 279, PG 31: 1280A: *ἐὰν οὖν τις οὕτω συνδιατεθῇ τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ δυνάμει ἑκάστου ῥήματος*, i.e., of Scripture. *HVerb.* [16] 1, PG 31: 472C: *τῶν ῥημάτων τὴν δύναμιν*. Cf. also his citation of John 6.63 (*τὰ ῥήματά μου πνεῦμά ἐστι καὶ ζωή*), in which he understands *πνεῦμα* as *διδασκαλία*: *De bapt.* 1.2.19, PG 31: 1557C; Neri, p. 242.715-718; *HPs. 1* 1, PG 29: 209A; 1.2, 213B; *HPs. 44* 5, PG 29: 397A; *HPs. 14* 2.5, PG 29: 477C; et al. See also G. J. M. Bartelink, "Observations de saint Basile sur la langue biblique et théologique," *VigChr* 17 (1963) 85-104.

[87] *Ὁ θεῖος λόγος φύσις ἐστὶ τῶν γινομένων*: *Hex.* 8.1, PG 29: 164D; Giet, p. 430. Cf. *Hex.* 2.2, PG 29: 33A; Giet, p. 448. See also n. 60 above. For quite another connection between

Speech, like life itself in its kinetic energies,[88] is the expression of God's creative moral order. The reality of the logos for Basil is so strong and all-pervasive that it can be for him not just an analogue of existence but the very term of being. "One indication of life," he declares, "is speech,"[89] and the thrust of his description of death is that it is a silence.[90] This interpenetration of life and letters can move to the point where words become primary vis-à-vis those who utter them. Thus a messenger can be described as "capable even of taking the place of a letter both because of his truth-loving character and his being in no wise unfamiliar with our affairs."[91] Elsewhere, the Apostles are "the lips of Christ,"[92] and friends "living epistles,"[93] an expression for which he had the stimulus of 2 Cor. 3.2-6, "Ye are our epistle written in our hearts known and read of all men, forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not in ink but with the spirit of the living God."

Words as living presence means words as active presence. Hence: "Just deeds are a loud voice before God," issuing from a good heart,[94] and one may suppose that the many passages juxtaposing speech and action to which Neri has called attention are not simply the common call to be foursquare in words and deeds but should be more integrally conceived.[95]

Active presence in turn for Basil means socially active, the highest justification of discourse in his eyes. Words build Christian brotherhood[96]

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speech and nature see the literary conceit *EOlymp.* [13], PG 32: 276A; Courtonne, 1: 42: conversation (*λόγοι*) is the fruit of winter, as apples are of autumn, flowers in spring, and wheat in summer.

[88] By *ἔργα* we mean, he says *HPs. 32* 8, PG 29: 344C, *καὶ τοὺς λόγους καὶ τὰς ἐννοίας καὶ πᾶσαν ἁπαξαπλῶς τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου κίνησιν*. See n. 94 below.

[89] *EAnep.* [332], PG 32: 1076C; Courtonne, 3: 200.1; cf. *ENect. cons.* [5] 1, PG 32: 240A; Courtonne, 1: 17.23-24: *ἐγενόμεθα τῷ βίῳ διήγημα σκυθρωπόν*.

[90] *ENeoc. ec.* [28] 2, PG 32: 308B-C; Courtonne, 1: 68.15-30.

[91] *EAmph.* [200], PG 32: 733B; Courtonne, 2: 165.16-18. Cf. *ECons.* [101], PG 32: 505C; Courtonne, 2: 1.18, where Basil "visits" his correspondent by a letter.

[92] *HPs. 44* 4, PG 29: 397A.

[93] *EElp. ep.* [205], PG 32: 356C; Courtonne, 2: 181.8-9. On the other hand, we are also given the opposite, a commonplace, that oral speech is preferable to *ἄψυχα γράμματα*, *EHil.* [212] 1, PG 32: 781A; Courtonne, 2: 199.4-9, but even here the substitution is not persons themselves speaking but *ἔμψυχοι λόγοι*.

[94] *HPs. 114* 2, PG 29: 485C. Note *κινήματα καρδίας*, ibid., to be taken with Basil's often expressed feeling for movement; also *φρενός ... κινουμένης*, *EAnc.* [29], PG 32: 312B; Courtonne, 1: 71.18-19; et al. See n. 88 above.

[95] See his note on 404.17 (*De bapt.* 2.10.1, PG 31: 1617C), citing *γινόμενον – λεγόμενον, λαλεῖν – ποιεῖν, πρᾶγμα – ῥῆμα, λόγῳ – ἔργῳ*; et al.

[96] *EAnc.* [29], PG 32: 312B-C; Courtonne, 1: 71.16-31; *EZoil.* [194], PG 32: 708A; Courtonne, 2: 147.8-11.

and he importunes his friends to write[97] for silence threatens love.[98] Letter-writing is for him an expression of ἀγάπη. Further, the dictum of the pagan schoolmasters that a letter is a ὁμιλία with an absent person[99] is retained and often used, but the ὁμιλία of which he now speaks is Christian fellowship. To be sure, calling a Christian letter a ὁμιλία would by itself be a simple transfer of motif from the old culture to the new. A Basilian letter, on the other hand, is not only a ὁμιλία by designation; it is often *about* ὁμιλία, as it seeks to overcome the dissensions and promote the harmony of the church. Similarly, many of the sermons, again ὁμιλίαι in standard parlance, have ὁμιλία, fellowship, as their theme, whether the fellowship of the Christian community or, as in the *Hexaemeron*, of the

[97] Commonplaces, however, are regularly upended to suit his needs. The usual requirement that letters be short (**Demetrius, *Περὶ ἑρμηνείας*, 227; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 51, PG 37: 105A-108B; Gallay, pp. 66-68; et al.) is dismissed in favor of a request, "Send many letters and make them as long as you can; for shortness is not a virtue in a letter any more than it is in a man": *EPhil.* [323], PG 32: 1069B; Courtonne, 3: 195.13-14. On the other hand, great facility in writing is not a desideratum in the case of heretics. Apollinarius has disregarded the admonition of Eccl. 12.12, "Avoid making many books"; in garrulity, he points out, quoting Prov. 10.19, "there wanteth not sin. But he that refraineth his lips is wise": *EOccid.* [263] 4, PG 32: 980C; Courtonne, 3: 124.4-8; cf. *EEulg.* [265] 3, PG 32: 988C; Courtonne, 3: 131.67-70. For another original twist to an old *topos* see *EEus.* [98], PG 32: 497A; Courtonne, 1: 213.19-21. The boast of rhetoric to make great things small and small things great (Isocrates, *Panegyr.* 8; Plato, *Phaedrus* 267a7-8; et al.) becomes, "It is the mark of a truly great man not merely to be equal to great things but also to make little things great by his own power." A more subtle use of a classical motif appears in *EChalc.* [222], PG 32: 817B-820B; Courtonne, 3: 6-8, which borrows from the ancient doctrine of the four elements: he calls a letter from his friends soothing as water against the conflagration that has seized the churches and which may the Lord divert with the breath of his mouth. This is followed by the exhortation that they keep firm the foundation (στερέωμα) of the church, which he describes in terms of the members of the body. Earth equals church.

[98] *EGreg. ptr.* [59] 1, PG 32: 409C-412A; Courtonne, 1: 147.1-11; *ENeoc. ec.* [28] 3, PG 32: 309B-C; Courtonne, 1: 69.11-70.18; *EAtarb.* [65], PG 32: 421A-C; Courtonne, 1: 155.1-17; *EPetr.* [133], PG 32: 569B-C; Courtonne, 2: 47. Silence in the monastery has a distinctive rationale. By keeping silent the novices "will be earnest and attentive in learning, from those who know how to make use of speech, in what manner one ought to ask a question or make reply in particular cases. There is indeed a tone of voice, a moderateness in length, a propriety of time, and a specific appropriateness in the use of words which are especially characteristic of those leading the devout life": *EApokr. fus.* 13, PG 31: 949B. Thus part of the utility of silence is in teaching us how to speak. Similarly Gregory of Nazianzus, *Epp.* 107, 108, PG 37: 208A; Gallay, p. 5. See T. Špidlík, *La sophiologie de saint Basile* (Rome 1961) pp. 88-91, to be read together with his discussion of Basil's understanding and use of Scripture, ibid., pp. 246-259.

[99] See *'Επιστολιμαῖοι Χαρακτῆρες*, ed. V. Weichert (Leipzig 1910) p. 14 (fifth century AD). Cf. *EMel.* [57], PG 32: 405C; Courtonne, 1: 144.11; *EIov. com.* [163], PG 32: 633B; Courtonne, 1: 96.10; *EZoil.* [194], PG 32: 708A; Courtonne, 2: 147.11; *EAdm.* [326], PG 32: 1073A; Courtonne, 3: 198.4.

membership of the physical world. Thus literary discourse can become for Basil self-exemplifying, even self-realizing, form.[100]

In addition to the larger literary patterns we have been examining we may also consider one of his favorite stylistic figures. Hyperbaton is the transposition of words from their natural order. A common type in the corpus is the separation of the noun from its modifier.[101] The adjective, through its isolation either at the beginning or at the end of the phrase, calls attention to itself. It is through the adjective that the thought is directed or completed. Hyperbaton acts to give periodicity, a wider

[100] This Basilian habit is essentially a weaker form of the explicit feeling in Gregory of Nazianzus that discourse can be sacramental in nature, a view that was to appear also in the rhetorical theorists of the Byzantine period. See G. L. Kustas, *Studies in Byzantine Rhetoric* (Thessaloniki 1973) pp. 122-124. For the background cf. Basil's idea that preaching is a sacred ministry, a *λειτουργία*, and the phrase *οἰκονομία τοῦ λόγου*, *EApokr. br.* 45, PG 31: 1112B, used to describe it. Texts and analysis: Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 79. All of his valuable Chap. 3, "The Charisma of the Leader of the Word," should be studied in this connection. See also n. 155 below. For *λόγος* as *θυσία* in Gregory see *Poem.* 2.1.12.807, PG 37: 1225: *τούτῳ* (God) *τε θύσω νοῦ καθαρὰ κινήματα*; 2.1.20.3, PG 37: 1279: the poet as *θύτης* to Christ: *ἅρμοσόν με, μὴ πρόῃ τὸν σὸν θύτην*; 2.1.38.1-4, PG 37: 1325: *Χριστὲ ἄναξ, σε πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ λόγον ἠέρι δῶκα, / δηναιὸν κατέχων, φθέγξομ᾽ ἀπὸ στομάτων / ἁγνοτάτου ἱερῆος ἁγνὸν θύος, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, / τόνδε λόγον προχέων ἡμετέρου νόου*; 2.1.34.93-96, PG 37: 1314; 2.2.1.67, PG 37: 1456; *Epitaph.* 119.16-17, 44, PG 38: 73-74; *Or.* 4.3, PG 35: 533B: *λόγον ἀναθήσω τῷ Θεῷ χαριστήριον, πάσης ἀλόγου θυσίας ἱερώτερόν τε καὶ καθαρώτερον*: 4-5, 533C-536B; *Or.* 39.20, PG 36: 360A: *οὐδενὶ τοσοῦτον χαίρει θεὸς ὅσον ἀνθρώπου διορθώσει καὶ σωτηρίᾳ, ὑπὲρ οὗ λόγος ἅπας καὶ ἅπαν μυστήριον*; *Or.* 45.2, PG 36: 625B: others will offer other gifts on this Easter Day, *ἡμεῖς δὲ λόγον εἰσοίσομεν, ὧν ἔχομεν τὸ κάλλιστόν τε καὶ τιμιώτατον, ἄλλως τε καὶ Λόγον ὑμνοῦντες, ἐπ᾽ εὐεργεσίᾳ τῆς λογικῆς φύσεως. ... οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀνέχομαι τοὺς περὶ τοῦ μεγάλου θύματος καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἡμερῶν θύων λόγους μὴ πρὸς θεὸν ἀναδραμεῖν κἀκεῖθεν ποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀρχήν*; *Or.* 2.98, PG 35: 500C: *μήπω κοινωνήσας τῷ Λόγῳ μηδὲ μεταλαβὼν αὐτοῦ* (both verbs in sacramental sense); *Or.* 24.18, PG 35: 1193A; *Ep.* 171.3, PG 37: 280C-281A; Gallay, p. 61: *λόγῳ καθέλκῃς τὸν Λόγον* (of the Eucharist); et al. The development owes a great deal to Origen and his doctrine of prayer. See e.g., *C. Cels.* 8.21, GCS 2: 239.3-7: "*ἑορτή*" *γάρ, ὥς φησί τις καὶ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν σοφῶν καλῶς λέγων* (cf. Thuc. 1.70) "*οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶ ἢ τὸ τὰ δέοντα πράττειν.*" *καὶ ἑορτάζει γε κατὰ ἀλήθειαν ὁ* "*τὰ δέοντα πράττειν*" *ἀεὶ εὐχόμενος, διὰ παντὸς θύων τὰς ἀναιμάκτους ἐν ταῖς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐχαῖς θυσίας*; cf. *Hom. in Jer.* fr. 49.2.7, GCS 6: 257.7-9: *ψυχῆς δὲ θυσιαστήριον τὸν ἐν ἡμῖν λογικόν, δι᾽ οὗπερ ἱερουργεῖται τὰ πάθη νεκρούμενα*; Clement of Alexandria, *Stromat.* fr., GCS 3: 227.28: *αὕτη ἐστὶν ἱερατεία καὶ θυσία ἀληθινὴ ἡ προσευχή.* For Origen's influence on Eusebius in this regard see G. L. Kustas, "Literature and History in Byzantium," in *Byzantina kai metabyzantina*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu 1978) 1: 57-60.

[101] Discussion: Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 65-66; A. C. Way, *The Language and Style of the Letters of St. Basil* (Washington, DC 1927) p. 190; Hengsberg, *De ornatu*, pp. 90-97; Courtonne, *Hellénisme*, pp. 211-214. Campbell's table, p. 26, shows another device, periphrasis, to be especially in evidence in exegetical passages, as one might expect, and Way, pp. 176-177, observes that neither periphrasis nor pleonasm is frequent in the letters, no doubt because of the sharper focus of epistolographical style. Hengsberg, pp. 20-22, 84-86.

cyclical range, to a phrase.[102] Thus, not only is a microcosm created, but it is a microcosm defined by its coloration. Hence Basil's interest in the figure. In addition to widening the context for a given particular, the context is seen in terms of its affective value, the style it adopts in entering our consciousness. Basil's universe is a modal one, adjectival, if one will, ever qualified.[103] Another letter to still another friend; an added item in an enumeration meant to evoke the full marvel of the Psalms; a flower in bloom or fish in the sea: these are for him reflections from the great prism of being, which he will make scintillate through the power and beauty of his logos. What he feels and helps us to feel is the rich idiom of things in their individuality and contextuality, a purpose for which not only letters — Basil's is the first of the great Greek Christian letter collections to come down to us — but also homilies, both with their roots in dialogue and both with their claim to directness and immediacy,[104] are ideal vehicles.

[102] See H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*, 1 (Munich 1960) 253, 257, and for some helpful remarks on the nature of this figure, E. B. Stevens, "Uses of Hyperbaton in Latin Poetry," *Classical Weekly* 46 (1952) 200-205. Pseudo-Longinus, *De sublim.* 22.1, treats hyperbaton in terms of *τάξις* and *ἀκολουθία* and considers it a true mark of "vehement emotion," *ἐναγώνιον πάθος*. The adjective well suggests the creative tensions produced by the disjunction. See also L. Méridier, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'œuvre de Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1906) pp. 181-183.

[103] See Neri, p. 32, who comments on the frequent use of adverbs, often two in a phrase, as a feature of *De bapt.* and the other works.

[104] The two genres achieve their effect by the ideal conjunction, as a rhetorician would phrase it, of logos and ethos, character and speech. Basil asks that the style of dialogue be simple, unlabored, and graceful (*EDiod.* [135] 1, PG 32: 572B; Courtonne, 2: 49.7-11: *ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀκατάσκευον ... διαλογικαῖς χάρισι κεκομψευμένον*), basically the same qualities demanded by Gregory of Nazianzus as epistolographical ideals: *Ep.* 51, PG 37.105. Further on Basil's literary ideals n. 147 below. *Ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἀκατάσκευον* is also the style of Scripture: *Hex.* 3.8, PG 29: 73B; Giet p. 232. Eunomius' methods are the reverse: *C. Eun.* 1.2, PG 29: 504A-B: *μηδὲν ἁπλῶς μηδὲ ἀδόλως ποιοῦντος*, because, having no one on whom to vent his attacks, he has produced a drama without characters (*ἀπρόσωπον δρᾶμα*). Cf. *EIov. com.* [163], PG 32: 633B; Courtonne, 2: 96.14, which also describes verbal expression in dramatic terms: *λόγῳ παραστῆσαι τὰ θεαθένται*; and cf. *EAsch.* [164] 1, PG 32: 633C-637A; Courtonne, 2: 97-99, where the ability of his correspondent to portray events vividly (*ἐναργῶς*: 636C: 98.31) Basil assigns to his love of God and the grace of the Spirit. Letter-writing is the gift of the Lord whereby we perceive the disposition of the soul itself (*τῆς ψυχῆς τὴν διάθεσιν*): *EMax. schl.* [277], PG 32: 1013A; Courtonne, 3: 149.1-3. The traditional motif that one shows one's soul through a letter is often aired. Cf. e.g., *EAth.* [69] 1, PG 32: 432A; Courtonne, 1: 162.38-45; *EPaion.* [134], PG 32: 569C-D; Courtonne, 2: 48.1-6; *EIov. com.* [163], *EAsch.* [164], *EEpisc.* [165], PG 32: 633A, 633D-636B, 637B; Courtonne, 2: 96.1-6, 97.4-98.32, 100.1-5; *EAmph.* [200], PG 32: 733B; Courtonne, 2: 165.15-17; *EElp. ep.* [205], PG 32: 756C; Courtonne, 2: 181.8-9; *EBer.* [220], PG 32: 813C; Courtonne, 3: 3.1-4. Biblical support: Matthew 12.34: "Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh" (quoted *EAmb.* [197.1], PG 32: 709B; Courtonne, 2: 150.9-13). True words coming from a good heart are *ἁπλοῦς καὶ μονότροπος*, and the natural virtue of speech is clarity, with nothing *περιττόν* or *μάταιον*: Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 1.7, PG 32: 1129A-B; 2.1, 1133C.

Given such a perspective one can appreciate why ἐνάργεια, vividness, is a key term in his vocabulary,[105] and one can experience with him not the mystery of things sublimated into the One but the equally profound, intense, and affecting mystery of the here and now.[106]

We have so far, taking a cue from Basil's own procedure in the *Hexaemeron*, considered first some of the theological underpinnings of the Basilian logos and their apposite literary patterns, and have seen how these are designed to reflect, nay, are rooted in, his Christian perceptions of the physical cosmos. We may continue to follow his sequential method and, building on this base, turn our attention next to some of the social and ethical principles and standards that guide his understanding of proper discourse. Just as in the structures of the *Hexaemeron* man is integrated into God's universe, so the world of human speech functions for him and is justified as part of the ethical order of reality itself.

In order to bring out the "right" relation among the members of his plural universe Basil makes frequent use of the terms οἰκεῖον and πρέπον. In one of those false but revealing etymologies of which antiquity was so fond Cyril of Alexandria, instead of deriving οἰκονόμος from οἶκος, tells us rather that it has to do with τὸ οἰκεῖον.[107] The same explanation appears in Amphilochius, Basil's friend,[108] and it is not unlikely that it is Basil who is responsible for the definition.[109]

105 A few of many references: *EAmph.* [188] 1, PG 32: 668B; Courtonne, 2: 122.45; *EHil.* [212] 2, PG 32: 718A; Courtonne, 2: 199.5; *EBer.* [220], PG 32: 813D; Courtonne, 3: 3.12; *EItal.* [242] 2, PG 32: 900C; Courtonne, 3: 66.8; ibid. 3, 901A; 67.1; *EOccid.* [243] 1, PG 32: 904B; Courtonne, 3: 69.25; *EPatrph.* [244] 5, PG 32: 917C; Courtonne, 3: 79.18; *EMax. schl.* [277], PG 32: 1013A; Courtonne, 3: 149.3; *EHosp.* [319], PG 32: 1065C; Courtonne, 3: 192.5; *HAtt.* [3] 1, PG 31: 200D; Rudberg, p. 24.23; ***De sp.*, PG 29: 769C; *Hex.* 3.10, PG 29: 77C; Giet, p. 242; *Hex.* 5.6, PG 29: 105B; Giet, p. 300; **Hex.* 11.10, PG 44: 288D; Smets-van Esbroeck, p. 254.36. The term is often connected with sight imagery. Way, *The Language*, pp. 185-189, and Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 22-24, give a full list of the "figures of vivacity" that Basil uses, such as asyndeton, polysyndeton, rhetorical question, litotes, and others. See also Hengsberg, *De ornatu*, pp. 23-24, 65-84.

106 Giet, p. 163, n. 3 (on *Hex.* 2.5, PG 29: 40C) comments acutely on Basil's assignment to the angelic world of a kind of spiritualized materiality, in contrast to Gregory of Nyssa, where the spiritual domain and the sensible world are sharply distinguished. One sometimes senses the same fusion, of course reversed, in Basil's treatments of present reality.

107 *In Lucam* 16, PG 72: 812C: οἰκονόμοι δὲ λέγονται παρὰ τῷ τὰ οἰκεῖα ἑκάστῳ νέμειν. Similarly, Isidore of Pelusium, *Epp.* 1.269, PG 78: 341C; 2.127, 568C-D. Origen's phrasing is close, but the equation is not explicitly made: *C. Cels.* 8.52, GCS 2: 267.26-268.1; 4.6, GCS 1.279.1-3; 5.15, GCS 2: 17.5; et al.

108 Fr. xvd (Holl, *Amphilochius*, p. 55): οἰκειοῦται δὲ ὁ θεῖος λόγος τὰ τοῦ ἰδίου ναοῦ ἀνθρώπινα πάθη ... καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσα περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκονομικῶς θεωρεῖται οἰκειοῦται.

109 Cf. *ESoz.* [261] 1, PG 32: 968C-969A; Courtonne, 3: 116.2, 18: οἰκονομίαν ... τὴν οἰκείαν ἐχαρίσατο ἐπιδημίαν; *EApokr. br.* 153, PG 31: 1184A; *HPs.* 7 2, PG 29: 232B; and note

Τὸ οἰκεῖον has roots deep in Greek culture. It marks a sense of belonging taken at its ideal and could be applied across a broad range of experience. Language in order to be effective requires the "right" style and the right choice of words; refinement and taste as cultural values depend on a sense of fitness; and, in general, it could point the way for overcoming alienation and resolving conflict. For some Neoplatonists *οἰκειότης* becomes almost an obsession: it helped describe for them the transcendent unity after which they sought.[110] Among Christians it is much in evidence in Origen.[111] Finding equations is after all allegory's stock in trade. Furthermore, under its aegis individual and society can effectively interact, as in a monastic community, and in the clash between Christianity and classical culture it could signal the way to cooperation. Indeed, the *Ad adolescentes* is inspired by this very standard, the selection of what is suitable[112] in the old for the purpose of forming the new Christian learning. In sum, *οἰκειότης* served as a kind of ethical touchstone, as a guide to action. For Basil in particular *οἰκονομία* is the right application and realization of *τὸ οἰκεῖον*.

A special unit within the complex of thought covered by *οἰκειότης* is *τὸ πρέπον* (Latin *decorum*), which contains an aesthetic component lacking in its counterpart. *Τὸ πρέπον* appears already as a rhetorical value in Plato's *Phaedrus* and Aristotle's *Rhetoric*.[113] Like *οἰκειότης*, however, it came to serve as a more general ethical norm and particularly fascinated the Hellenistic and Roman world. The attention given to these concepts has a significant parallel in the fortunes of the Aristotelian *Categories* during this same period. The terms, in seeking to specify ideal connection between two or more objects, necessarily work in a setting of plurality.

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his analysis of the Apollinarian view, *EApoll.* [362] 1, PG 32: 975B; Courtonne, 3: 120.19-20: *αὐτοῦ τῇ οἰκείᾳ θεότητι εἰς τὴν ὑλικὴν φύσιν μεταβληθέντος*. Cf. also the pun on *οἰκεῖον* and *οἰκουμένη*, Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 2.25, PG 35: 433C: God's Dispensation reconciles the ends of the earth: *τὰ πέρατα οἰκειουμέναι*.

[110] See F. Walsdorff, *Die antiken Urteile über Platons Stil* (Leipzig 1927) pp. 101 *ad fin.*; Kustas, *Studies*, pp. 41-42, 144-145, 163-165.

[111] E.g., *De orat.* 6.3-4, GCS 3: 313.5-314.14. See Kustas, "Literature," p. 61.

[112] *Ad adolesc.* 2, PG 31: 568B; Wilson, p. 21.1-6; ibid., 3, 569D; 23.36-54. Indeed, epistolography, one of the most vital of the genres of late antiquity, can be regarded as the literary expression of *τὸ οἰκεῖον* in that a letter establishes a relation between two people and is built on the very notion of interaction and reciprocity. The fact that the recipient would have read it aloud to himself, thus vicariously sensing the presence of a friend, the two, as it were, speaking through one another, would have the added result of increasing the intimacy. Letter-writing thus contributes to the Basilian ideal of an active and unified society.

[113] *Phaedrus* 264c5, 268d5; *Rhet.* Γ.2.7, 1404b1-1408b20.

Per definitionem they describe relation, and it is noteworthy that relation is one of four of the *Categories* retained by the Stoics. Special monographs on it begin to appear around the first century BC and continue into the later period.[114]

Our vocabulary appears frequently and effectively in Basil's consolatory letters. Death severs[115] the living attachment to friend and relative, *οἰκεῖος*. It disrupts the balance of life and can only be referred to the larger wisdom of the *οἰκονομία* of the Lord Himself.[116] Those of us who remain behind can best accept what the Lord has given by reacting "fittingly"[117] in our grief.

It would not be much of an exaggeration to claim that *οἰκεῖον/πρέπον* or synonymous terminology appears on practically every page of Basil's writings. The emphasis is testimony to how deeply ingrained in him is the social instinct, the thirst for context, on which the conception is essentially based.[118]

In the course of adapting this habit of thought to Christian needs Basil turns social cohesion into vital spiritual bond through the agency of Christian *ἀγάπη*. Herewith his interpretation of Matthew 5.42, "Give to him that asketh of thee and from him that would borrow of thee turn not away,"

> The words summon us to the communal, the mutually loving, and naturally fitting; for man is a political and social animal,[119] and in community and

[114] See P. Moraux, *Der Aristotelismus bei den Griechen*, 1 (Berlin 1973) 157-185; Kustas, "Literature," pp. 60-61.

[115] *Διάζευξις*: *EBris*. [302], PG 32: 1052A; Courtonne, 3: 179.15.

[116] *ENect. cons.* [5] 2, PG 32: 240B-C; Courtonne, 1: 18.18-20; *ECons.* [101], PG 32: 505B-C; Courtonne, 2: 1.6-8: we must bear *μετὰ τῆς πρεπούσης ὑπομονῆς ... τὰ οἰκονομούμενα παρὰ τοῦ Κυρίου* (ibid., 2.26-27); *EAndr. ux.* [269] 1, PG 32: 1000B; Courtonne, 3: 139.14; *EPat.* [300], PG 32: 1045D; Courtonne, 3: 176.54; *EBris.* [302], PG 32: 1052A; Courtonne, 3: 180.23.

[117] Cf. *προσῆκε*: *EPat.* [300], PG 32: 1045B; Courtonne, 3: 175.31; *ECons.* [301] (tris), PG 32: 1048C-1049B; Courtonne, 3: 177.28, 178.51, 179.57; and the frequent advice to bear one's grief *μετρίως*: *ENeoc. ec.* [28] 1, PG 32: 305C; Courtonne, 1: 67.45; *EAndr. ux.* [269] 2, PG 32: 1001B; Courtonne, 3: 141.33; *EPat.* [300], PG 32: 1045A; Courtonne, 3: 175.23.

[118] *Ἀπρεπής*, ugliness, he associates with disunity. Cf. *Mor. PrF.* 2, PG 31: 885A. In *EApokr. fus.* 41.1, PG 31: 1021C, obedience to the superior is the ready acceptance of his persuasion, *εὐπειθές*; the opposite, obedience to oneself, in its denial of brotherhood, is *ἀπρεπές*. Cf. *αἰσχρὸν καὶ ἀσύμφωνον*, Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 16.1, PG 32: 1317A. For the connection of *τὸ πρέπον* with *τάξις* cf. *Mor. PrF.* 2, PG 31: 885C, where we are told that speech aiming for the edification of souls should be done *εὐτάκτως κατὰ τὸν πρέποντα καιρόν*. See also nn. 49, 52 above. The opposite of *πειθώ* is contradiction: *EAmph.* [217] 84, PG 32: 808B; Courtonne, 2: 216.8: *ἀπειθεῖ καὶ ἀντιλέγοντι*. Cf. *De Sp. S.* 9.5, PG 32: 160B; Pruche, p. 422.12-13: *δυσπειθὲς καὶ ἀνυπότακτον*.

[119] Aristotle, *Pol.* A.2.8, 1253a1-2. One cannot by oneself determine *τὸ δέον*. One needs

> association with his fellows generosity in helping those in need is indispensable. ... God wants you in love and sincerity to be receptive to those who ask of you, and through the exercise of your intelligence in turn to judge the need of each of your petitioners.[120]

The exegesis of the Second Commandment follows similar lines:

> The law of God develops and maintains the powers existing in germ within us. — Who does not know that man is a civilized and gregarious animal, neither savage nor a lover of solitude? Nothing, indeed, is so compatible with our nature as living in society and in dependence upon one another and as loving our own kind. Now the Lord Himself gave to us the seeds of these qualities in anticipation of His requiring in due time their fruits.[121]

Another passage speaks of the need for community, which he likens to the cooperation of the limbs of the body:

> I see that none of those things which are accomplished either by nature or by deliberate choice is completed without the union of related forces.[122]

Writing to Ascholius about present difficulties he recalls nostalgically

> the olden times, when the churches of God flourished, taking root in the faith, united by charity, there being, as in a single body, a single harmony of the various members;[123]

and he will admonish a bishop who, appropriately enough, is addressed as Your Charity (*ἀγάπη*), that it is his duty to give to the good beginning its due sequel (*τὰ ἐφεξῆς*) and marshal about himself men of like mind (*ὁμοψύχους*)

> in order that there, by the grace of God, after receiving one another, we may govern (*οἰκονομήσωμεν*) the churches by the old kind of love, admitting as our own members (*ἴδια*) those of the brethren who come from each part,

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friends and advisers: Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 21.4, PG 32: 1365B: *ἀσυμβούλευτος ἄνθρωπος πλοῖόν ἐστι ἀκυβέρνητον.*

[120] *HPs. 14a.* 6, PG 29: 261C-264A. Cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 3.2, PG 32: 1149C.

[121] *EApokr. fus.* 3.1, PG 31. 916D-917A. For God's interest in *τὸ οἰκεῖον* see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.48, PG 35: 572A: *τῷ τεχνίτῃ τῆς κυβερνήσεως, ἡμῶν γε πάντως συνετωτέρῳ καὶ ἄγοντι τὸ οἰκεῖον ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως βούλεται· πάντως δὲ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον, κτλ.*, and for the versatility of the divine, ibid. 54: 577B: *πολλὰς γὰρ καὶ παραδόξους ὁδοὺς σωτηρίας οἶδε τὸ θεῖον καινοτομεῖν, νεῦον πρὸς τὸ φιλάνθρωπον.*

[122] *ETyan.* [97], PG 32: 493B; Courtonne, 1: 210.23-211.25: *ἄνευ τῆς τῶν ὁμοφύλων συμπνοίας ἐπιτελούμενον.* The whole letter is devoted to the subject. Cf. also *EMarit.* [203] 3, PG 32: 741A-D; Courtonne, 2: 170.3-171.35; Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poem.* 2.1.12.714, PG 37: 1218: *οὐδεὶς γάρ ἐστιν, ὅστις αὐτῷ ζῇ μόνῳ.*

[123] *EAsch.* [164] 1, PG 32: 636A; Courtonne, 2: 97.13-98.16. He is summoned to this vision, he says, by the beauty and love shown by Ascholius in his letter to him, to which he is responding; see 636A-B: 97.5-11, 98.26.

> sending forth as to intimate friends (οἰκείους) and receiving in turn as from intimates (παρ' οἰκείων).[124]

Ἀγάπη, presented here as the agency of οἰκονομία, is understood in terms of settled and harmonious order, as balance and reciprocity.[125] Likewise, availing himself of 1 Cor. 13.5, "Charity is not puffed up, doth not behave itself unseemly," he regards those who do not have it as beyond the bounds proper to man (ὑπὲρ τὰ μέτρα).[126] Similarly, the Lord's οἰκονομία and φιλανθρωπία are matters of proportion.[127]

The exercise of these functions accommodates both the public and the private good, both the community and its membership. "In the continuing unity of the affairs of Nicopolis," he writes to the clergy of Colonia, who were disturbed at the loss of their bishop to that city, "your part will also be preserved"; otherwise, "the part will be destroyed with the head;"[128] and his vision of monastic society is as follows:

> If we are not joined together by union in the Holy Spirit in the harmony of one body ... we would not serve the common good in the ministry (πρὸς τὸ κοινῇ συμφέρον τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ δουλεύων).... How could we, divided and separated, preserve the status and the mutual service of members or our subordinate relationship to our Head which is Christ?[129]

Let us consider how individuals might serve such an end.

[124] *EEpisc.* [191], PG 32: 701C-704A; Courtonne, 2: 144.15-145.23.

[125] Cf. *EEulnc.* [208], PG 32: 768A; Courtonne, 2: 188.11-12: *δίκαιον δέ που τῆς ἀγάπης τοῖς ἴσοις ἀμείβεσθαι τοὺς ὑπάρξαντας*; *EHera* [273], PG 32: 1008D-1009A; Courtonne, 3: 146.1-2: *οὕτως ἡμᾶς ἀγαπᾶν τὴν σὴν τιμιότητα ὥστε τὰ ἡμῖν διαφέροντα οἰκεῖα λογίζεσθαι*; *EApokr. fus.* 2.1, PG 31: 908B-C (ἀγάπη with οἰκείωσις). For ἀγάπη as spiritual intensity see pp. 273-276 below. *Οἰκείωσις* is but the active exercise of τὸ οἰκεῖον, as for example the love of animals and humans for their own kind (*Hex.* 8.4, PG 29: 196B-200A; Giet, pp. 496-502), our natural disinclination for evil (ibid.), and, ideally through the Dispensation, our communion (οἰκείωσις) with God: *De Sp. S.* 15.35, PG 32: 128C; Pruche, p. 364.1-4. Cf. ibid., 9.23, 109A; Pruche, p. 326.1-5. Gregory of Nyssa, in a passage dependent on Origen (*In Cant.*, GCS 33: 186-189), stresses the importance of propriety and measure in the expression of ἀγάπη towards God and one's fellow-man: *In Cant.* 4.2.4, PG 44: 845C-848B; Langerbeck, 6: 121.6-123.11.

[126] *EThdt.* [130] 2, PG 32: 564C-D; Courtonne, 2: 44.23-26.

[127] *ESam. cl.* [219] 1, PG 32: 812A-B; Courtonne, 3: 1.1-8: *ὁ πάντα μέτρῳ καὶ σταθμῷ* (Wisdom 11.21) *ὁρίζων ἡμῖν κύριος ... ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκονομίας τῆς καθ' ὑμᾶς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φιλάνθρωπον ἐφανέρωσε*; similarly, *Hex.* 3.5, PG 29: 65A; Giet, p. 214: *ἅπαντα σταθμῷ καὶ μέτρῳ διαταξάμενος*. For ἀγάπη as a function of the σοφός and φιλόσοφος see Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 26.10, PG 35: 1241B. See also n. 176 below.

[128] *ECol. cl.* [227], PG 32: 853A; Courtonne, 3: 30.28-32. The letter is the closest Basil comes to defining οἰκονομία: *οἰκονομία καλή* is *ἀναγκαῖα τῷ καιρῷ, λυσιτελὴς καὶ τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πρὸς ἣν μετετέθη* (*in re* the transfer of the bishop) *καὶ ὑμῖν αὐτοῖς ἀφ' ὧν ἐλήφθη*, 852B-C; 30.12-16. That is, both the larger good of the church and that of her individual members are accommodated.

[129] *EApokr. fus.* 7.2, PG 31: 929C-D. **Asc. Pr5*, PG 31: 881B-888D as a whole treats the

Likeness to God (*ὁμοίωσις θεῷ*) is the great Platonic banner adopted by Christianity.[130] In the *Theaetetus* where it appears[131] it is followed by the phrase, not always cited, *κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν*. Plato, like the good Platonist that he was, was concerned with the goal of life as a principle and less with the infinite variety that approximation to it might take in practice. A translation close to Plato's intent might then be, "to the limits of one's capacity," while an Aristotle, building rather on the notion of *δύναμις*, might prefer, "with the resources at one's control."[132] There is in fact, in Middle Platonism, as a recent study has shown, just such a development. In a second-century Alexandrian, Eudorus, who was concerned to isolate the intellect as one of the faculties by which we become like God, the phrase comes to mean, "according to that part of us which is capable of this," an interpretation continued in the Neoplatonic centuries. The phenomenon marks an instance of the links between Academy and Peripatos that features some of the later stages of Greek philosophical thought.[133] Now the general phrase, "insofar as possible," appears in a large number of idiomatic forms and is common to all stages of Greek, so that we need not refer it at any point to the philosophers, of whatever stamp. One is in any case struck with how common an item it is in Basil's vocabulary, how variously expressed, and how wide its application.[134] It

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same theme. In *Poem.* 2.2.1.295-304, PG 37: 1472-1473, Gregory of Nazianzus honors Basil's capacity for acting as a bridge in bringing people together in brotherhood and is reminded of the ultimate joining of humanity to divinity in the Incarnation: *Βασιλίῳ … τὸν ἔξοχα Χριστὸς ἔτισεν. / ὃς μέσος ἀμφοτέρων ἵσταται, εἰς ἓν ἄγων ἄκρα φίλων, ξυνῷ δὲ πόθῳ συνέδησεν ἄμεινον. / … δεύτερος ἐξ Ἀαρὼν ἱστάμενος μεγάλου, / καὶ θεοῦ ὑψιμέδοντα καταντίον ὄμματι λεύσσων, / θνητοὺς ἀθανάτῳ μίγνυσι λισσόμενος.*

[130] Basil's definition appears *EApokr. fus.* 43.1, PG 31: 1028B-C: *οὗτος ὅρος Χριστιανισμοῦ, μίμησις Χριστοῦ ἐν τῷ μέτρῳ τῆς ἐνανθρωπήσεως κατὰ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον τῇ ἑκάστου κλήσει*, for which he cites 1 Cor. 11.1: *μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε, καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ*; cf. *De Sp. S.* 1.2, PG 32: 69B; Pruche, p. 252.11-12: *ὁμοιωθῆναι θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατὸν ἀνθρώπου φύσει.*

[131] 176b1.

[132] I.e., more in keeping with such a phrase as *κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἀρετήν*, part of Aristotle's definition of happiness, *Eth. Nic.* A.6, 1098a15.

[133] See J. M. Dillon, *The Middle Platonists* (Ithaca 1977) pp. 122-123.

[134] There are some 30 odd varieties, many used more than once. Herewith a few: *κατὰ δύναμιν, εἰς δύναμιν, ὡς δυνατόν, ὅσον δυνατόν, κἀθ' ὅσον δυνατόν, ὅσα δυνατόν, ὅσον τὸ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, τὰ δυνατά, κατὰ τὸ μέτρον τῆς δυνάμεως, τὸ ὅσον ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, ἐνδεχόμενος*. Cf. also such fuller phrases as *EAmph.* [233] 1, PG 32: 865C; Courtonne, 3: 40.34-36: *ὅσον ἡ χάρις ἐνδίδωσι καὶ ἡ κατασκευὴ αὐτοῦ ὑποδέχεται*; 313, 1061B; 188.27-28: *ὅσον οἵ τε καιροὶ συγχωροῦσι καὶ ἡ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιδέχεται φύσις*; *De bapt.* 1.2.5, PG 31: 1533A; Neri, p. 176.169-170: *κατὰ δύναμιν γοῦν καὶ … ὡς ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἱκανώσῃ*; and such parallel expressions as *τόγε εἰς αὐτοὺς ἧκον* and *κατὰ τὸ ποσὸν γοῦν*. Nor should one forget the first commandment (cf. *EApokr. br.* 163, PG 31: 1189A) to love the Lord *ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου*. The phenomenon may be taken as another instance of that fascination with multiplicity that is so marked a feature of Basilian thought.

is useful in letters of petition: "Help as much as you can;"[135] a monk may be directed by it to strive for an exemplary life;[136] and it can also explain for Basil the ordered harmony of the physical world as each segment of it contributes its part.[137] Yet the formula, when one considers it more closely, is curiously double-edged. It can emphasize, as it does in its pagan form, human capacity in terms of the *τέλος* of life, but implicit in it is also the reverse, *in*capacity, and when the Christian Basil embraces the concept, one cannot help but feel that he speaks as well out of sympathy for God's fallen creature.

In any case, he does not rely on a pagan phrase alone, however adjusted or conceived, to describe human purpose. Two Scriptural passages in particular, Romans 12.3-8 and 1 Cor. 12.1-11, both dealing with the gifts of grace, are cited often and may be said to inspire directly and indirectly much of his thought in this quarter.[138] Further, they have rhetorical associations. Both the bestowal of the gifts of grace, working to our soul's advantage,[139] and the use that we make of them are properly an exercise of *οἰκονομία*.[140] The fact that the determination of that advantage requires judgment (*κρίσις*: *iudicium*)[141] makes it evident that for Basil likeness to God has a vital intellectual base.[142] Central among the gifts is

[135] E.g., *EDiv.* [316], PG 32: 1064C; Courtonne, 3: 190.9-10; *ECogn.* [310], 1060A; 186.9. For Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 2.33, PG 35: 442A-B, spiritual medicine is at its most effective when *συμπίπτωσιν οἵ τε καιροὶ καὶ τὰ πράγματα καὶ ὁ τῶν θεραπευομένων ἐπιδέχεται τρόπος*.

[136] *EApokr. br.* 245, PG 31: 1245C; *Reg. mor.* 37, PG 31: 757A; cf. *HHum.* [20] 7, PG 31: 537C.

[137] *Hex.* 6.5, PG 29: 88C; Giet, p. 262.

[138] Romans: *Reg. mor.* 60, PG 31: 793A-C; 69.2, 812D-813A; *EApokr. fus.* 7.3, PG 31: 932A; *Hex.* 6.11, PG 29: 145D-148A; Giet, p. 388; *De bapt.* 1.2.20, PG 31: 1561A-B; Neri, p. 256.791-795; 2.8.3, 1604B; 366.82-368.95; 2.12.1, 1624C; 420.21-23. 1 Cor.: *De Sp. S.* 16.37, PG 32: 133C-D; Pruche, p. 376.23-28; *Mor. PrF.* 4, PG 31: 685C; *De bapt.* 1.2.20, PG 31: 1561A; Neri, p. 254.779; *ENeoc.* [204] 5, PG 32: 752A-B; Courtonne, 2: 177.27-31. The two texts, Rom. 12.6 and 1 Cor. 12.7-10, are treated together *Reg. mor.* 58.2, PG 31: 789A-B; also *De bapt.* ibid., 1561B; 254.779-256.795. Cf. also Eph. 4.7, "But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ," *De bapt.* 2.1.2, PG 31: 1581C; Neri, p. 310.70-71; and the *καιρός* passages of Eccl. 3.1-7 in *EApokr. fus.* 37.2, PG 31: 1012B-C; *De Sp. S.* 29.75, PG 32: 209C; Pruche, p. 518.45. Phraseology such as *πρὸς τὴν ἀξίαν ἑκάστου* is very common in the corpus.

[139] 1 Cor. 12.7: *ἑκάστῳ δὲ δίδοται ἡ φανέρωσις τοῦ πνεύματος πρὸς τὸ συμφέρον*. See preceding note.

[140] *De Sp. S.* 16.37, PG 32: 133C; Pruche, p. 376.23; *HFide* [15] 3, PG 31; 472A; cf. *EMel. arch.* [193], PG 32: 705C; Courtonne, 2: 147.21-22.

[141] We may recall that in Hermagoras' system judgment is a department of *οἰκονομία* (see p. 228 above). The *locus classicus* on judgment is Plato, *Protag.* 356d4-357d4. One of the few things Socrates and Protagoras find to agree on is the importance of the art of measurement. Cf. also *Politicus* 283b-287b.

[142] Note the requirement in the *Theaetetus* passage (see p. 257 above) that likeness to

the art of self-expression and, for him, its essentially suasive content. Hence he is well served by Psalms 111.5: οἰκονομήσει τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐν κρίσει.[143] In the *EApokr. br.* where it appears the text is quoted by way of explaining Matthew 10.16, "Be ye wise as serpents and harmless as doves," in a passage replete with vocabulary that a rhetorician easily recognizes: like a serpent one must weigh the situation, determine what is possible, and so direct one's message as to persuade one's audience, though the purpose now is abstention from sin and return unto the Lord.[144] Bible and rhetorical tradition have forged here a full alliance.

Judgment is based on knowledge, as he informs us in the same passage. When judging a situation one must consider such matters as time, place, and person. In the *De baptismo* we are given the longest such list of περιστατικά or "circumstances" incident to any event, together with a discussion of each item.[145] Rhetoric had adopted these Aristotelian

God depends on φρόνησις. On Basil's understanding of the term see Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, pp. 30-32. Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 41.9, PG 36: 449C, who regards judgment, διάκρισις, as a special endowment given by the Holy Spirit, required by his bestowal of the diversity of gifts in order that we may distinguish among them.

[143] Basil's selection of a Biblical phrase not in use by his Patristic predecessors shows the depth of this commitment to a rhetorical perspective. Not unexpectedly, he chooses to interpret λόγους as oral or written expression. Cf. also *EEulg.* [265] 3, PG 32: 989B; Courtonne, 3: 132.28-29. In *EApokr. fus.* 33.2, PG 31: 1000A, the verse is used to refer to proper speech among nuns and monks, and in *EApokr. fus.* 45.2, PG 31: 1033C, to the words of the superior. For its application to literary form see p. 264 below. The King James version, "He will guide his affairs with discretion," is, I am told, a closer rendering of the Hebrew (Symmachus: πράγματα). The phrase is applied by Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.68, PG 36: 588A, to Basil for his stance regarding the Holy Spirit. Cf. also *Or.* 18.3, PG 35: 988B, again in reference to Basil: ἀπόδος ἑκάστῳ τὸ πρόσφορον καὶ οἰκονόμησον ἐν κρίσει τὸν λόγον, ἵνα σε καὶ μᾶλλον τῆς σοφίας θαυμάσωμεν; *Or.* 2.35, PG 35: 444A. In the Byzantine period it becomes the high general compliment by which Photius describes both Basil (*Bibliotheca*, cod. 230, Bekker, 279b25) and Athanasius (cod. 227, 244b18). For the source of judgment see *HPs. 61*. 4, PG 29, 480A: "There is a certain balance constructed in the interior of each of us by our Creator, on which it is possible to judge the nature of things."

Origen's phrase, οἰκονομήσω τὸν λόγον, *Hom. in Jer.* 19.15, GCS 6.173.27 (= *Hom.* 18, PG 13: 496B, cited by M. Kertsch, "Begriffsgeschichtliches," pp. 15-16) lacks the important ἐν κρίσει and has rather to do with Scripture and its interpretation. It may be a distant echo from the Psalmist, but of another sort.

[144] 245: PG 31: 1245B-D. Cf. the prescription in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 5.34, PG 35: 708C, that we use occasion with prudence: σωφρόνως τὸν καιρὸν διαθώμεθα; PG 36: 712A-C: μὴ ἀπλήστως χρησώμεθα τῷ καιρῷ ... ἓν ἀντιδῶμεν τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον · αὐξήσωμεν χρηστότητι τὸ μυστήριον · εἰς τοῦτο τῷ καιρῷ χρησώμεθα.

[145] Place, time, person, thing, measure, order, and attitude. 2.8.1-8, PG 31: 1600C-1612A; Neri, p. 360.23-384.265. See Neri's notes *ad loc.*, esp. pp. 361, 371, 373, 377, 379. Other such lists: *EApokr. fus.* 40, PG 31: 1020C; *EApokr. br.* 210, PG 31: 1224A; 220, 1228C; *EAmph.* [188] 10, PG 32: 680A; Courtonne, 2: 129.5-7; *EEulg.* [265] 3, PG 32: 989B-991A; Courtonne, 3: 132.18 *ad fin.*; et al. See also n. 166 below.

classifications centuries earlier to do its work. In Basil's time this terminology from the *Organon* is much in evidence in our rhetorical texts[146] and part of the schooling of the day.[147] We are thus brought to the connection between teaching and rhetoric.

The original definition of rhetoric spoke of it as the artificer of persuasion.[148] By Cicero's day, when it identified itself much more closely

[146] Most easily seen in the prolegomena to various rhetorical *cursus*, most of which date 4th-6th century, ed. H. Rabe, *Prolegomenon Sylloge* (Leipzig 1931).

[147] The technical vocabulary supplied the scholastic underpinning for the acutely developed sense of propriety and form in late antiquity, although the over-reliance on such classifications could also promote the development of stereotypes that would conform to them. By way of reaction, the surfeit may have actually helped put a premium on the exercise of judgment precisely as a way of overcoming sterile excess and recovering individuality. The balance that could be drawn between these two pressures can be seen in Basil's literary analysis of two dialogues submitted to him by his friend Diodorus (*EDiod.* [135], PG 32: 572B-575B; Courtonne, 2: 49-51). The analysis is essentially based on how well Diodorus has applied his stylistic judgment in composing them. The one he admires because the style chosen for it is in keeping with its purpose, simple and unadorned, as befits a Christian, "who writes not so much for display as for general edification" (49.8-9). The other, he says, palls with its excess of ornamentation and use of digressions that break its unity (49.18-19). Basil's standard is Plato. When dialogues include indefinite characters, as in the *Laws*, we should be given only their arguments and import nothing of the character into the discussion; when, as in the case of Hippias, Protagoras, and Thrasymachus, we introduce known characters, we should, like Plato, who at one and the same time attacks opinions and ridicules those who hold them, "weave something from the quality of the character into the treatise" (50.25). What Basil is asking for is a special union once again of ethos and logos. Further on Basilian literary criticism n. 104 above.

In another letter (*ENeoc.* [204], PG 32: 744D-756B; Courtonne, 2: 172-180) judgment is seen in a wider context of both pastoral as well as general literary concerns. He rebukes the Neocaesareans for having accepted slanders about him without inquiry, with "no one to distinguish the true from the false" (ibid. 2, 748A; 174.25). "Judge proper judgment" (John 7.24), he asks (174.35), "for many good things do not seem to be so to those who do not possess a keen judgment in mind. ... And so also in the realm of literature ... whenever the critic falls short of the experienced skill of authors. For the critic and the author ought to start out with about the same equipment." Unfortunately, unlike other professions, "Anyone who chooses will set up for a literary critic, though he cannot tell us where he went to school, or how much time was spent in his education, and knows nothing about letters at all. I see clearly that, even in the case of the words of the Holy Spirit, the investigation of the terms is to be attempted not by everyone, but by him who has the spirit of discernment, as the Apostle taught us on the diversity of gifts" (1 Cor. 12.8-10) (754A-B; 177.5-26). Further, the exercise of judgment depends on something prior to it. The letter begins with a quotation of St. Paul's definition of charity (1 Cor. 13.1-3) and ends on the same theme. One would be hard put to it to find in ancient literature a more sympathetic understanding of proper critical response. Finally, let us note Basil's intuitive habit of connecting his immediate theme, whatever it may be (in this case the ecclesiastical world), to the parallel world of the logos. Cf. also *EAmph.* [188] 10, PG 32: 680A; Courtonne, 2: 129.6, where proper interpretation of an oath includes a consideration of its form, *εἶδος*, and its words, *ῥήματα*, as well as the attitude, *διάθεσις*, of the person taking it.

[148] Plato, *Gorgias* 453a2: *πειθοῦς δημιουργός*. The phrase probably goes back to Corax and Teisias. See J. Martin, *Antike Rhetoric* (Munich 1974) p. 2.

with the educational system, instruction is understood as one of its purposes.[149] As time went on the teaching function became primary. The apex of this trend can be seen in Saint Augustine, the title of whose treatise on the subject is not *De rhetorica* but *De doctrina christiana*, and a fifth-century author speaks of rhetoric as engaged in two tasks, exegesis and teaching.[150]

Christianity gave wide support to this development, for the ministry of the word put a high premium on rhetorical capacity. "Teach ye all the nations," says Christ in Matthew 28.19, and Basil declares that he speaks not just words but teachings due to pass into deeds to the benefit of those who have accepted them.[151] How effectively this Christian imperative could be combined with his role as teacher, writer, and friend, appears in a letter to Festus and Magnus, two of his ex-students.[152] It is fitting, he asserts, that fathers should provide for their children, farmers for their plants, and teachers for their pupils. His solicitude for them is so much the greater as religion is higher than any art, a religion implanted in young and tender hearts that now through prayers and love of learning can reach full maturity and timely harvest:

> God's favor rests upon your endeavors; for when rightly directed, called or uncalled, God is at hand to further them. Now every man that loves God is prone to teaching,[153] for irresistible is the zeal[154] of those who are able to

[149] *Docere*: along with *delectare* and *movere*: *De orat.* 2.121; *Brutus* 49.185; *Orator* 21.69.

[150] Ἐξήγησις and διδασκαλία: Troilus Sophista, *Prol. Syll.* 49.26-27. It is unclear whether he is pagan or Christian. See W. Ensslin, s.v., *RECA* 7 (1939) 615.50-53. One may compare the so-called διδασκαλίαι of the Byzantine period written by various clergy as a means of advancing themselves in the hierarchy and consisting in part of sometimes highly rhetorical exegetical tracts. See H. Hunger, *Die Hochsprachliche Profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 1 (Munich 1978) 152-155.

[151] *EMon.* [295], PG 32: 1037C; Courtonne, 3: 170.6-8. Even likeness to God is based on teaching: *De Sp. S.* 1.2, PG 32: 69B; Pruche, p. 252.11-13: ὁμοίωσις δὲ οὐκ ἄνευ γνώσεως · ἡ δὲ γνῶσις οὐκ ἐκτὸς διδαγμάτων · λόγος δὲ διδασκαλίας ἀρχή. Cf. Matthew 5.19, quoted n. 4 above.

[152] *EFest.* [294], PG 32: 1036C-1037B; Courtonne, 3: 168-169.

[153] Διδασκαλία: 1037A; 169.19. Neri, p. 135, notes a common formula, said of Christ teaching, ἔδειξεν καὶ ἐδίδαξεν: *De bapt.* 1.1.2, PG 31: 1517A; Neri, p. 134.85; *EApokr. br.* 162, PG 31: 1188B; 176, 1200B; 188, 1208C; 198, 1213B. Teaching is thus revelation. There is a connection here with epideictic, the dominant literary form of late antiquity, from which Christianity drew heavily in the creation and understanding of its own genres. See Kustas, "Literature," p. 59.

[154] Προθυμία. Neri (consult his Index) cites many passages stressing the importance of zeal (ἐπιμέλεια, σπουδή, ἐπιθυμία, φροντίς) in the practice of Christian virtue. Cf. e.g., *EApokr.* 24, PG 31: 984B (based on Rom. 12.11). Cf. 2 Cor. 8.7: ἐν παντὶ περισσεύετε, πίστει καὶ λόγῳ καὶ γνώσει καὶ πάσῃ σπουδῇ καὶ τῇ ἐξ ὑμῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἀγάπῃ.

> teach something useful once the souls of those who learn are cleared of obstruction.

Nor need separation in body be a hindrance. God has brought it about that we are able to transmit instruction through letters not only to those who dwell far away, but even to those who will hereafter be born, just as has happened in times past. Significantly, the extension of this function and power of the logos across time he refers to God's wisdom and kindness.[155] Thus, in his recognition of these two prime teaching virtues and assignment of them to the Deity Himself, accordingly presented to us as a teacher, Basil gives divine sanction not only to his own relation with his students and to his own literary gift, seen as expressing that relation, but to all pedagogy and literary endeavor, indeed, to the edifying power of logos itself.[156] Finally, we may remark that these same two qualities conjoined form the intellectual and ethical base that Gregory of Nazianzus saw as marking the greatness of his friend.[157]

The purpose of Christian teaching is the edification of the faith.[158] A connection between *οἰκονομία* and *οἰκοδομή*, edification, is implicit in the

[155] *Σοφίας καὶ φιλανθρωπίας*: 1037A; 169.23-24. For God as teacher see also n. 4 above. Cf. *Asc. Pr3*. 4, PG 31: 900C, in which he prays that his ministry of the word, *οἰκονομία λόγου*, be blameless and his teaching fruitful for his audience. See also n. 9 above. Note also the affecting description of teacher and pupil, *HPs. 33* 8, PG 29: 369B. For a development of the theme *οἰκονομία-διδασκαλία* see already Athanasius, *De sent. Dion*. 6, PG 25: 488B-C, cited in the *PGL*, s.v. *οἰκονομία* D.2.

[156] Note his description of the barbarism of the Magusaeans, an Arabian tribe; they are asocial, not mingling with other peoples, and have neither books nor teachers of doctrine (*διδάσκαλοι δογμάτων*). This he understands to be the work of the devil, *EEpiph*. [258] 4, PG 32: 952D-953A; Courtonne, 3: 103.4-104.10. Cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 2.4, PG 32: 1140B: *ἄπολιν, ἄοικον, ἀφιλέταιρον, ἀκτήμονα, ἄβιον, ἀπράγμονα, ἀσυνάλλακτον, ἀμαθῆ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διδαγμάτων*, said of the need to reject the affairs of this world in preparation for receiving the divine teaching.

[157] See the discussion of his *EMel*. [58] in the beginning of this paper. For extensive remarks on the teaching function as involving the exercise of *οἰκονομία* see Gregory of Nyssa, *De cast*., PG 46: 313C. Here it is *οἰκονομία* itself that is varied and adjusts to the character of the student: *ὁ διδασκαλικὸς λόγος ... ποικίλην ἐπιζητεῖ τὴν τῆς ἐπιστασίας οἰκονομίαν, τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις ἤθεσιν ἑαυτὴν προσαρμόζουσα*. The passage reviews teachers through the ages, starting from Moses and moving through the prophets to Christ, and describes the trials they underwent in their efforts to inculcate virtue, 316A-D.

In emphasizing this integration in Basil between philosophy and rhetoric we would do well to recognize that we are not dealing with any hard and fast equation. The wise words of Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus*, pp. 174-175, regarding Gregory apply to Basil as well: "Insofar as it [i.e., integration of philosophy and culture, by which she understands rhetorical culture] is solved at all, it is solved best on the personal, existential level. ... That is, it is solved best, not by absolute criteria and formulas about the relationship between the two, but rather by the individual experience of relating the two, out of which a rich and genuinely viable synthesis arises for a specific individual."

[158] *EApokr. br*. 266, PG 31: 1264A-B.

which is in essence a manifesto on the calling of the Christian preacher. Basil announces that whereas previously the object of his zeal was the refutation of heresy, now it is the simple exposition and profession of a sound faith. Hence the same type of discourse is no longer appropriate, just as the instruments for waging war and tilling the soil are not the same. The *λόγος* that refutes and that which exhorts represent different genres. He is but following, he says, the words of the Apostle, Coloss. 4.6, "that ye may know how ye ought to answer every man." Therefore he will organize his address in judicious fashion.[166] The phrase is once again *οἰκονομοῦντες τοὺς λόγους ἡμῶν ἐν κρίσει* from Psalm 111.5, but *λόγους* here is not Christian speech in general as recommended to the monks in his other interpretation of the phrase,[167] but specifically literary form. To this end he will employ methods that accord with the safeguarding or deepening of the faith (*τοῖς πρὸς τὴν φυλακὴν ἢ οἰκοδομὴν τῆς πίστεως ἀκολούθως χρησαίμεθα*) and, rejecting the habit of invective, will instead expound it more plainly and familiarly (*οἰκειότερον*) to those who desire to be strengthened (*οἰκοδομεῖσθαι*) therein. In support of his procedure he cites 1 Cor. 13.11, "When I was a child I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child."[168]

The strong emphasis on genre shown in this passage was cultivated in the rhetorical schools and is a salient feature of the literary history of the period. Here it takes a new direction. The accommodation of his homily (*λόγος*) to his audience is seen within the higher unity of the confession of faith (*ὁμο-λογία*)[169] which is its aim.

We have seen how in Basil's hands *οἰκονομία* and *οἰκοδομή* are applied in tight cooperation to a broad range of experience, social, ethical, literary.

[166] This he understands as the determination of time, place, manner, and the rest, all matters to be considered in the process of edification. Cf. *EApokr. br.* 220, PG 31: 1227C. See p. 259 above.

[167] See p. 259 above. Gregory of Nyssa uses the same passage to stress the care that should be taken in the interests of justice by those who, like himself, interpret and apply canon law: *Ep. canon.*, PG 45: 221C. Involved here is the secondary meaning of *οἰκονομία* as ecclesiastical jurisprudence. See nn. 6, 128 above.

[168] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 266, PG 31: 1264A-B: instead of vain words we should regulate our speech for the edification of faith so that, ministering grace to our hearers (Eph. 4.29) by our good use of opportunity and proper order they will be more readily persuaded: *καιρῷ εὐθέτῳ καὶ τάξει εὐσχήμονι* (1 Cor. 14.40) *πρὸς τὸ εὐπειθεστέρους γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀκούοντας*. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.261, PG 45: 597D; Jaeger, 1: 302.19-24. See also pp. 253-254 above. For an extended treatment of *οἰκειότης* in connection with literary form see Gregory of Nyssa, *In s. Pascha*, PG 46: 653D-656A; Gerhardt, 9: 247.11-25. For *οἰκονομία* as the opposite of *οἰκοδομή* see also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 44.9, PG 36: 617A. Cf. also *Or.* 2.35, PG 35: 444A: *διδόναι κατὰ καιρὸν ἑκάστῳ τοῦ λόγου τὸ σιτομέτριον καὶ οἰκονομεῖν ἐν κρίσει τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῶν ἡμετέρων δογμάτων*. Cf. n. 143 above.

[169] 681A.

Epistle to the Ephesians, where the two terms are used in the same thread of argument.[159] The tie, however, is never actually drawn.[160] Basil is much taken with the association and develops it frequently and at length. There should be no idle prattling in the monastery,

> so that the workers may as far as possible have silence in which to apply themselves zealously to their work, and that they themselves [i.e., the superiors], who have been entrusted after trial with the dispensation of the word for the upbuilding of the faith (*οἰκονομεῖν τὸν λόγον πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῆς πίστεως*) may speak only good words to the workers, lest God's Holy Spirit be grieved (Eph. 4.29).[161]

In addition to psalmody and prayers the way monks speak to one another can advance them spiritually (*οἰκοδομὴν τῶν ψυχῶν*).[162] Elsewhere, the communal element comes to the fore:

> Would it were possible that ... many more communities now established in separate places would be governed (*οἰκοδομεῖσθαι*) in the unity of the Spirit and in the bond of peace under the combined supervision of superiors who could firmly and wisely look after the interests (*οἰκονομεῖν*) of all.[163]

Οἰκονομία/οἰκοδομή is effected through knowledge and judgment.[164] The presentation of this ideal comes toward the beginning of *Mor. PrF*,[165]

[159] 1.10; 2.19-3.2; 4.12-16.29; cf. 1 Cor. 3.9-42; 1 Tim. 1.4.

[160] Athanasius, *C. Gentes* 46, PG 25: 85C, plays on the two words, but not *sensu theologico*.

[161] *De perf.* [22] 1, PG 32: 289A-B; Courtonne, 1: 53.34-39. Cf. *De bapt.* 1.3.3, PG 31: 1577B; Neri, p. 298.114. Letters can strengthen the souls of those who fear the Lord: *EUrb.* [262] 2, PG 32: 976A; Courtonne, 3: 120.17: *οἰκονομῆσαι τὰς ψυχάς*. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *Vita Ephr.*, PG 46: 833A: *αὐτόν* [i.e., Ephraem] *πνεῦμα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν τῶν πολλῶν ᾠκονόμει*.

[162] *EApokr. fus.* 39-40, PG 31: 1017C-1021A. In °*Hex.* 10.20, PG 44: 277C; Smets-van Esbroeck, p. 221.1-5, he thinks of the sermon as imaging, however dimly, the "economy" of Scripture. Similarly *Hex.* 9.1, PG 29: 189A; Giet, p. 482: *πάντα πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν καὶ καταρτισμὸν τῶν ψυχῶν ἡμῶν γραφῆναι οἰκονομήσαντα* (of Scripture). See also pp. 242, 247 above; *EApokr. fus.* 55.1-2, PG 31: 1044B-1045D, compares the divine *οἰκονομία* to the two arts of medicine and architecture (*οἰκοδομή*). The term *ἀποικονομεῖσθαι* (1045D) means to rid oneself of what is foreign to one's nature. It appears to be medical in origin. See the entries in *GEL* and, for some Patristic writers, Sophocles' lexicon.

[163] *EApokr. fus.* 35.3, PG 31: 1008B; also with social reference *De bapt.* 1.2.22, PG 31: 1564B; Neri, p. 264.840-849. Cf. *EApokr. br.* 21, PG 31: 1097C. For Gregory of Nyssa the process of edification, operating on the principle of *τὸ οἰκεῖον*, can lead not only to the communal ideal but to unity with all creation: *In subj.*, PG 44: 1317C-1320A.

[164] *EApokr. br.* 165, PG 31: 1192B: *οἰκονομίας δὲ καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἐπιστημονικῆς χρεία πρὸς οἰκοδομὴν πίστεως*. Distributions to the poor should be made *ἐπιστημονικῶς καὶ οἰκονομικῶς*: Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 4.6, PG 32: 1161C. Cf. *EMax. phl.* [9] 1, PG 32: 268C; Courtonne, 1: 37.4-8: the proof of love of God is enthusiasm for knowledge.

[165] PG 31: 680C-681A.

This intimacy is all the more remarkable when we observe that the connotations of the two words are radically different. *Οἰκονομία* is basically relational. Its terms of reference are *ἀγάπη, φιλανθρωπία, οἰκειότης, τὸ πρέπον,* and similar values. *Οἰκοδομή*, on the other hand, has to do with the hard, unyielding edifice of faith. In associating the two so often and so closely Basil grasps after a happy synthesis of relative and absolute, of unity and plurality, in effect after that ideal philosophical rhetoric that Plato had held out long ago in the *Gorgias* and *Phaedrus*, the same that the contemporary verdict now saw realized in Basil himself.[170]

Ideal speech, says Alexander of Aphrodisias in the second century, voicing the same sentiment, is that which is both proper to us and expresses general truth.[171] Basil is much given to thinking in such seemingly contrasting ways.[172] Consider "fitting and necessary order,"[173] the

[170] Basil certainly would have known the *Phaedrus*, as he does much of Plato, but whether the parallels noted by Wilson for *Ad adolesc.* imply the use of a manual or more direct contact, perhaps renewed by a recent re-reading, is moot. *Ad adolesc.* 3, PG 31: 569B; Wilson, p. 4.29-30 (~*Phaedrus* 261a8, 259e7-260a4); ibid. 4, 576C; 7.19 (~249a6); ibid. 6, 580D; 8.72-73 (~249a6, containing the very rare term *δικαιωτηρίοις*). Echoes from the *Gorgias* are vaguer: ibid. 1, 564D; 1.6 (~450a1-2). ibid. 4, 576A; 6.13 (~458b7); cf. Wilson, note on 1.10. For some Platonic language in the letters see *EGNaz.* [2] 8, PG 32: 228A-B; Courtonne, esp. 1: 8.58-71; 124, 544C-545A; Courtonne, 1: 29.1-30.25. Platonic expressions in our period have become so much the idiom of Christian theology that one is hard put to choose between literary osmosis and scholarly citation to explain them. On Basil's Platonism see Professor Rist's paper in this volume.

The warning, Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 6.7, PG 32: 1196B, that there are no rhetors in heaven, no persuasiveness of words to seduce the judge from the truth on judgment day, is of course in a different category of thought. Rhetoric need have no qualms about using rhetoric to promote its purposes.

[171] The formulation is Stoic: *In Topica*, CAG 2.2: 1.10-12 (*SVF* 2: 38.11-13): *οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς Στοᾶς ὁριζόμενοι τὴν διαλεκτικὴν ἐπιστήμην τοῦ εὖ λέγειν, τὸ δὲ εὖ λέγειν ἐν τῷ τὰ ἀληθῆ καὶ τὰ προσήκοντα λέγειν εἶναι τιθέμενοι.* Cf. Dionysius of Alexandria, quoted by Athanasius, *De sent. Dion.* 18, PG 25: 505B; 20, 509A. Cf. *Reg. mor.* 73.5, PG 31: 853A: *ἀληθῆ καὶ πρέποντα.*

[172] For the strong tradition of antinomial expression in Byzantine thought see Kustas, *Studies*, pp. 150-151, 170-171. The Cappadocians gave considerable impetus to it. Basil: "the comprehension of the divine lies in the perception of its incomprehensibility"; *EAmph.* [234] 2, PG 32: 869C; Courtonne, 3: 43.12-13. Gregory of Nyssa: "the luminous darkness of God"; *Vita Moysis*, PG 44: 377A; Jaeger, 8.2: 87.10; the swelling of pride is an ascent to the depths, ibid., 416D; Jaeger, 129.15. Discussion of Gregory's oxymora: Méridier, *L'influence*, pp. 197-207. Gregory of Nazianzus: painted women are uncomely in their comeliness: *Or.* 18.23, PG 35: 1012B; cf. *Poem.* 2.1.45.233-234, PG 37: 1369-1370; *Or.* 9.2, PG 35: 821B: *κατεβλήθημεν ἐν τῷ ἐπαρθῆναι* (cf. Ps. 82.18); *Or.* 14.32, PG 35: 901A: *δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν σοφοί, ἢ διὰ σοφίαν, ἵνα οὕτως εἴπω, τὴν περιττήν, ἄσοφοι καὶ ἀσύνετοι*; *Or.* 15.8, PG 35: 925B: *ἀσώματοι σχεδὸν ἐν σώμασι*; *Or.* 16.5, PG 35: 940B: *τοῖς ἀσόφως σοφοῖς*; *Or.* 22.12, PG 35: 1145A: *ἀκάθαρτος καθαρότης*; *Or.* 25.15, PG 35: 1220A: *τὴν πολύθεον ἀθεΐαν*; *Poem.* 1.2.29.223, PG 37: 900: *ἀκαλλέϊ κάλλεϊ*; ibid. 277, 904: *ἄνδρες ἄνανδροι*; et al. The phenomenon issues from that fascination with antithesis that sometimes overwhelms

curious "definitely and variously,"[174] "faithful and prudent,"[175] "clearly and truly,"[176] as well as the more common "sternness and philantropy"[177]

Greek thought and expression in antiquity. The Second Sophistic was particularly given to such verbal tactics and from there it passes, with special force in Gregory's case, into Christian literature. In the union of related opposites that is involved we have here a kind of linguistic *οἰκονομία*. However, this is only a partial explanation, for the same habit could operate on a much higher register. See below.

[173] *Πρέπουσαν καὶ ἀναγκαίαν τάξιν*: *De bapt.* 1.1.1, PG 31: 1516A; Neri, p. 124.36-37; cf. *ἀναγκαῖον καὶ συμφέρον*: *EAth.* [67], PG 32: 427A-B; Courtonne, 1: 159.16.

[174] *Ὁριστικῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*: *De bapt.* 1.1.2, PG 31: 1517A; Neri, p. 134.85; cf. *ποικίλης καὶ ἀπαραιτήτου*: *HPs. 114*. 5, PG 29: 492B. On the distinction between *ὁριστικῶς* and *διὰ τῆς σχέσεως*, *EApokr. fus.* 5.2, PG 31: 921A-B, see Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, pp. 117-118: "Son précepte, Notre Seigneur l'a donné *ὁριστικῶς*, c'est-à-dire d'une manière définie, absolue; mais il sera réalisé *διὰ τῆς σχέσεως*, c'est-à-dire selon la manière d'être de chacun, selon son caractère, sa nature, son tempérament, sa constitution. ... nous tenons à préciser que le *σχέσις* indique ... tout ce qui résulte de la disposition interne en relation avec les conditions externes." Thus *σχέσις* may be said to be related to *διάθεσις* (see pp. 275-276 below), the disposition of soul that makes it possible to follow God's commandments.

[175] *Πιστὸς καὶ φρόνιμος*: *EApokr. fus.* 33, PG 31: 1000A; 45.2, 1033B-C; Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 2.3, PG 32: 1140A; in all cases in the context of *οἰκονομία*. See Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 18.20, PG 35: 1008C: *ὁ πάντα καλῶς καὶ ποικίλως οἰκονομῶν θεός*, in a passage praising his father as one wise in domestic affairs: *τίς δὲ τὰ οἴκοι φιλοσοφώτερος ;*

[176] *Σαφῶς καὶ ἀληθῶς*: *De bapt.* 1.2.20, PG 31: 1560D; Neri, p. 252.772-773. This is essentially the same pair as *σοφία-*σάφεια* discussed *in extenso* in sixth-century Neoplatonic texts (Asclepius of Tralles, *In Metaphys.* 3.27-34 [CAG 6.2]; David, *Prol. Philos.* 46.13-25 [CAG 18.2]; et al.), which take *σοφία* as *φιλοσοφία*. Clarity, i.e., before an audience, on the other hand, is the basic rhetorical principle of style: Aristotle: *Rhet. Γ*.2.1, 1404b1-2. Basil's choice of *ἀληθῶς* may be conditioned in part by the Christian claim to the true religion. As pointed out in Kustas, *Studies*, p. 118, *σοφία-*σάφεια* seeks to resolve the difference between the how and the what; on which also see *EApokr. fus.* 2, PG 31: 908B: *ὅτι μὲν γὰρ χρὴ ἀγαπᾶν, ἀκηκόαμεν · πῶς δ' ἂν τοῦτο κατορθωθείη, κτλ.*, and note the linguistic analysis, *C. Eun.* 2.9, PG 29: 588C, regarding words that imply relation, such as *υἱός* and *φίλος*, and those that do not. *Σοφός* and *σαφής* may have a common Indo-European root. See H. Frisk, *Griechiesches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg 1970) v. 2, s.vv. Cf. further *ἀληθὲς καὶ σωτήριον*: *De bapt.* 2.4.3, PG 31: 1589B; Neri, p. 334.79-80; *ἀληθινῆς καὶ ὁμοτίμου τοῖς ἀγγέλοις δουλείας*: *HPs. 114*. 5, PG 29: 493C; *σαφῶς καὶ ἀσφαλῶς*: *De bapt.* 1.2.22, PG 31: 1564A; Neri, p. 262.828; *σοφῶς καὶ ἐντέχνως*: *HPs. 1*. 3, PG 29: 216B; Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.223 (= Bk. 12, PG 45: 985A; Jaeger, 1: 290.23); *C. Eun.*, Jaeger, 1: 11.11 (of Gregory's refutation of Eunomius). Cf. the biblical (Eph. 1.8) *σοφίᾳ καὶ φρονήσει*. For God as *σοφὸς καὶ εὐμήχανος ποιητής* see Gregory of Nyssa, *In s. Pascha*, PG 46: 668A; Gebhardt, 9: 258.1-2; *σοφοῦ τε καὶ τεχνικοῦ λόγου*: *De an.*, PG 46: 25A; cf. 28A, 29A, 121C, 124B, 153A. Cf. the revealing definition of the Holy Spirit in Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 5.29, PG 36: 168A: *σοφώτατον καὶ πολύτροπον καὶ σαφηνιστικὸν πάντων*, which thus assigns philosophical as well as rhetorical-relational operation to deity itself.

I append here a passage from Gregory of Nyssa which has the merit of presenting to us in integrated form most of the concepts discussed in this paper: *De an.*, PG 46: 105A: *μάτην δυσανασχετεῖτε ... τῷ εἱρμῷ τῆς ἀναγκαίας πραγμάτων ἀκολουθίας, ἀγνοοῦντες πρὸς ὅντινα σκοπὸν τὰ καθ' ἕκαστον ἐν τῷ παντὶ οἰκονομούμενα φέρεται, ὅτι πάντα χρὴ τάξει τινὶ καὶ ἀκολουθίᾳ κατὰ τὴν τεχνικὴν τοῦ καθηγεμόνος σοφίαν τῇ θείᾳ προσοικειωθῆναι φύσει. τούτου γὰρ ἕνεκεν ἡ λογικὴ φύσις ἦλθεν εἰς γένεσιν, κτλ.*

of God and the "wisdom and grace" of a correspondent's letters.[178] Such combinations are not to be understood either as redundancies or as independent items in a series. Like *κοινωνία καὶ ἕνωσις*, the unified society for which he hopes,[179] and "faith working through charity (Gal. 5.6),"[180] they are rather forms of hendiadys in the true sense of one-through-two, assertions of unity in and through plurality.[181] These modes of expression,

[177] *Φοβερὸν καὶ φιλάνθρωπον*: *EAmph.* [234] 1, PG 32: 869A; Courtonne, 3: 42.17; and note the further pairs (18-19): *τὸ δίκαιον καὶ δημιουργικόν, τὸ προγνωστικόν καὶ τὸ ἀνταποδοτικόν, τὸ μεγαλεῖον καὶ τὸ προνοητικόν*. Cf. *EHes.* [72], PG 32: 440B; Courtonne, 1: 169.12: *τῷ φόβῳ τὸ μακρόθυμον ἀναμίξαι*. Basil's interest in God's justice and mercy is extensive: *HPs. 32 passim*, PG 29: 324A-349A; *HPs. 114 passim*, PG 29: 484A-493C; *Asc. Pr3 passim*, PG 31: 889A-901A; *HGrat.* [4] *passim*, PG 31: 653A-676C; et al. Cf. *HPs. 114*. 3, PG 29: 489A: *οὔτε ὁ ἔλεος τοῦ θεοῦ ἄκριτος, οὔτε ἡ κρίσις ἀνελεήμων*; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De cast.*, PG 46: 316A: *δικάζων ἐμμελῶς, ἀπλανῶς ὁδηγῶν*. For Gregory of Nazianzus St. Paul's virtue, in which he is a *μιμητὴς Χριστοῦ*, lies in the variety of his healing ministry, in which he combines strictness with loving kindness (*φιλανθρωπία* and *τὸ αὐστηρόν*), *ὡς μήτε τῇ χρηστότητι μαλακίζειν μήτε τραχύνειν τῇ χαλεπότητι*, *Or.* 2.54, PG 35: 464A-465B. In *Or.* 43.40, PG 36: 549B-C, he tells us that Basil tempered strictness with reasonableness and softness with firmness, so that his opponents came to believe that their salvation resided in their being both "with him and under him": *ἐπιεικείᾳ μὲν τὸ ἀντιτυπές, στερρότητι δὲ τὸ ἁπαλὸν κερασάμενος ... μίαν μὲν ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ μετ' ἐκείνου καὶ ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ τετάχθαι*. See further ibid. 64: 581B, where the opposite of *δίκαιον* is *ἀκοινώνητον* and of *σώφρονα*. *μισάνθρωπον*; also nn. 7-10 above.

[178] *Σοφια και χάρις*: *EMel.* [57], PG 32: 405C; Courtonne, 1: 144.10. Wisdom and love as expressions of divine *οἰκονομία*, Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 11.8, PG 32: 1269A. See also n. 7 above. Gregory of Nazianzus says Basil advanced *σοφίᾳ καὶ χάριτι* with age, just like Christ (cf. Luke 2.52): *Or.* 43.38, PG 36: 548B. Cf. *εὐχάριστον καὶ φιλόσοφον*, *Or.* 14.34, PG 35: 904C.

[179] *EAth.* [82], PG 32: 460B; Courtonne, 1: 185.24-25; *EPetr.* [133], 569B; Courtonne, 2: 47.10-11; *EPatrph.* [244] 2, 913C, Courtonne, 3: 75.23-25; et al. The phrase had already been in use before Basil's day. Consult *PGL* for both terms. *Συμφωνία καὶ ἕνωσις*: *EAth.* [67], PG 32: 428A; Courtonne, 1: 159.4; *φιλία καὶ ἕνωσις*: *ENeoc.* [204] 1, PG 32: 745A; Courtonne, 2: 173.9. Cf. *EOccid.* [90] 1, PG 32: 473A; Courtonne, 1: 195.27. Cf. the analysis of the meanings of *συγκοινωνία* *De bapt.* 2.9.4, PG 31: 1616B-1617B; Neri, pp. 396.95-398.132. On the interesting phrase *μίαν συμπάθειαν καὶ ἀκριβῆ κοινωνίαν* see n. 42 above. A feature common to practically all the pairs that we have been examining, is the absence of *τε*, as if to suggest that the two units have a natural affinity which does not require an additional copula to bind them together.

[180] *Πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη*: *Reg. mor.* 80.22, PG 31: 868C. For the connection with *οἰκονομία* cf. 1 Tim. 1.4; Luke 12.42; n. 7 above.

[181] Cf. Basil's interest in Eph. 2.14: "For he is our peace, who hath made both one and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us; ... for to make in himself of twain one new man, so making peace: and that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross": cited and discussed *De bapt.* 1.2.22, PG 31: 1564A-B; Neri, pp. 262.831-264.844; *HPs. 32*. 6, PG 29: 340A; *HPs. 33*. 5, PG 29: 361C; 33.10, 376C; *HPs. 45*. 8, PG 29: 432A; *Hps. 59*. 3, PG 29: 465C. Remarkable is the exegesis of Psalm 61.11-12: "God hath spoken once; / Twice have I heard this; / that power belongeth unto God. / Also unto thee, O Lord, belongeth mercy," *HPs. 61*. 5, PG 29: 481B-C: "Let it not disturb anyone that ... God spoke once and the prophet heard two things. ... God is powerful, he

though colored no doubt by the old Stoic fascination with paradox,[182] rely in the final analysis rather on those productive oxymora that are at the core of much of Christian doctrine and consciousness, pre-eminently the Incarnation and its concept of God-man (θεάνθρωπος).[183] Nor can we but suppose that the burning theological issue of the day, the triune God, also made a contribution. In short, just as in the *Hexaemeron*, style for Basil not only reinforces thought, but gives substance to it,[184] so through the

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says, in judgment, and likewise merciful." Divine discourse is singular, but it contains and from it emanates the multiplicity necessary to make it intelligible to the discursive human mind.

[182] Cf., e.g., Cicero's *Paradoxa Stoicorum*. See n. 172 above. There are traces of the terminology already in Plato, *Rep.* 396c: ἀσφαλῶς τε καὶ ἐμφρόνως; *Phaedrus* 273b: σοφὸν ἅμα καὶ τεχνικόν; and the conception lurks also in the ancient contrast between τέχνη and ἐπιστήμη. Philo makes considerable use of the pattern. Given the Platonic Stoicism in much of his work, the Stoa is a clear candidate as the source for much of it. Cf. *Quod omn. prob.* 59 (a Stoic formulation, to which he objects): ὁ φρονίμως πάντα ποιῶν εὖ ποιεῖ πάντα · ὁ δ' εὖ ποιῶν πάντα ὀρθῶς ποιεῖ πάντα; *De sacr. Ab. et Caini* 30 (var.): ἀκριβῶς καὶ εὐχερῶς; *Quod Deus sit immut.* 16: ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως; *De Iosepho* 50: εὐχερῶς καὶ ἀνεξετάστως; *De somn. libr. 2.* 103: ἀκριβῶς καὶ περιεσκεμμένως; *De spec. leg. 2.* 130: ἀναγκαίως καὶ πρεπόντως; *De posterit. Caini* 171: καίρια καὶ τέλεια; *De opif.* 165: προσφυῶς καὶ εὐθυβόλως; *De aetern.* 54: ἐτύμως καὶ προσφυέστατα; cf. *De vita Moys. 1.* 49: μήπω τοῖς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἔθεσιν ἐνωμιληκὼς μηδὲ ἀκριβῶς ἐπιστάμενος; *De spec. leg. 1.* 3: φρονιμώτερον καὶ σεμνότερον. Note the parallel idea of καλόν joined to συμφέρον or ὠφέλιμον or ἁρμόζον, as in *De congr. erud. quot.* 137: καλῶς καὶ συμφερόντως: *De spec. leg. 1.* 320; *2.* 12, 166; *De decal.* 133; *De cherub.* 13; *De sacr. Ab. et Caini* 19.71; *De ebriet.* 16, 33, 139; *Quod Deus sit immut.* 25; and cf. καλῶς ἁρμοσθὲν καὶ ἔχον εὖ: *De aetern.* 13, quoting Plato, *Tim.* 41a. Τὰ καλὰ καὶ συμφέροντα ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἡμῶν forms part of one of the prayers in the *Liturgy of St. Chrysostom*; F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* (Oxford 1896) p. 381.25. Clement of Alexandria, *Quis div. salv.* 2.3, GCS 3: 161.4: ὀρθῶς καὶ προσηκόντως; *Strom.* 7.9.54.4, GCS 3: 40.18: ὁσίως καὶ προσηκόντως; and note the manuscript confusion between κυρίως and καιρίως, Plotinus, *Enn.* 6.6.12.

[183] J. Plagnieux, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze théologien* (Paris 1951) p. 239, has called attention to other pairs, such as perfect virginity and true maternity in Mary, flesh and spirit, transcendence and immanence, literalism and allegory, church and state. They are not all on a par, since the combination of singularity and plurality is not always, at least necessarily or immediately, involved, but they must have served all the same to heighten the awareness of antithesis and thence the need of dealing somehow with it. See also J. Tyciak, *Wege östlicher Theologie. Geistesgeschichtliche Durchblicke* (Bonn 1946), cited by Plagnieux.

[184] Since figures of speech, indeed, style in general, do not exist in a vacuum, particularly in a Christian context, where the human logos is ideally the reflection of the divine Logos, polyptoton, that is, the use of the same word in two different cases, as e.g., φίλον φίλῳ, in immediate or close juxtaposition, has a special rationale beyond its popularity among the Sophists. Both Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus make good use of it, the one moderately, the other extensively. The normal pattern combines nominative or accusative, i.e., the predicative cases, with the oblique or "relational" ones, the genitive or dative, the aim apparently being to include within one grammatical formula both aspects of our experience of any given category. We attend thereby the loss of differentiation

distinctive phraseology of these formulas he proposes a special answer to the age-old problem of philosophy versus rhetoric, one based now on his religious perceptions.[185]

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between style and content, the erasing of distinction between means and ends. At the very least, the two forms are presented to us in solipsistic, so to speak, interaction. Basilian examples: *HPs. 14b.* 2, PG 29: 269B: *κακὸν κακῷ*; *EAth. Anc.* [25] 2, PG 32: 300C; Courtonne, 1: 62.3-4: *μόνον μόνῳ διαλεχθῆναι*; and the effective passage, *Hex.* 9.2, PG 29: 189C; Giet, p. 484, where the figure is used to illustrate the preservation of species in time precisely through its successive generations: *ἵππον μὲν γὰρ ἵππου ποιεῖται διάδοχον, καὶ λέοντα λέοντος καὶ ἀετὸν ἀετοῦ · καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ζῴων ταῖς ἐφεξῆς διαδοχαῖς συντηρούμενον μέχρι τῆς συντελείας τοῦ παντὸς παραπέμπει.* Of the very many passages in Gregory we may limit ourselves to some of those that show how polyptoton could be used to reinforce theological propositions: *Or.* 19.10, PG 35: 1054D: *δότε τῷ Λόγῳ τὸν λόγον*; *Or.* 6.2, PG 35: 724B: *λόγος τῷ λόγῳ κινούμενος*; *Poem.* 1.1.6.20-34, PG 37: 430-432: *θεὸς τὸ πᾶν τόδε / ἑλίσσων καὶ πλέκων, ὡς ἂν θέλῃ, / τοῖς αὐτὸς αὑτοῦ νεύμασί τε καὶ λόγοις / ... εἰ δ' ἀγνοεῖς τοὺς λόγους, οὐ καὶ Λόγος.* A parallel practice in both authors is the use not of nouns but of the active and passive forms of the same verb in proximity to one another. The same explanation would hold here as in the other case. Basil: *Hex.* 2.4, PG 29: 37B; Giet, p. 158: *κρατούντων ἐν μέρει καὶ κρατουμένων*; *HDiv.* [7] 4, PG 31: 292B: *οὐκ ἐλεήσας οὐκ ἐλεηθήσῃ.* Gregory: *Or.* 12.4, PG 35: 848A: *τοῦτο ὠφελεῖσθαι, τὸ ὠφελεῖν ἀλλήλους ἀποκτείνῃ τῷ θανάτῳ τὸν θάνατον* (of Christ): *Or.* 15.12, PG 35: 933A: *γινώσκων τοὺς ἰδίους καὶ γινωσκόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδίων, ὁμολογούμενός τε καὶ ὁμολογῶν, δοξαζόμενός τε καὶ δοξάζων* (of God): et al. Discussion of polyptoton: Campbell, *The Influence*, pp. 22, 40-41; Way, *The Language*, p. 182; Hengsberg, *De ornatu*, pp. 80-84; Courtonne, p. 230; M. Guignet, *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze et la rhétorique* (Paris 1911) pp. 90, 97-98, 248-254. One should consider it together with the similar figures, oxymoron and paronomasia.

[185] Herewith some further examples from the two Gregories: Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.18, PG 45: 253B; Jaeger, 1: 28.2: *καλῶς καὶ προσηκόντως*, said of Paul's advice; 3.6.12, 773A; Jaeger, 2: 190.6: *καλῶς καὶ προσφυῶς*, of Biblical phrasing; 3.1.132: 612C, Jaeger, 2: 48.8: *προσφυῶς καὶ κυρίως*; and note the claim here made that the names assigned to God fall into two categories, those that refer to His lofty and ineffable glory and those that describe His providential dispensation; cf. also 3.2.55, 637C; Jaeger, 2: 70.24-26; 3.7.40, 816D: Jaeger, 2: 229.19: *κυρίως καὶ προσφυῶς*; 3.6.44, 785B; Jaeger, 2: 201.16: *κυρίως τε καὶ προσφυῶς*; 3.7.15, 805D; Jaeger, 2: 220.5-6: *καλὸν καὶ πρέπον.*

Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 2.27, PG 36: 64C: *πιθανώτερόν τε καὶ ἀληθέστερον*; cf. ibid. 4.19, 128B; 43.68, PG 36: 585D: Gregory claims to speak *κυριώτερον καὶ σαφέστερον*; cf. *Or.* 1.4, PG 35: 397B: *τιμιώτατον καὶ οἰκειότατον*; *Or.* 4.22, PG 35: 550C: *χρηστότερα ἢ σοφώτερα*; *Or.* 18.30, PG 35: 1024B: *ἑτοίμως καὶ φιλανθρώπως*; *Or.* 4.105, PG 35: 641A: *φιλανθρωπότερον καὶ τελείως*; ibid. 117, 656C: *σοφῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως*; ibid. 118, 657A: *ἁπλῶς καὶ δικαίως* (here *δικαίως* is to be thought of in terms of *οἰκονομία*; normally it marks the opposite, as in justice-mercy); *Or.* 14.17, PG 35: 880A: *εὐπρεπέστατά τε καὶ ἀσφαλέστατα*; *Or.* 19.7, PG 35: 1052A: *εὐπειθῆ καὶ εὐγνώμονα.* In *Or.* 43.68, PG 36: 588B-C, the contrast is between using the *κυρία φωνή*, i.e., actually calling the Holy Spirit God, and Basil's *οἰκονομία* in not doing so. Ibid. 69, the same contrast is expressed as *οἰκονομία-παρρησία*. In *Or.* 2.33, PG 35: 441A-B, success in the curing of souls, just as in medicine, takes into account the basic reality of things in themselves, *τὰ πράγματα*, the *καιρός*, as well as the disposition of the patient. Through experience, *πεῖρα*, based on these factors there is eventually formed an effective "medical system and medical man," *τῷ θεραπευτῇ λόγῳ καὶ ἀνδρί* (Browne-Swallow translation, *NPNF* 7). It is easy to imagine the application of the same formula to *λόγος* as discourse. For the combination *ἁπλότης/ὀρθότης* with *τὸ ποικίλον* as forming the effective

Having examined man in general as social being and seen how interacting theological and rhetorical values help shape and define his social character in a Christian world, let us finally focus on man in particular, as psychological being. We have noted Basil's instinctive propensity for endowing his words with rich psychological content. What is the theoretical basis of his habit?

The second of the functions of rhetoric, following invention, is arrangement: *τάξις* in Greek, *dispositio* regularly in Latin. The strict translation of *τάξις*, however, is not *dispositio* but *ordo*, and indeed, in what one may perhaps call the right wing of ancient theory, *ordo* appears as the standard category.[186] The Greek equivalent for *dispositio* is rather *διάθεσις*. Now *διάθεσις* is in point of fact Plato's term for arrangement (for which *τάξις* came to be the Aristotelian substitute),[187] and is the one preferred by

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orator see *Or.* 2.44, PG 35: 452C-453A: *ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ διαφόρων καὶ ἠθῶν καὶ λόγων, καθάπερ ἑνὸς ζῴου συνθέτου καὶ ἀνομοίου, τοῦ κοινοῦ τούτου τῆς ἐκκλησίας σώματος, πᾶσα ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸν προστάτην ἁπλοῦν τε εἶναι τὸν αὐτὸν κατὰ τὴν ἐν πᾶσιν ὀρθότητα· καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα παντοδαπὸν καὶ ποικίλον κατὰ τὴν πρὸς ἕκαστον οἰκείωσιν, καὶ τὸ τῆς ὁμιλίας πρὸς πάντας ἐπιτήδειόν τε καὶ πρόσφορον*; and note the combination, ibid., *ὡς ἡ φύσις τε καὶ ἡ συνήθεια.* That our juxtaposition has a theological foundation that goes back to a kind of ideal rhetoric in the divine act of Creation itself, in which invention and arrangement occur simultaneously, becomes clear from such a phrase as *οὐσιώσαντός τε καὶ συναρμόσαντος*, *Or.* 14.33, PG 35: 901C. The phrase may be regarded as a distillation of the extensive treatment of the same subject in Basil's *Hex.* 2.2, PG 29: 29C-33B; Giet, pp. 142-148. Cf. *Or.* 24.3, PG 35: 788B: God both makes and through His creative Word transforms all things in season by His wisdom and providence: *εὖ ποιῶν τὰ πάντα καὶ μετασκευάζων τῷ τεχνίτῃ Λόγῳ κατὰ καιρὸν καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐπίστασαι τῷ βάθει τῆς σῆς σοφίας καὶ διοικήσεως.* Cf. *Or.* 43.64, PG 36: 581C, where Basil is praised for avoiding the excesses (*ἀμετρίαν*) of both censure and indulgence and making use of both "fitly and in season," in accordance with the precepts of Solomon, who assigned a season for all things (Eccl. 3.1): *ἀμφοτέροις σὺν λόγῳ καὶ καιρῷ χρώμενον, κατὰ τοὺς Σολομῶντος νόμους, παντὶ πράγματι καιρὸν διατάξαντος.*

Especially interesting is the phrase, *Or.* 5.39, PG 35: 716B: *μέγα τι καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές.* The same concept, size, is presented to us unified, in both its "pure" and its relational (*-πρεπές*) aspect. Cf. *Or.* 22.9, PG 35: 1141B: *μέγιστον ... καὶ μεγαλοπρεπές.* The phrase, *ἐχθρὸν καὶ πολέμιον*, though much older Greek (e.g., Sophocles, *Philoct.* 1302), may perhaps in contemporary usage be affected by the same considerations, the one term describing the fact, the other the act of hostility against an enemy, that is, its application: *Or.* 4.1, PG 35: 532B; 19.5, 1049A; et al. Cf. *ἐχθρὸν καὶ φιλόνεικον*, *Or.* 21.21, PG 35: 1105B; *κακὴν καὶ ὀλέθριον*, *Or.* 4.33, PG 35: 560C, i.e., what something is in itself plus what it does to others. The oxymoron, *Poem* 2.1.11.1205-1206, PG 37: 1111-1112, *πειθοῖ βιαίᾳ*, "forceful persuasion," is of the same order. (One may wonder whether the ancient choice of *δεινότης*, "forcefulness," to define the ideal orator was not similarly conditioned.) The context in which the phrase appears has the added value of showing that such a harmonization is ultimately rooted in divine sanction: *τὸ κρατεῖν δὲ τιμιώτερον πολὺ πειθοῖ βιαίᾳ τῷ θεῷ προσκτώμενον.*

[186] Texts in Martin, *Antike Rhetorik*, pp. 216-218. On *μεγαλοπρεπῶς* in Gregory see Kertsch, *JÖB* 23 (1974) 25 n. 26.

[187] *Phaedrus* 236a4-5; *Rhet.* Γ.12.6, 1414a30.

Hermagoras and his school, who are no doubt the source for the Latin translator and also for the later rhetorical systems that adopt it.[188] In them one notes a clear attempt to give it larger weight within the roster of functions. Arrangement is sometimes split into three and *διάθεσις* put at its head. Its role, never quite defined, is to control *τάξις* and *οἰκονομία*, which then become first the purely logical order of the parts of a speech, and second the order as adjusted with a view to advantage.[189] Another line of thought makes even style and delivery its subdivisions,[190] so that it acquires as its province the whole of expression,[191] while a third understands it as discriminating faculty,[192] in which role it becomes convertible with *iudicium*.[193]

This fascination with structure and willingness to assign all of rhetoric to its control go hand in hand with the various philosophical speculations that emerge in the Hellenistic and imperial centuries, each trying to devise a universal system that will somehow explain all the facts. On this reckoning *διάθεσις* is but the mode adopted by rhetoric by way of seeing the human logos in equivalent scope.

This, however, is only half the story. The remarkable aggrandizement of function cannot be explained on the basis of *διάθεσις* in the meaning of arrangement alone. One senses in its broad reach something else as well: the assignment of moral value to discourse, coupled with the attempt to penetrate somehow into its subliminal realm, into the very quality of its being, the affective composition of logos itself.[194] A further look into the history of the term may help uncover the reasons for such a development.

[188] Cf. Sextus Empiricus, *Adv. rhet.* 62: *Ἑρμαγόρας τελείου ῥήτορος ἔργον εἶναι τὸ τεθὲν πολιτικὸν ζήτημα διατίθεσθαι κατὰ τὸ ἐνδεχόμενον πειστικῶς*; similarly, Rufus (2nd century AD), *Rhet. Gr.*, Walz, 3: 447.3-4; cf. Hermogenes, *De stat.*, Rabe, 42.1; et al.

[189] *Διαθέσεως δὲ τὸ διαθέσθαι τὴν τάξιν καὶ οἰκονομίαν ... ἡ δὲ τάξις τῆς ἀκολουθίας ἐστὶ τῶν κεφαλαίων . . . ἡ δὲ οἰκονομία ἐστὶ τοῦ συμφέροντος*: Athanasius, *In Hermog. De stat.* (not after fifth century — Rabe), *Prol. Syll.* 176.4-9: similarly, *Excerpta anon.*, *Prol. Syll.* 61.6 (5th/6th century); Anonymous, *In Hermog. De stat.*, *Prol. Syll.* 201.22-26 (probably same date), and cf. the definition of *οἰκονομία* as *τάξις ἄτακτος*, *Excerpta anon.*, *Prol. Syll.* 236.15 (similar to Pseudo-Longinus' appreciation of Demosthenes' artistry, *De sublim.*, Russell, 20.3; cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *De benef.*, PG 46: 456D: *ἄτακτα καὶ ἀνοικονόμητα*.

[190] Basically the Stoic view. See L. Spengel, "Die Definition und Einteilung der Rhetorik bei den Alten," *RhM* 18 (1863) 503. See also Martin, *Antike Rhetorik*, pp. 213-216.

[191] Already in Dionysius of Halicarnassus *διατίθημι* means fully and simply to deliver a speech: *Ad Amm.* 1.260.15, 261.6; *Ad Pomp.*, Usener-Radermacher, 2.230.10 et al. Cf. also Plutarch, *Demosth.* 7.2.

[192] Cf. Cicero, *De orat.* 1.142: *inventa non solum ordine sed etiam momento quodam atque iudicio dispensare atque componere.*

[193] Cf., e.g., Theodorus of Gadara, quoted by Quintilian, 2.15.20.

[194] Such an interpretation may help account for the practical identification in

Διάθεσις in Plato has two meanings: rhetorical arrangement, as we have seen, and "disposition" of soul (*διάθεσις ψυχῆς*), as in *Philebus* 11d4.[195] It would be tempting to suppose, given Platonic emphasis on the soul, that the two meanings were related in Plato's mind, but there is nothing in the *Phaedrus* to suggest that the rhetorical term was chosen for its psychological associations, either by Plato or some unknown predecessor, and we may rather assume that for all practical purposes its connotations are the same as those of Aristotle's *τάξις*. This is not to say that the second meaning does not enter rhetorical consciousness. It does indeed, but only subsequently and largely through Aristotle's adoption of it as part of his ethical terminology.[196] Through Aristotle it became a common item in the baggage of all later discussions of ethics, though we must also take into account the more direct influence of the Platonic original, albeit in interaction with Peripatetic perceptions, once the Platonic dialogues began in late antiquity to receive more intensive scrutiny. We need not trace these two traditions, the one more exclusively structural, the other psychological, through their Stoic and Neoplatonic phases. Suffice it for our purposes to suggest that we have in the rhetorical theorists who adopt the term basically a conflation of the two meanings.

Such a conflation may be seen as a means of accommodating what students of late antiquity have often recognized as two equally compelling demands of the period. Form on the one hand and ethos on the other, the one marking the measure of reason and of collected authority, the other the more free, subtle, and vibrant voice of the soul,[197] find common ground in the idiosyncrasy of the logos itself. In a world made up only of patterns, surrender to stereotype is perforce inevitable, but the solution, by encompassing as well the more subjective sides of rhetoric, such as style and *οἰκονομία*, supplied its own corrective. *Διάθεσις* gave form to ethos and ethos to form and in so doing laid down the challenge that confronts the whole of later Greek literature. The envisioned structure is, at least ideally, organic and sensitive. Basil himself is a good model of the possibilities that it offered, for it is the combination of the firmly

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contemporary thought of *βίος* and *λόγος* (see n. 7 above and pp. 277-278 below), troublesome to the modern reader for being so foreign to our understanding of life and letters.

[195] That the same term was chosen to mean two different things is not at issue here. The accident but attests the Greek habit of seeking to understand all types of experience analytically.

[196] *Eth. Nicom.* B.7.6, 1107b16; *De anima* B.5, 417b15; *Polit.* *Δ*.2.2, 1324a17; et al.

[197] Fedwick, *The Church*, p. xv, speaking more of church matters, employs the terms "institution" and "authority" versus charisma.

modulated and at the same time vitally evocative quality of his work, in other words, the controlled synthesis of form and ethos, that has traditionally drawn the admiration of his readers. Finally, we may note that these two categories are but one more expression of that same issue of freedom and authority that we have seen treated in such a wealthy variety of ways in contemporary thought. In sum, Aristotle's famous ἦθος τοῦ λέγοντος[198] becomes διάθεσις τοῦ λέγοντος.[199] In the process the notion of character as an instrument of persuasion in a given oration yields to a conception of logos that in its expression naturally contains and conveys a whole cast of personality.

Διάθεσις, however, had still further service to perform. Basil gives it a central role in Christian consciousness, and in so doing provides to his literary success as well its ultimate reference. In a seminal article some years ago Bamberger, basing himself largely on the widespread use of the term in the *Asceticon* (68 times, mostly as a noun), uncovered a distinctive meaning.[200] Herewith his results: (i) διάθεσις is often connected with the more profound and deep-seated emotions, especially ἀγάπη; (ii) it is stable and abiding; (iii) it has moral content: "Basil understood ... that the deepest part of man's emotional life has moral implications which are so far-reaching as to indicate his moral relation to God's law and so to God Himself";[201] (iv) it is often unconscious and thus can profit from a spiritual director who can recognize it and guide it; (v) it has an immediate, dynamic, and mutual relation with the body. Speech gives voice to it, "for what is the propensity to speak with a given accent but a diathesis in its motor function?"[202]

The depth of meaning that Basil has developed for the term does not seem to obtain for any previous Patristic writer.[203] Much more work will

[198] *Rhet. A*.2.3, 1356a2.

[199] For this phrase in Basil see n. 204 below.

[200] J. E. Bamberger, "Μνήμη-Διάθεσις. The Psychic Dynamisms in the Ascetical Theology of St. Basil," *OCP* 34 (1968) 233-251.

[201] P. 241.

[202] P. 247.

[203] Bamberger suggests a close examination of Athanasius and Origen, and, noticing that Basil sometimes explains διάθεσις through medical analogies, is prompted to remark that it is a term in medical texts. However, he hesitates, I think rightly, to draw too close a connection. Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 33.1, PG 31: 998C; 52, 1041B; *EApokr. br.* 99, PG 31: 1152A-B; 158, 1185B-C; *Reg. mor.* 19.1, PG 31: 736A. Διάθεσις is not uncommon in Basil's other works as well. Neri, e.g., p. 90, points out that the main preoccupation of *De bapt.* turns on the attitude (διάθεσις) with which we observe the ten commandments. For other passages in this work consult his Index. *EMil.* [106], PG 32: 513D; Courtonne, 2: 7.7-8, asserts that Christians are marked by their διάθεσις ψυχῆς. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 25.3, PG 35: 1201C, gives an analogous description of Christian devotion: Χριστιανισμὸς καὶ ἡ

need to be done to secure a historical understanding of this as well as of its other uses. For the moment, however, it seems not unreasonable to suppose, given that fact that the term appears often in the *Asceticon* in contexts having to do with speech,[204] that Basil is building in part from a base in the rhetorical tradition. His large contribution is not so much to have dislodged *διάθεσις* from the temporal and momentary[205] — its

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περὶ τοῦτο διάθεσις, ἐκ προαιρέσεως μὲν ἀρχομένη, τῇ δὲ φύσει βεβαιουμένη. A fuller study of the term would have to consider it jointly with the development of the concept of the will, *voluntas*. For the connection of διάθεσις and ἀγάπη with God's θέλημα see *Asc. Pr 4*. 3-4. PG 31: 896A-900D.

[204] *EApokr. fus.* 5.1, PG 31: 920D; 5.3, 924D; 16.3, 960B-C; 30, 992C; 32, 993D-997A; *EApokr. br.* 24, PG 31: 1100B; 274, 1280A. For its connection with οἰκονομία see *Asc. Pr3* 4, PG 31: 900C; *EApokr. fus.* 9.1, PG 31: 941B; 29, 992A; *EApokr. br.* 92, PG 31: 1145C-D. Ἐνδιάθετος, "heartfelt," sometimes appears in contexts treating διάθεσις: *EApokr. br.* 11, PG 31: 1089A; 174, 1197B; 242, 1244C; *ECol.* [227], PG 32: 852B; Courtonne, 3: 29.4-30.10. It derives from the Stoic distinction ἐνδιάθετος – προφορικὸς λόγος, immanent reason versus utterance: *SVF* 2.43.135. See also Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, pp. 201-203. This helps to explain the double meaning of διάθεσις in some of the letters. It can refer within a single context both to the predisposition of the author towards his correspondent, that is, the sentiment that, arising as λόγος in his heart, has yielded his λόγος, i.e., letter, to him in the first place, and also to the expression of that sentiment in the special form and content of the words themselves. Both the fact that the letter exists and the way it exists mark the διάθεσις of its author. Cf. *EOlymp.* [12], PG 32: 276A; Courtonne, 1: 42.6; *EAsch.* [154], 612A; Courtonne, 2: 79.20; *EAsch.* [164] 1, 636B-C; Courtonne, 2: 98.32. Cf. also *EPatrph.* [244] 4, PG 32: 916D; Courtonne, 3: 77.10-11; et al. *EThdr.* [124], using language Platonic in tenor, speaks of an ἐρωτικὴ διάθεσις toward the "holy and guileless soul" of a friend, PG 32: 544C-D; Courtonne, 2: 29.8-9; and note the demand, *HPs. 7.* 6, PG 29: 241B, that in the interpretation of a passage one must include a consideration of the διάθεσις τοῦ λέγοντος. In general, διάθεσις is not any psychological state, but the good ones. *Παρὰ διάθεσιν* in *De bapt.* (see n. 203 above) refers to actions done from bad motives. For διάθεσις as a title of address in Christian writers see Dinneen, *Titles*, pp. 63-64. Unlike those from Athanasius and Chrysostom, the examples given from Basil are not completely convincing: *EAsch.* [154], PG 32: 612A; Courtonne, 2: 79.20, 34; *EAmph.* [200], 735A; Courtonne, 2: 164.12; *EOpt.* [260] 1, 956A; Courtonne, 3: 105.7; *EAndr. ux.* [269] 1, 1000A; Courtonne, 3: 139.1 (these last two perhaps). One would like, for example, at least one in the nominative case. At the very least, however, the phrasing is admittedly colored by the contemporary trend.

Since words are a reflection of the διάθεσις of the soul, one could by extension conceive of "well-disposed" discourse as one in which the individual words, cohering in bonds of mutual love and attraction, both among themselves and in relation to their audience, have found their proper partners. This view is not in Basil except perhaps by implication — he does not look upon logos in such purely lexical terms — but the underlying perception recalls the image of the periodic sentence as a dance of words that is found in Pseudo-Longinus, *De sublim.*, Russell, 22.1, and in the Byzantine John Siceliotes, *Rhet. Gr.*, Walz, 6: 206.30. One thinks also of the conceit of Proclus, *In rem publ.* 1.67.10-69.19, for whom logos is an analogue of the harmonious "accents" of the universe and its orbiting stars. See Kustas, *Studies*, pp. 177-179.

[205] As in the Aristotelian distinction ἕξις-διάθεσις, settled habit as against more transient state, *Categ.* 8b27-9a13; et al.

relation to τάξις had already given it a purchase on stability — but to have transformed it from psychological commitment to spiritual devotion. Διάθεσις is now the spring of Christian life, defining the constancy of the soul in communion with God and fellowman.[206] Hence the close connection with ἀγάπη, the central and most rewarding feature in his conception. The unusual, perhaps even strained, phraseology involving the two terms uncovers a desire to relate them as closely as possible short of actual identification.[207] As a result διάθεσις comes forth not as a state or condition, but as a function, and one that, like ἀγάπη, is associative by its very nature. We witness once again Basil's dedication to social process. The διάθεσις/ἀγάπη to which we should aspire has its base of inspiration in God's own love for humanity,[208] and will stand in imitation of the

[206] Basil's full definition appears *EApokr. br.* 157, PG 31: 1185A-B, in answer to the inquiry, with what kind of disposition must one serve God and in general what is this disposition: "I deem a good disposition to be a desire of pleasing God, that is vehement, insatiable, firmly fixed, and unchangeable. It is attained by wise and continuous contemplation of the majesty of the glories of God, by good thoughts, and ceaseless remembrance of the blessings that have come to us from God. From this there is born in the soul fulfilment of the Commandment, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind'" (Mark 12.30): *διάθεσιν ἀγαθὴν ἡγοῦμαι εἶναι ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς πρὸς θεὸν εὐαρεστήσεως σφοδρὰν καὶ ἀκόρεστον καὶ πεπηγυῖαν καὶ ἀμετάθετον. κατορθοῦται δὲ αὕτη ἐν θεωρίᾳ συνετῇ καὶ διηνεκεῖ τῆς μεγαλειότητος τῶν δοξῶν τοῦ θεοῦ, λογισμοῖς τε εὐγνώμοσι καὶ ἀδιαλείπτῳ μνήμῃ τῶν ὑπαρξάντων ἡμῖν παρὰ θεοῦ ἀγαθῶν. ἀφ' ὧν ἐγγίνεται τῇ ψυχῇ τὸ Ἀγαπήσεις Κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου, κτλ.* We see in this passage the connection of διάθεσις with the equally important Basilian notion of the memory of God. Bamberger, "Μνήμη," devotes half his article to it. Cf. p. 245: the development of spiritual life (διάθεσις) depends on the "activities of the mind and the memory ... in attending to the actions of God in our lives." For the idea of stability see further *De Sp. S.* 63, PG 32: 184C; Pruche, p. 474.18-19: *διὰ τὸ ἑδραῖον τῆς περὶ τὸ καλὸν διαθέσεως*. *Mor. PrF.* [8] 2, PG 31: 884D, tells us that διάθεσις must not be *μερική*. Cf. also *Hex.* 6.10, PG 29: 141D; Giet, p. 380.

[207] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 80.17, PG 31: 865C: *ἐν πολλῇ διαθέσει τῆς ἐν Χριστῷ ἀγάπης*, "fervent disposition of love in Christ"; *Asc. Pr3* 3, PG 31: 896A (= Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 7.12, PG 32: 1216B): *ἐν διαθέσει τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης*, "disposition of love for God"; *EApokr. br.* 172, PG 31: 1196B: *τὴν διάθεσιν εἰς ἀγάπην τήν τε πρὸς τὸν θεόν, κτλ.*, "a disposition of love both towards God the Father, etc."; 176, 1200B: *ἡ ἀγάπη ἐν διαθέσει ἐστί*, translated by Clarke as "love consists in a disposition of the mind," but the Greek has nothing to cover the last three words; 257, 1253C: *διαθέσει τῆς πρὸς θεὸν ἀγάπης*. For the idea of benevolence see 272, 1272B: *φιλοχρίστου καὶ φιλαδέλφου διαθέσεως* (= Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 2.5, PG 32: 1141C), with its coincident reach to Christ and fellowman; 184, 1205B: *διαθέσεως καὶ εὐσπλαγχνίας*; *HChr.* [27] 3, PG 31: 1468A: *διαθέσει καὶ στοργῇ*.

[208] Supremely in the Incarnation. The subject is eloquently treated *EApokr. br.* 172, PG 31: 1196A-C. The question asks with what disposition (διάθεσις) we should receive the body and blood of Christ. Following his quotation of Scriptural references, 1 Cor. 11.29, Luke 22.19, John 1.14, and Phil. 2.6-8, Basil declares, "When therefore the soul, believing these words and others of similar tenor and importance, understands the majesty of the glory, and wonders at the exceeding measure of humiliation and obedience, in that One so

divine model. Regulating the discourse of the soul with its Maker, it will not only confirm the true Christian individual, but also the spiritual brotherhood of the Christian society of which he is a part, and finds reflection as well in the φιλία and harmonious "sympathy" (συμπάθεια) that exists among the members of the living physical universe at large.[209]

Discourse is thus for Basil a full organic system, expressive of the meaning of the life of the individual and of the world and of the Christian order, the high affirmation of the very nature of humanity as social, spiritual being.[210] Further, through being organic it is also moral — that is the message of the *Hexaemeron* — and, in an assertion as profound as it is rare, he conceives that the object of speech is to make men better.[211]

Accordingly, speech is the product and agent of knowledge. In one of his letters a triple word-play impossible to reproduce in English joins orations (λόγοι), gatherings of people (σύλλογοι), and conversations with

great obeyed the Father unto death, that we might live, then I think it achieves a disposition of love both towards God the Father (for the Greek see previous note), Who 'spared not His own Son but delivered him up for us all' (Rom. 8.32), and towards His only begotten Son, Who became obedient unto death for our redemption and salvation. And then he will be able to obey the Apostle who prescribes a good conscience (ἀγαθὴν συνείδησιν) in these matters as a kind of rule for those who are sound in the faith, saying (there follows a quotation of 2 Cor. 5.14-15) .... Such a disposition and preparation (διάθεσιν τε καὶ ἑτοιμασίαν) ought he to have who partakes of the Bread and the Cup."

[209] Compare the requirement that the monk show τὴν συμπαθῆ διάθεσιν καὶ ἀγαπητικὴν σχέσιν toward his fellows, *Mor. PrF.* 2, PG 31: 884D, with *Hex.* 2.2, PG 29: 33A; Giet, p. 148, regarding God's creation: εἰς οὐσίαν ἤγαγεν ὡς ὁ ἑκάστου λόγος τῶν γινομένων ἀπῄτει. ὅλον δὲ τὸν κόσμον ἀνομοιομερῆ τυγχάνοντα ἀρρήκτῳ τινὶ φιλίας δεσμῷ εἰς μίαν κοινωνίαν καὶ ἁρμονίαν συνέδησε· ὥστε καὶ τὰ πλεῖστον ἀλλήλων τῇ θέσει διεστηκότα ἡνῶσθαι δοκεῖν διὰ τῆς συμπαθείας (echoing Plato, *Tim.* 32bc – Giet, ibid.). Cf. *Hex.* 4.5, PG 29: 92A; Giet, p. 268.

[210] This unity comes for Gregory of Nazianzus to reside and be expressed in the orator himself as complete presence. Cf. *Poem.* 1.2.32.63-64, PG 37: 921: ῥήτωρ πονηρὸς τοὺς νόμους λυμαίνεται· / ἁγνὸς δὲ ῥήτωρ, εὔκρατος ἁρμονία. The first line appears also in other gnomic collections; the second no. See H. L. Davids, *De Gnomologieën van Sint Gregorius van Nazianze* (Nijmegen 1940); L. Sternbach, *Curae Menandreae* (Krakow 1892) p. 40, cited by Davids, p. 64. We have here a significant Christian definition of the ideal orator. The classical *vir bonus dicendi peritus* has become in his purity *vir spiritualis*, both whole and wholesome. Gregory's formula is in part reminiscent of the Neoplatonic vision of man as harmonious microcosm mirroring the happy scheme of the universe at large. One observes also that the definition turns away from practical function in favor of abstract essence, a thrust that seems in keeping with the highly ontological Gregorian perception of logos, seen now in the person of the orator himself.

[211] I take this as the point of the compliment in *EPatrph.* [244] 3, PG 32: 916C; Courtonne, 3: 77.24-25, that Diodorus' grace of speech was such that those who met him were improved. For the notion of change as a central feature of life, together with the hope of spiritual betterment, see *HPs. 44.* 1-2, PG 29: 388A-392C.

learned men (ἐλλόγιμοι) in happy concourse, cleverly interplaying social and intellectual enterprise.[212] The model for such activity presented to us at the beginning of the letter is none other than Odysseus — Basil quotes from the opening lines of the epic (α 2-3): "to have seen the cities of many men and to have learned their minds" — the epitome in the classical tradition of socially responsive, prudent, intellectual, ethical, rhetorical man.

At the same time Basil interprets the famous text in a cultural, fourth-century sense. Association with one's fellows is a natural human impulse, but its results are for him also a witness of education (*μαρτυρία παιδεύσεως*).[213] Thereby we build not only community but a cultural community, a Christian *παιδεία*. Thus it is that Gregory of Nazianzus in his review of Basil's career praises his upbringing as an ideal of *βίος* and *λόγος*:

> Those who are successful in life or letters[214] alone ... seem to us to differ not at all from one-eyed men; ... while those who attain eminence in both alike ... both possess perfection and pass their life in the blessedness of heaven. This is what fell to his lot.[215]

[212] *EMart.* [74] 3, PG 32: 445D; Courtonne, 1: 175.1-2; cf. the triad: deeds, sayings, and the polities of men, ibid. 1, 444A; 173.11-12. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 42.24, PG 36: 488B, finds it *δεινὸν εἰ στερησόμεθα λόγων καὶ συλλόγων καὶ πανηγύρεων*, and the other delights of city life.

[213] The term *παιδεία* and its byforms, very frequent throughout the Corpus by way of describing the aim of monastic and general Christian life, remind us that to a Cappadocian thinker Christianity is both religion and culture, displacing the old paganism. A few references: *EApokr. br.* 114, PG 31: 1160C; 282, 1280C; *De bapt.* 1.2.18, PG 31: 1557B; Neri, p. 240.707; 2.13.2, 1628A; 426.32; *HHum.* [20] 6, PG 31: 537A; *HAtt.* [3] 2, PG 31: 201B; Rudberg, p. 21.13.

[214] Here in the plural, *λόγοι*.

[215] *Or.* 43.12, PG 36: 509B; cf. ibid. 1.68, 493A, 588A. Cf. Metaphrastes, *Sermo* 1.7, PG 32: 1129C. The union of *βίος* and *λόγος* in Basil is celebrated by both Gregories. Gregory of Nazianzus: *Epp.* 16.4.8; 41.8; 43.4, PG 37: 49C; 52A; 85B; 89B; Gallay, pp. 24, 52, 55; *Carm. epitaph.* 119, PG 38: 72-75. In *Or.* 5.39, PG 35: 716B, Gregory speaks of himself and Basil as *βίῳ καὶ λόγῳ καὶ τῇ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμονοίᾳ περιφανεῖς*, and in his autobiographical poem, 2.1.11.223-227, PG 37: 1045, Basil is *βίον τε καὶ λόγον πάντων ἄνω* and is described as *τὸ μέγα ὄφελος τοῦ νῦν βίου, τοῦτον λόγου τε καὶ στέγης καὶ σκεμμάτων κοινωνὸν εἶχον, κτλ.* In *Or.* 43.49, PG 36: 560C, Basil is made to say that he has only *τρυχίνων ῥακίων καὶ βιβλίων ὀλίγων, ἐν οἷς ὁ πᾶς ἐμοὶ βίος*; *Poem.* 2.1.11.476-481, PG 37: 1062; ibid. 593, 1070. Gregory of Nyssa: *In laud. Bas.*, PG 46: 789B (cf. 817A-B); *C. Eun.* 1.77, PG 45: 273B; Jaeger, 1: 49.2; cf. *In quadr. martyr.*, PG 46: 776A: *διδάσκαλος ἔργων καὶ λόγων σύμφωνος*.

The collocation moves far beyond the ancient call for harmonizing action and speech and rests ultimately on the Christian doctrine of the Incarnate Word. That the phrase marks a contemporary ideal appears from the fact that both authors apply it to others as well beside Basil and in a variety of contexts. Gregory of Nyssa, *In Cant.* 14.5.15, PG 44: 1077A-B; Jaeger, 6: 417.3-7: *οἱ τῷ λαμπρῷ βίῳ καὶ τῷ ὑγιαίνοντι λόγῳ τὸ*

Society is the setting in which we strive for this perfection. Indeed, it is language as the catalyst of community that Basil stresses. Language is not an instrument for knowing things or God in their essence but rather:

> God Who has created us has granted us the faculty of speech that we might declare the counsels of our hearts to one another and that, since we possess human nature in common, each of us might share his thought with his neighbor.[216]

On no occasion is this lofty prospect of Christian brotherhood more pithily and effectively reported than when he tells a correspondent how

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κοινὸν σῶμα τῆς ἐκκλησίας βαστάζοντες; **Vita Ephr.*, PG 46: 824B, 849A (see n. 7 above); *Vita Greg. Thaumat.*, PG 46: 893A-B; et al. *Βίος* itself is a kind of utterance: cf. the revealing phrase, τοῦ βίου τοῖς λόγοις συμφθεγγομένου, *De perfect.*, PG 46: 252A; Jaeger, 8.1: 173.8.

The Nazianzene's fascination with the concept is more consuming: *Or.* 2.39, PG 35: 448A; 4.50, 573C; 4.88, 617A; 16.2, 937A; 19.7, 1052A: διδασκαλίαν ἄπταιστον καὶ βίον μὴ ἀνθιστάμενον; 21.30, 1117B-C, on Athanasius, also a model of the synthesis; 25.2, 1200C; *Or.* 4.20, PG 36: 129C; *Or.* 32.33, 212A-C; 36.6, 273A; 37.12, 297A; 40.18, 381B; ibid. 28, 400B; 41.8, 440B. *Poem.* 1.2.10.995-6, PG 37: 752; 1.2.29.313-316, 907; 1.2.30.11, 909; 1.2.32.4-5, 916; the theme runs through the whole of 1.2.33, 928-945; 1.2.34.148, 956; 2.1.1.564-575, 1012-1013; 2.1.2.1-4, 1017; 2.1.12.751-753, 1221: ἓν ἔστω τοῦδ' ἔργον ἱερέως καὶ μόνον, ψυχὰς καθαίρειν ἐν βίῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ ἄνω φέροντα ἐνθέοις κινήμασι; 2.1.13.5, 1228; 2.1.11.1351, 1122: ὦ βίβλε, κηρύσσοις βίῳ; 2.1.34.125, 1316: μοι βίος ἦεν, ὅτ' ἦν λόγος; 2.1.35.2, 1322; 2.1.68.50, 1413; 2.1.88.176-181, 1442 (who does not declare the word of God passes his life in vain); 2.2.3.240, 1497: ὁμωνυμίῃ τε βίῳ τε; 2.2.4.92, 1512; the whole of 2.2.5, 1521-1542 (see esp. 158 *ad fin.*, 1533-1542).

[216] *HAtt.* [3] 1, PG 31: 197C-D; Rudberg, p. 23.3-8. The homily goes on to assert that if our souls were bare, we should in our thinking make direct contact with one another. Since, however, the soul has a covering of flesh, words are needed to make known its secrets. Listeners must be quiet and attentive, for the word of truth is hard to catch. "For this reason the Holy Spirit wills that our words be concise and brief so as to express much in little and to make what is said easy to retain in the memory. It is the natural function of speech neither to veil its meaning nor to flow aimlessly about the subject in a wordy and inept manner": ibid. 1, 200B-C; 23.17-24.2. Cf. *C. Eun.* 2.17, PG 29: 615B; *ECan.* [52] 3, PG 32: 393D-396A; Courtonne, 1: 136.13-20; *HPs.* *33*. 3, PG 29: 357B. See A. Borst, *Der Turmbau von Babel* (Stuttgart 1957), 1: 244, cited, with reservations, by Bartelink, "Observations," p. 99. See also P. Scheve, *Basilius der Grosse als Theologe* (Nijmegen 1943) pp. 81-84. Cf. Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 2.234-235, PG 45: 989B; Jaeger, 1: 294.18-20; also Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 4.106, PG 35: 641B: "Just as in a skilfully composed and musical harmony there is a different sound of each different string ... yet all belong to one tuner or performer, contributing together to the simple beauty of the tune, in the same way also the artist and creator, speech, has appointed a different inventor for each art or occupation and has exposed them all to public use, coupling together human society by the ties of mutual communication and kindness and rendering it more gentle": ἀλλ' ὥσπερ ἐν ἁρμονίᾳ τεχνικῇ τε καὶ μουσικῇ ἄλλος μὲν ἦχος ἄλλης τινος τῶν νευρῶν ... πάντα δὲ τοῦ ἑνὸς ἁρμοστοῦ καὶ τεχνίτου, πρὸς ἕν τι κάλλος ἁρμονίας συντείνοντα · οὕτω κἀν τούτοις ὁ τεχνίτης καὶ δημιουργὸς Λόγος ἄλλον μὲν ἄλλης ἐπιτηδεύσεως ἢ τέχνης εὑρέτην προὐστήσατο, πάντα δὲ εἰς μέσον προὔθηκε πᾶσι τοῖς βουλομένοις, τῷ κοινωνικῷ καὶ φιλανθρώπῳ συνδέων τὸν βίον ἡμῶν, καὶ ποιῶν ἡμερώτερον.

pleased he is to receive letters "from men of understanding who love the Lord (*συνετῶν ἀνδρῶν ἀγαπώντων τὸν Κύριον*)."[217] *Συνετός* is a difficult word to translate: it means both "intelligent," the philosopher's estate with its claim to wisdom, but also, in late Greek, "intelligible," the rhetorician's demand. Which does Basil intend here? Or does he intend both? In view of the dual esteem in which his contemporaries held him and the ideal that he himself sets forth in his work, to pose the question is perhaps to answer it.

[217] *EEust. arch.* [151], PG 32: 608A; Courtonne, 2: 76.4; cf. *ECens.* [284], PG 32: 1020C; Courtonne, 3: 155.15-17; *EIov. com.* [163], PG 32: 633B; Courtonne, 2: 96.13-14 (on the importance both of having knowledge and being able to impart it); *HPs. 44.* 2, PG 29: 392C: *μόνοι φίλοι θεοῦ καὶ ἀλλήλοις οἱ ἅγιοι · οὐδεὶς δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν καὶ ἀμαθῶν φίλος*. Cf. the definition of *σύνεσις*, **Enarr. in Is.* 5.176, PG 30: 413C (on Is. 5.21): *λέγεται τοίνυν σύνεσις οἷον εὐπαρακολουθησία ψυχῆς ὀξέως εἰς ἓν συναγούσης τὰς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐννοίας · ἥτις κατὰ τὸν ἀπαρτισμὸν τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν λογικῶν σπερμάτων συνίστασθαι πέφυκε. ἢ ἐστι σύνεσις ἐντρέχεια διανοίας εὐπαρακολουθήτως τῷ ἑκάστῳ πράγματι οἰκεῖον καὶ πρέπον ἐξευρίσκουσα*. The passage is concerned to distinguish *σύνεσις* from *ἐπιστήμη* and *σοφία*. Cf. also the analysis of Ps. 46.8, *ψάλατε συνετῶς*, *EApokr. br.* 279, PG 31: 1280A. On the importance of *σύνεσις* see further Gregory of Nyssa, *In inscr. Psalm.* 2.3.12, PG 44: 497A-B; 557C-560D; McDonough, 5: 77.23-78.8; 130.9-132.7; *De beat.* 5, PG 44: 1249D; *Hex.*, PG 44: 85A; *Prol. De hom. opif.*, PG 44: 125B (praising Basil's *σύνεσις*). *Σύνεσις* is a not uncommon form of epistolary address. See Way, *The Language*, p. 161; Dinneen, *Titles*, p. 58. That the concept includes the idea of communication is clear from Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.64, PG 36: 585A, who declares that acquaintance with Basil's writings has now become the new standard of learning: "That one is considered most learned who happens to be best acquainted with them, who has them on his tongue, and who expounds them to others": *οὗτος ἄριστος ἡμῖν ἐν λόγοις, ὃς ἂν τὰ ἐκείνου μάλιστα τυγχάνῃ γινώσκων καὶ διὰ γλώττης φέρων καὶ συνετίζων τὰς ἀκοάς*. Cf. *Or.* 4.99, PG 35: 633B, where a distinction is intended between *σύνεσις* and *σοφία*. *Or.* 5.8, PG 35: 673A, speaks of *βουλὴ συνετωτάτη τε καὶ φιλανθρωπωτάτη*; ibid. 23, 692C, of Julian's questions and answers as *ἄτακτοι καὶ ἀσύνετοι*. Cf. *Or.* 14.32, PG 35: 901A: *ἄσοφοι καὶ ἀσύνετοι*. The phrase, *συνετὸς καὶ φιλόσοφος*, *Or.* 26.14, PG 35: 1248A, clearly also intends a distinction. Patristic stress on the term owes much to the fact that it is common use in both Testaments.

7

Basilios von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert

Konstantinos G. Bonis
Academy of Athens

A. Zur Lage der Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert

Das rechte Verständnis der kirchlichen Situation zur Zeit Basilios des Großen setzt voraus, daß wir zunächst einen Blick auf die vorangegangenen Jahrhunderte werfen vor allem aber auf das vorausgegangene Jahrhundert. Genauer gesagt, ist dem das Verständnis bzw. die Kenntnis der Ersten Periode der Kirchengeschichte vorauszusetzen,[1] die ja im Jahr 325 mit der Abhaltung der Ersten Oekumenischen Synode von Nicäa ihren Abschluß gefunden hatte. Allein schon die auf dieser Synode festgelegten dogmatischen Formulierungen, wie sie im sog. Nicaenum niedergelegt sind, bestimmten entscheidend die weitere innerkirchliche Entwicklung.

[1] Bekanntlich bezeichnet man als die Erste Periode der Kirchengeschichte die Zeit von 1-325, d.h. von der Menschwerdung Christi bis Konstantin d.Gr.; sie birgt den Sieg der Kirche über die heidnische Welt — selbstverständlich nur historisch gesehen — zeitigt um die Mitte des Zweiten Jahrhunderts die *ecclesia catholica*, wird zur Bischofs- und Priesterkirche und wird schließlich staatlich anerkannte, gleichberechtigte Religion. (Vgl. H. Weingarten, *Zeittafeln und Überblicke zur Kirchengeschichte* [Leipzig 1897] S. 1.) Vgl. dagegen *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. H. Jedin, 1 (Freiburg i.Br. 1965) 4, 5-23 (Einleitung v. H. Jedin).

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 281-335.

Vorausschickend möchten wir erst einmal klarstellen, daß wir unter "Kirche" die Größe meinen, die als das "vorzeitige"[2] Geheimnis[3] von jeher vorhanden, mit der Inkarnation Jesu Christi jedoch innerweltlich existent wurde. Das heißt, wir haben es mit der Kirche des Neuen Testaments zu tun, die sich bereits apostolisch etabliert hatte, aber noch nicht in der gesamten damals bekannten Oekumene[4] verbreitet war.

In den drei ersten Jahrhunderten hatte diese Kirche, von der es heißt, daß sie "die Pforten der Hölle nicht überwinden sollten,"[5] die grausamsten Verfolgungen erlitten, Verfolgungen, die sie samt ihren Gliedern, gestützt auf das Evangelium und dessen Verheißungen, geduldig ertrug. Aber für ihr innerweltliches Bestehen[6] waren ja eigentlich deren innere Gegner die Ketzer bzw. Schismatiker. Kamen sie zunächst aus judenchristlichen Kreisen, so waren es danach diejenigen, die aus heidenchristlichem oder rein heidnischem Milieu stammten; erinnert sei da vor allem auch an Anhänger nichtchristlicher gnostischer Richtungen. Wir brauchen nicht näher auf jene die Kirche bedrohenden Strömungen dieser Jahrhunderte einzugehen. Nur sei auch an dieser Stelle die kirchengeschichtlich altbekannte Tatsache vermerkt, daß wohl keine der jeweiligen gegenkirchlichen Strömungen je wirklich je wieder vollkommen erloschen ist, sondern die Zeiten hindurch, vielleicht gar bis auf unsere Tage hin, unter der Oberfläche weitergeschwelt hat. Nein, diese Strömungen wirkten tatsächlich auch späterhin weiter, allerdings stets unter irgendeiner neuen Gewandung, wobei der Inhalt jedoch immer derselbe geblieben ist, um gewissermaßen als Varianten ein und desselben Themas stets von neuem wider die Kirche zu Felde zu ziehen.

[2] Das Wort "vorzeitig" ist hier bewußt gesetzt anstelle von "präexistent." Wir verweisen auf Hans Freiherr von Campenhausen, der dieses Epithet in seiner Schrift *Die griechischen Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart 1956) auf S. 93 als "Gottes vorzeitiger Sohn" gebraucht; es entspräche wohl dem griechischen "*προαιώνιος*."

[3] Das "vorzeitige Geheimnis" der Kirche ist thematisch und methodologisch in einer vorerst leider nur auf Griechisch abgefaßten Untersuchung anhand der Vätertexte aus den drei ersten Jahrhunderten dargestellt worden von M. Jordan, *Τό προαιώνιον περί Ἐκκλησίας μυστήριον. Συμβολή εἰς τήν ἀληθῆ ἔννοιαν καί ὀρθήν κατανόησιν τῆς ἀϊδίου ἀρχῆς τῆς οὐσίας ἤ φύσεως τῆς Ἐκκλησίας* (Athen 1978).

[4] Gemeint ist das gesamtrömische Reich in seinen damaligen Grenzen.

[5] Matth. 16.18.

[6] Wir sind uns ganz im klaren darüber, daß solche Formulierungen ungewöhnlich erscheinen mögen, aber auch hier liegt es uns daran, die Kirche nicht als irgendwann in der Welt gegründet und in ihrer weiteren Funktion als Heilsinstitut oder etwas dem Ähnlichen zu sehen, sondern sie als die eine Realität des gottmenschlichen Leibes Jesu Christi zu erfassen, weswegen ihr nach Tod und Auferstehung ihres Hauptes Jesu Christi im Prinzip keinerlei innerweltliche Gefahr mehr bei ihrem Verbleiben in dieser Welt drohen kann.

Was wir über die Kirche vorausgeschickt haben, hat den Zweck, gleich zu Anfang unserer Darlegung festzustellen, daß wir die Kirche als den gottmenschlichen Organismus verstehen, in welchem göttliche und menschliche Kräfte der Natur dieses Organismusses gemäß zusammenwirken, so daß sich selbst bei menschlichem Versagen immer noch das Wirken des Dreieinen Gottes durch die Person Jesu Christi, dessen Leib die Kirche ja ist, und im Walten des Heiligen Geistes durchsetzt.

Wir verwahren uns also, auch in dieser Arbeit die Kirche institutionell zu sehen, schließen uns vielmehr der Ansicht vor allem der frühen Kirchenväter an, wonach die Kirche als der Leib Christi eben einen vorzeitigen Bestand gehabt, da sie als Christi Leib, mit der Menschwerdung des Gottessohnes in dieser Welt in Erscheinung getreten, an dem innertrinitarischen Leben teilhat.[7]

Diese Feststellung ist für uns insofern wichtig, weil sich allein deswegen schon erklären läßt, weshalb die Kirche durch ihre Bischöfe vor allem in den ersten Jahrhunderten so eifersüchtig über die Reinhaltung ihrer Lehre gewacht hat. Hätte sie das nämlich nicht getan, so wäre zwar die Kirche an sich nicht verloren gegangen, was bei ihr ja allein schon aufgrund ihrer Natur ausgeschloßen ist, aber es wären doch die Hirten samt ihren Herden der Kirche verlustig gegangen!

Unserer Meinung nach ist dieses Moment bisher nie so ins rechte Licht gerückt worden. Und in diesem Lichte die Kirchenväter betrachten, und zwar besonders jene, die durch ihre Polemik bei so manchem Theologen in Mißkredit geraten sind — denken wir nur an den hervorragenden Kirchenmann Athanasios von Alexandria, auf den wir weiter unten zu sprechen kommen —, so würde sich wohl manches im Verständnis ihres Handelns und vor allem ihrer auf uns überkommenen Schriften ändern. Weiß Gott, wohl kaum entbrannten sie über ihre Gegner aus persönlicher Überheblichkeit, oder was es sonst gewesen sein mag, wir möchten vielmehr glauben, daß es der "heilige" Zorn war, der sie ergriff, wenn ein übler Gnostiker, ein Mani oder Arius samt den ungeheuren Bewegungen, die sie ausgelöst, das Wesen der Kirche zu entstellen versuchte. Sie konnten das ja gar nicht! Was sie aber in Gefahr brachten, war das von der Kirche durch ihre Bischöfe samt ihrer Gliedschaft in Gang gebrachte Heilswerk zu stören oder gar teilweise zunichte zu machen. Unter diesem Prisma das Weitere unserer Abhandlung betrachtet, wird Vieles erklärlicher erscheinen.

[7] Siehe Jordan, *Τό προαιώνιον*, Kap. 3, S. 50-60, aber auch Kap. 4 u. 5.

Nachdem also die Kirche die ersten großen Verfolgungszeiten überstanden und somit dem heidnisch römischen Volksgeist und vor allem dem heidnischen römischen Staatsgefüge widerstanden hatte, und nachdem sie den ersten großen geistigen Gegenströmungen wie dem Ebionitismus und Doketismus sowie der Gnosis und dem Montanismus, dem Manichäismus und wie diese -ismusse noch geheißen haben, pariert hatte, war es nun im Vierten Jahrhundert zur "Gründung" der Reichskirche gekommen: Die im Zweiten Jahrhundert in der nachapostolischen Zeit erstandene "ecclesia catholica"[8] arrangiert sich nun mit dem Staat.

Ist dem aber wirklich so gewesen? Ein Profangeschichtler könnte das wohl, von außen betrachtet, so formulieren. Er könnte auch hinzusetzen, daß das Christentum nach dem überwältigenden Sieg Konstantins des Großen über Maxentius (28. Okt. 312)[9] zur "Staatsreligion" erhoben wurde. Aber die Kirche kennt solche Formulierungen nicht. Gewiß, das Christentum war fürderhin ein Faktor, mit dem der Staat nicht nur zu rechnen hatte, sondern den er in sein Wesen hineinbrachte, so daß die gesamte Staatsstruktur mehr und mehr verchristlicht wurde[10] inwieweit das je einem Staat gelungen ist, das bleibt hier dahingestellt. Auch ist hinsichtlich Viertes Jahrhundert bei weitem noch nicht von einer Theokratie zu reden[11] geschweige von einem Caesaropapismus — man mißverstehe uns nicht bei Anführung dieses Begriffes an dieser Stelle.

[8] Siehe Anm. 1 Mitte. Das Epithet "catholica" ist hier allerdings nicht konfessionell gebunden zu verstehen, sondern in seinem ursprünglichen Sinn des griechischen Analogon.

[9] Siehe Weingarten, *Zeittafeln*, S. 32; vgl. E. von Lasaulx, *Der Untergang des Hellenismus und die Einziehung seiner Tempelgüter durch die christlichen Kaiser* (München 1854) S. 21. Vgl. auch J. Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Konstantins des Großen* (Leipzig 1924) S. 345. — Zur Frage, wie allerdings Maxentius dem Christentum gegenüber eingestellt war; zitieren wir E. Stauffer, *Christus und die Caesaren* (München u. Hamburg 1966) S. 256: "Maxentius hatte eine gut römische Abneigung gegen die Kaiservergötterung und hat seinem eigenen Vater Maximianus Herkulius die Anbetung verweigert. So mag er dem christlichen Nein zum Kaiserkult ein gewisses Verständnis entgegengebracht haben."

[10] Vgl. hierzu besonders G. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte des Byzantinischen Staates* (München 1952) das Kapitel "Das christianisierte Imperium Romanum" (S. 22-42).

[11] An diesem Punkte wären wir eigentlich eine weitergreifende Erläuterung dessen schuldig, was wir unter diesen beiden Begriffen verstehen, und ab wann wir sie als für Byzanz zutreffend ansetzen, aber wir müssen den geneigten Leser enttäuschen: beides ist für die Geschichte von Byzanz nicht anwendbar, es sei denn, diese Begriffe sind in gewissen außerorthodoxen Geschichtsschreiberkreisen usus geworden. Verweisen möchten wir jedoch auf das gemeinverständlich abgefaßte Werk von E. Orthbandt und D. H. Teuffen, *Ein Kreuz und tausend Wege. Die Geschichte des Christentums im Bild* (Konstanz 1962), Kapitel "Staatskirchenprogramm und erste Konfessionskriege" (S. 194 ff.).

aber es gehört nun einmal zu den modernen Schlagwörtern, die sich weltweit eingebürgert haben.[12]

Nein, von alledem kann für die Zeit des Vierten Jahrhunderts noch nicht die Rede sein. Vielleicht ist ein Zeitgenosse Basilios' des Großen als Kirchenmann jenes Jahrhunderts besonders charakteristisch: wir meinen Athanasios von Alexandria. Als er Bischof wurde, wurde Basilios geboren.[13] Da er selbst um 295 geboren, mögen die letzten großen Verfolgungen unter Diokletian noch seine Jugenderinnerungen überschattet haben. So wurde er, vielleicht gerade aufgrund seiner Kindheitserlebnisse, der Mann der "unbedingten Entscheidungen,"[14] er ist der Mann, der entscheidend die Ordnung der Reichskirche mitgestaltet hat — nicht zuletzt auch in Fragen der Kirchenlehre, wo er sich mit seiner außergewöhnlichen Beharrlichkeit dem Arianismus widersetzte und bei der Bekämpfung desselben kein Mittel gescheut hat.[15]

Wir führen hier bewußt Athanasius als einen Vorgänger von Basilios an, da er einerseits vieles in der Kirchenordnung gewirkt hat, was hernach für Basilios' Wirken gleichsam den Weg bereitet hat, obgleich diese beiden Kirchenmänner in Charakter und Praktik sich so wenig geähnelt haben. Nur eines war ihnen gemeinsam: beide waren ungeteilten Herzens

[12] Der Cäsar(e)opapismus, ein im 18. Jahrhundert geprägter Ausdruck, meinte zunächst nur das staatskirchenrechtliche System des Römischen Reiches seit dem 4. Jahrhundert. Später wurde er, meist in polemischer Absicht, auch auf Regelungen übertragen, in denen die staatliche Gewalt irgendwelche kirchlichen Befugnisse ausübt; Byzantinische Kirche nach dem Bilderstreit, Russische Kirche bis 1917. Siehe entspr. Art. *Brockhaus-Enzyklopädie*, 3 (Wiesbaden 1967). Vgl. zu dieser Frage auch Jedin, *Handbuch*, 1: 476. Konkreteres siehe bei Ch. Baur, "Die Anfänge des byzantinischen Cäsaropapismus," *AKK* 111 (1931) 99 ff. Besonders ist aber auf W. Ensslin, "Staat und Kirche von Konstantin bis Theodosius," in *Die Kirche angesichts der Konstantinischen Wende*, ed. G. Ruhrbach (Darmstadt 1976) S. 81 f. zu verweisen, wo diese Frage eine beachtenswerte Beurteilung findet: "Gegen diesen leider so tief eingewurzelten Begriff sei einmal der Einwand erhoben, daß er zu einem viel geplagten Schlagwort ohne klare Begriffsbestimmung geworden ist und je nachdem von dem unmittelbaren Versuch eines Herrschers, eine eigene theologische Auffassung zum Tragen zu bringen, bis zur Kennzeichnung jedes laikalen Mitbeteiligungsrechtes an kirchlichen Dingen benützt wird. ..." Vgl. W. Schneemelcher, "Kirche und Staat im 4. Jahrhundert," ibid., S. 123.

[13] Vgl. von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 86.

[14] Ibid., S. 72.

[15] Ibid., S. 72 ff. W. Schneemelcher, "Athanasius als Theologe und Kirchenpolitiker," in *Die Kirche*, ed. Ruhbach, S. 285 mag Athanasius wohl überzeichnen, wenn er sagt: "Dabei scheut dieser Hierarch, der durch und durch machthungrige Persönlichkeit ist, vor keinem Mittel zurück. Seine Bedeutung ist also wenig positiv zu werten. Er ist ein Kirchenmann, der dem kaiserlichen Regiment, dem aufgeklärten Despotismus und der Verbindung von Kultur und Christentum Widerstand leistet, um seine Machtposition zu erhalten und zu stärken."

dem Dienste innerhalb der Einen Kirche ergeben, so daß es für Athanasios ein Gebot der Stunde war, Arius gegenüber die Theologie als entscheidende Waffe polemisch einzusetzen, um vor allem die damals herumgeisternde Lehrmeinung von einem kreatürlichen Logos-Christus niederzukämpfen. Wie wir weiter unten sehen werden, war Basilios der Große aus ganz anderem Holz, vor allem so ganz Grieche, während Athanasios wohl auch sich Grieche gefühlt und gegeben hat, aber "es ist schwerlich ein Zufall, daß er als erster Theologe von Rang, wie wir heute wissen, auch koptisch gepredigt hat. Es liegt etwas Ungriechisches in seinem Wesen, das in seiner Geradlinigkeit und Strenge durch keinen Hauch geistiger Anmut und Liebenswürdigkeit verklärt wird. Sein Bildnis, wenn wir eines besässen, würde vielleicht mehr an die alten Pharaonen und ihre Beamten als an einen griechischen Philosophen erinnern," so die Meinung von von Campenhausen,[16] der wir uns getrost anschließen können, und es wäre wirklich der Mühe wert, einmal in einer gesonderten Arbeit diese beiden hervorragenden Kirchenmänner aus dem Vierten Jahrhundert vergleichend gegenüberzustellen; denn gerade bei Basilios finden wir in Wort und Tat so ganz das Gegenteil, und doch haben beide gegen den Arianismus und für den Bestand der Kirche in ihrem Sprengel zu kämpfen gehabt und beiden war der Erfolg beschieden, denn die Wahrheit war auf ihrer Seite.

Nun fragen wir uns aber, ob das alles war, was die kirchliche Lage zu jener Zeit kennzeichnete, und kommen zur Feststellung: bei weitem nicht, denn das Staat-Kirche-Verhältnis, so wie es sich auf dem Ersten Oekumenischen Konzil und schlechthin unter dem Zepter Konstantins des Großen manifestiert hatte, blieb unter dessen Nachfolgern durchaus nicht dasselbe, wobei nur an seinen Neffen Julian Apostata zu erinnern ist, unter dessen Herrschaft noch einmal die Christen hart bedrängt wurden und die Kirche die letzte große Verfolgungszeit zu erdulden hatte.[17] Daß Julian während seiner Ausbildung in Athen Mitschüler von Basilios und Gregor von Nazianz gewesen, spielt da keine Rolle, auch nicht seine hohe

[16] Vgl. von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 75.

[17] Wegen der Hinterlist des Kaisers zur Verführung oder Ausrottung der Christen (Gregorios von Nazianz, *Or.* 4, 62-65) nennt Gregorios von Nazianz (*Or.* 32.3) seine Verfolgung die grausamste von allen (vgl. *Or.* 42.3). Nach ihm (*Or.* 4.93) war es Julian unwichtig, wenn ein Heide etwa zehn Christen tötete. Aber wir haben auch die andere Seite zu hören: Bidez, *Julian der Abtrünnige* (München 1940) S. 257: "Julians leidenschaftlichster Verleumder, Gregor von Nazianz. ..." Und dies wird von Gregor von Nazianz ausgesagt, nachdem er zusammen mit seinem Intimus Basilios in Athen mit Julian bekanntgeworden war (vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 5.23 f. und 7 (Ende); vgl. Bidez, *Julian*, S. 129.

Abkunft, aber sehr wahrscheinlich die grausame Mißhandlung seiner Familie in seiner Kindheit. Bekanntlich war ja sein Vater nebst anderen Verwandten auf Befehl des Konstantius getötet worden.[18] Aber das war sicherlich nicht der einzige Grund, weswegen er sich vom Christentum abgekehrt und wieder dem Heidentum zugewandt hatte. Nachweislich stand er schon sehr zeitig unter dem Einfluß fanatischer Heiden.[19]

Zum Schluß dieses Kapitels möchten wir doch noch auf die für jene Zeit geistesgeschichtlich auch nicht im Rahmen der Dogmendurchbildung der Kirche unwichtige Frage der letztlichen Krise des Hellenismus zu sprechen kommen.

Worum es am Ausgang der hellenistischen Periode eigentlich ging, darüber unterrichtet uns wohl am besten ihr letzter Vertreter selbst, wenn auch kein echter Hellenist mehr, da sich aufgrund seiner frühen Erziehung bei ihm immerhin recht viel Christliches eingeschlichen hatte; gemeint ist Julian Apostata, der Philosoph und Neuheide auf dem byzantinischen Thron.

Hieronymus sagt von Julian, er habe auf dem Feldzuge gegen die Parther sieben Schmähschriften ausgespien. Es muß sich da um die Schrift gegen die Christen (*Κατὰ Χριστιανῶν*) handeln,[20] an der er noch auf dem Perserfeldzug gearbeitet haben soll, und die also in sieben Bücher eingeteilt gewesen wäre. Leider ist dies Werk zum Großteil verlorengegangen. Aus den Fragmenten bei Kyrillos von Alexandria ersieht man, daß er in der Kritik und Polemik viel besseres geleistet hat als in seinen Versuchen, den Glauben an die Götter theoretisch zu rechtfertigen und neu zu begründen. Nach den noch vorhandenen Fragmenten zu urteilen, hat er ohne die Hilfsmittel der modernen Kritik schon die Hauptsache von dem gesagt, was diese Kritik gegen Bibel und Kirche einzuwenden hat. Er gibt zu, daß auch die Griechen unhaltbare und verwerfliche Götterfabeln erdichtet haben,[21] meint aber, nicht diese, sondern die Religion eines Plato müsse man mit der des Moses vergleichen, wenn man dem Hellenentum gerecht werden wolle. Plato's Schöpfungsgeschichte im *Timäus* sei schon

[18] Vgl. Franz Dölgers Einführung zu Bidez' *Julian*, S. 7.

[19] Eine ganz besondere Rolle hat da sein Erzieher, der Eunuch Mardonios aus Nikomedien gespielt. Julian nennt diesen Heiden "seinen Bildner und Erzieher, der ihn bis zum Vorhof des Tempels der Philosophie geführt habe" (Libanios, *Or.* 2.58, 1: 257.15 f.) bei Bidez, *Julian*, S. 24.

[20] Siehe *Tusculum Lexikon griechischer und lateinischer Autoren des Altertums und des Mittelalters* (Hamburg 1974), Art. Julianus (Flavius Claudius J.) S. 267-268.

[21] Siehe C. I. Neumann, *Iuliani Imperatoris Librorum contra Christianos* (Leipzig 1880), *Λόγος Α*', 86A, S. 168.

deswegen viel befriedigender als die mosaische, weil diese von der Schöpfung einer Geisterwelt gar nichts sage.[22] Der Mensch, den der Gott der Bibel erschaffen habe, sei ein stumpfsinniges Wesen, das nicht einmal gut und böse zu unterscheiden vermöge. Diesem Wesen verbiete Gott auch noch den Zugang zur Erkenntnis, und er zeige sich, nachdem die Schlange dem Menschen dazu verholfen habe, erzürnt darüber und eifersüchtig: "Adam ist geworden wie unsereiner!"[23] Wenn nicht jedes Wort der mosaischen Schöpfungsgeschichte allegorisch gedeutet werde, sei sie die ärgste Gotteslästerung. Die engherzige Auffassung des Alten Testaments, wonach Gott nur ein Gott seines kleinen Volkes sei und sich um die anderen Völker gar nicht kümmere, habe Jesus bestätigt; Paulus aber, der ärgste aller Betrüger, habe, gleich den Polypen, der die Farbe des Felsens annimmt, auf dem er sitzt, Gott bald zum Judengott, bald zum Gott aller Völker gemacht. "Wenn er das zweite ist, warum überläßt er sie jahrtausendelang ihrem Schicksal? Euer Gott ist also nichts Wirkliches, sondern ein Erzeugnis der Phantasie eurer Rasse." Und wie grausam ist der Gott des Moses! Um einer einzigen Verirrung willen läßt er Tausende abschlachten! Wie mild dagegen sind die Gesetze des Solon, des Lykurg, wie menschenfreundlich ist die Herrschaft der Römer! Die Nachahmung der Götter, zu der unsere Philosophen ermahnen, schließt alle Leidenschaften aus, die Hebräer dagegen ahmen ihren Gott mit zornmütigem Wüten nach. Nein, die Heiden sind wahrlich nicht von Gott verlassen gewesen! Alle Künste und Wissenschaften haben sie erfunden, während die Juden für die Kultur nichts geleistet haben. Sich dann gegen die Galiläer wendend, meint er, wenn sie wenigstens dem Judenglauben huldigten, so würden sie zwar gegen die humane griechische Religion eine harte und barbarische Religion eingetauscht, aber immerhin mit dieser noch einiges Gutes empfangen haben. Sie hätten aber von den Juden wie von den Heiden nur das Schlechte behalten, von den Juden den Haß gegen die Götter, von den Heiden die Liederlichkeit, und seien ganz verdorben. Besonders wirft er ihnen die Trinitätslehre als einen Abfall vom jüdischen Monotheismus vor und weist nach, daß die Synoptiker und Paulus (?)[24] von der Gottheit Christi und von der Logoslehre des Johannes nichts wüßten.[25]

Allein aus dieser Kostprobe aus Julians geistigem Vermächtnis läßt sich ersehen, daß, wenn sich lapidare Wirklichkeiten durch Raisonnement aus

[22] Ibid., 58A S. 173.
[23] Ibid., 93E S. 168.
[24] Ibid., 100A S. 176.
[25] Ibid., 106D S. 178.

der Welt schaffen liessen, Julian wohl der Mann dazu gewesen wäre, das Christentum zu vernichten. Das ist nun nicht möglich, und nicht weniger unmöglich ist das, wozu ihn sein Gewissen als Philosoph hätte getrieben haben müssen: er hätte — und das deuten auch seine Briefe an — seine Untertanen mit Gewalt beglücken und zu tugendhaften Menschen machen müssen. Abgesehen davon, daß das schlechthin unmöglich ist, so war es schon ganz ausgeschlossen bei einem Reich von dem Umfang und der Vielgestaltigkeit seines Byzantinischen Reiches, bei der Verderbtheit der einen und bei der Wildheit der anderen seiner Völker und schließlich auch bei dem unheilbaren Siechtum des Staates. Der passive und der aktive Widerstand, an dem alle seine Maßnahmen zum Scheitern gekommen wären, hätte ihn sicherlich verbittert und zu immer größerer Strenge genötigt, und leicht hätte es ihm ergehen können wie dem bürgerlichen Gerechtigkeitsschwärmer und Menschheitsbeglücker Robespierre: der zartfühlende, milde und edle Philosoph konnte als ein von allen Menschen verfluchter Wüterich enden. Die Tragik seines Lebens liegt also nicht in seinem Tode, durch den ihn Gottes Güte vor einem grausamen Schicksal bewahrt hat, und der keine Folge seines großen Irrtums war.[26]

Was wir alledem nun für die kirchliche Lage im Vierten Jahrhundert entnehmen können, ist, daß sich in der Person des Kaisers Julian tatsächlich eine letzte entscheidende Auseinandersetzung zwischen zwei grundverschiedenen geistigen Welten, zwischen der alten Welt der stolzen olympischen Götter und der neuen Welt des leidenden Menschensohnes aus Nazareth abspielte. Drei Jahrhunderte hindurch hatte das Christentum einen unglaublichen Siegeszug durch das gesamte römische Weltreich erlebt, bis schließlich Konstantin der Große als hervorragender Staatsmann das Gebot seiner Zeit erkannte und den Gott der Christen an die Stelle der vielgestaltigen Götter Roms setzte und Christentum und Kirche der Struktur des römischen Reiches einverleibte, ohne dabei den Glauben an die Götter als persönliche Überzeugung bei den ihm untergebenen Völkerschaften zu unterdrücken. Der alte Glaube der Hellenen war ja schon längst unter dem Einfluß verschiedener orientalischer Religionen und unter Mitwirkung mannigfacher philosophischer Strömungen der neuplatonischen Philosophie in gewissem Sinne zu einer Eingottlehre abgewandelt, die sich in ihren sittlichen Postulaten und in ihrem Erlösungsglauben nur mehr äußerlich von der christlichen Lehre

[26] Diese Ansicht wird auch von Carl Jentsch vertreten; siehe sein Werk *Hellenentum und Christentum* (Leipzig 1903) Kapitel 9 S. 239 ff. (Ende).

unterschied. Aber die heidnische Unterströmung war bei einem beachtlichen Teil der Hellenen bestehen geblieben — ein nur allzubekanntes religionsgeschichtliches Phänomen, das sich bei wohl sämtlichen christianisierten Völkern bis auf den heutigen Tag hin nachweisen ließe. So kennzeichnet diese Zeit eine merkwürdige Atmosphäre: es gab heidnische Philosophen, die ihrer Lehre nach ebensogut Christen hätten sein können, und es gab Christen, die ihrer Bildung und Gesinnung nach ebensogut den Mantel eines hellenischen Philosophen hätten tragen können.

Das Christentum, dem nun durch Julians unerwartetes Ende[27] endgültig Macht und Alleinherrschaft zurückgegeben wurden, hatte sich aber auch fürderhin noch mit den Schwierigkeiten seiner inneren Lage zu befassen: die eigenartige Verflechtung heidnischer und christlicher Geistesströmungen hatte sich ja nicht mit dem Tode des letzten großen Verfolgers sogleich ändern können. Wohl waren die Zeiten der großen Verfolgungen vergangen, aber die Auseinandersetzungen nach beiden Richtungen hin, d.h. mit judenchristlichen oder auch rein jüdischen und heidenchristlichen oder rein heidnischen Versuchen, die auf dem Ersten Oekumenischen Konzil festgelegte Kirchenlehre vor allem von der Heiligen Trinität zu untergraben bzw. gar zu verfälschen, gingen weiter.

Direkt in die Hauptzeit des Wirkens von Basilios dem Großen fällt nun im Orient die Herrschaft von Valens (364-378) dem Bruder von Valentinian I. (364-375),[28] der ihn zum Mitregenten eingesetzt hatte. Während Valentinian persönlich nizänisch war, war Valens weit mehr arianisch gesinnt, gab Heiden und Juden volle Religionsfreiheit, nur den Nizänern nicht. Aber das Paradox in seiner Regierungszeit war, daß er Julians Vertraute, besonders Götzenpriester, Rhetoren und Sophisten verfolgte, aber andere Heiden in Ruhe ließ. Die eigentliche Kraft der Heiden war also bereits zu Valens' Regierungszeit gebrochen, und sein Nachfolger als Regent im Orient, Theodosios I., auch der Große genannt,[29] brach endgültig mit dem Heidentum und erhob das Christentum zur Staatsreligion im römischen Reiche,[30] aber das reicht schon über die Zeit Basilios' des

[27] Vgl. zur Frage von Julians Ende Bidez, *Julian*, S. 347 f.; Zonaras, *Epitome* 13.13.29 f.; Ammianus Marcellinus, "Historia Iuliani" 25.3.6-9; Zosimos, *Historia nova* 3.29.1.

[28] Vgl. Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, S. 42-44. Zu vermerken ist, daß nach Weingarten, *Zeittafeln*, S. 42 mit Valentinian I. und Valentinian II. (Augustus orientis) die Zeit der Religionsfreiheit im Römischen Reich beendet wurde.

[29] Siehe Ostrogorsky, *Geschichte*, S. 44; J. P. Kirsch, *Die Kirche in der antiken griechisch-römischen Kulturwelt* (Freiburg i.Br. 1930) S. 364 f.

[30] Vgl. Kirsch, *Die Kirche*, S. 365. Erwähnt sei auch sein Edikt von 380: De fide catholica: "cunctos populos, ... in tali volumus religione versari, quam divinum Petrum

Großen hinaus, und dennoch muß auch das Hernach hier in aller Kürze skizziert werden, damit der Rahmen, in welchem sich Basilios' Wirken mit allen seinen Konsequenzen für die Folgezeit abspielt, klare Umrisse bekommt.

Um das Heidentum zu entkräften, entzog Theodosios denen, die von der Kirche zum Heidentum abfielen, das Testier- sowie das Erbrecht[31] und verbot jeden Abfall vom wahren Glauben (381 und 383). Auf Betreiben übereifriger Mönche wurden viele heidnische Tempel zerstört oder von Bischöfen in christliche Kirchen umgewandelt,[32] und die Schutzschrift des Libanios blieb ohne Erfolg.[33] So wurde 386 die Schließung der Tempel in Asien und Ägypten angeordnet und 391 der Tempelbesuch vollends verboten,[34] so daß das alte Heidentum in den klassischen Mittelmeerländern nie wieder seine frühere Macht erlangen konnte; es ging aufgrund seiner nunmehr inneren Haltlosigkeit unter; denn seine sittliche Entartung und sein Aberglaube waren schließlich dem Christentum unterlegen, und die Tätigkeit vieler Bischöfe und Kirchenlehrer verhalf zur geistlichen Überwindung desselben, womit bereits gesagt wird, daß bei der Durchsetzung des Christentums seitens der weltlichen Obrigkeit durchaus nicht immer so vorgegangen wurde, wie es dem Geiste des Christentums eigentlich hätte entsprochen haben müssen. Erwähnt sei nur die Ermordung der alexandrinischen Philosophin Hypatia (415).[35] Aber, wie Johannes Chrysostomos bezeugt,[36] hat ein christlicher Kaiser niemals gegen

apostolum tradidisse Romanis religio usque nunc ab ipso insinuata declarat" (bei Weingarten, *Zeittafeln*, S. 43). Dieses Edikt von Thessalonike verbietet den Arianismus im Osten. Der Athanasianismus wird Staatsreligion (Katholizismus), siehe *dtv-Atlas zur Weltgeschichte*, 1 (1974) 103. Hierüber näheres bei Ensslin, "Staat und Kirche," der allerdings dieses Edikt äußerst negativ beurteilt, indem er u.a. J. B. Kidd, *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Church*, 2 (London 1938) 281, zitiert: "Theodosius thus set himself to secure the unity of the Empire on the basis of the Nicene Faith; and the Church of the Empire now finally and definitely became the Church of the Empire, adopted by its rulers for the Empire's sake" — und Kidd gehörte der High Church an.

[31] Unter Testierrecht bzw. — freiheit ist das Recht zu verstehen, über ein Vermögen nach freiem Ermessen durch Testament zu verfügen (vgl. *Brockhaus-Enzyklopädie*, 18: 586).

[32] S. Beissel, "Umwandlung heidnischer Kultstätten in christliche," *SML* 69 (1905) 23-38, 134-143.

[33] J. Misson, *Recherches sur le paganisme de Libanios* (Löwen 1914).

[34] Bischof Markellos von Apamea wurde bei einer Tempelzerstörung zu Aulon von den Heiden verbrannt; eine antiochenische Synode (388) verbot seinen Söhnen, den Tod des Vaters zu rächen (Theodoret, *Hist. eccles.* 5.21).

[35] Sokrates, *Hist. eccl.* 7.14 f. F. Schaefer, "St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Murder of Hypathia," *CUB* 8 (1902) 441-453. Vgl. auch *Tusculum-Lexikon*, S. 230, "Hypatia."

[36] Johannes Chrysostomos, *In s. Babylam*, PG 50: 337; vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 5.33 f., 36 und Augustinus, *Sermones* 24, 62.

die Heiden so tyrannische und grausame Dekrete erlassen, wie sie die Verehrer der Dämonen gegen die Christen erlassen hatten. Die beherrschende Stellung, die bis dahin das Heidentum in der damaligen Oekumene innegehabt hatte, war naturgemäß erschüttert, sobald sich das Christentum eben frei bewegen und entfalten konnte, und dem vermochte auch menschliche Macht, die noch hie und da Widerstand leistete, nichts mehr anzuhaben.

B. Basilios' des Grossen Weg zum Wirken in der Kirche

Wie oben bereits erwähnt, ist Basilios ungefähr zur Zeit, da Athanasios zu Alexandria Bischof wurde, etwa zehn Jahre vor dem Ableben von Eusebios von Caesarea geboren.[37] Basilios' gleichnamiger Vater war höchst gebildet und übte im Pontischen Neocaesarea den Beruf eines Anwaltes bzw. Rhetors aus. Er verehelichte sich mit Emmelia aus dem Kappadokischen Caesarea. Auch sie stammte aus sehr edler und frommer Familie, und dieser glücklichen Verbindung zweier zutiefst gläubiger Häuser entsprossen neun bzw., anderen Quellen nach, zehn Kinder, von denen späterhin drei Bischöfe wurden, d.h. Basilios der Große, Gregor von Nyssa und Petros von Sebaste.[38] Und der dritte Bruder Basilios der Große, mit Namen Naukratios, wurde zwischen 352 und 354 Anwalt, höchstwahrscheinlich in Neocaesarea, gab sich dann aber auch dem asketischen Leben hin, verstarb jedoch im frühen Alter (358/9). Vor allem haben wir die älteste unter seinen Geschwistern zu erwähnen: Makrina;[39] sie weihte sich ganz dem asketischen Leben und übte späterhin nicht nur auf Basilios, sondern auf wohl alle Familienmitglieder im geistlichen Leben einen entscheidenden Einfluß aus; denn bei Neocaesarea im Pontischen hatte der Vater dieser Familie ein sehr großes und ergiebiges Landgut, wo Makrina ein Frauenkloster einrichtete und zu gewissen Zeiten die ganze Familie geistliche Ruhe und Erbauung fand — ganz

[37] Von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 86; vgl. A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne depuis les origines jusqu'à la fin du IVe siècle*, 3 (Paris 1930) 237 ff.; L. Duchesne, *Histoire ancienne de l'Église*, 2 (Paris 1910) 381. K. G. Bonis, *Βασίλειος Καισαρείας ὁ Μέγας. Βίος καὶ ἔργα, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλία* (Athen 1975) S. 13 ff., wo auch weitere Literaturangaben. Vgl. zur Charakterisierung des Euseb C. Schmitt, "Eusebius als der Prototyp politischer Theologie," in *Politische Theologie* (Berlin 1970), 2: 68-88.

[38] Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 14.

[39] Von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 116; s. auch *Vita Macr.*, PG 46: 965B, verfaßt von Gregor von Nyssa; vgl. auch ders., *Enc. in Bas.*, PG 46: 808B und Basilios, *EAux.* [36], *ESynt.* [37].

besonders Basilios, dessen Gesundheit ob seiner zarten Natur ernstlich angegriffen war.[40]

Seine akademische Ausbildung empfing Basilios zunächst in der noch sehr jungen, herrlichen Hauptstadt des griechisch-römischen Staates, wo "ηὐδοκίμει σοφιστῶν τε καὶ φιλοσόφων τοῖς τελειωτάτοις."[41] So muß Basilios auch irgendwie mit dem kaiserlichen Hof in Kontakt gekommen sein, worüber allerdings nichts Näheres bekannt ist. Nur wissen wir, daß er dort mit Libanios, dem berühmten Sophisten und Lehrer der Rhetorik,[42] bekannt wurde, bei ihm aber nicht seine Studien beendete, da er wegen eines Streites mit seinem Rivalen Nikokles von diesem samt anderen Sophisten veranlaßt wurde, die Hauptstadt zu verlassen.[43] So fragt man sich, ob Basilios danach, also nach 346 oder 347, in Byzanz an einer anderen Schule seine Studien bis 351 oder 352 fortgesetzt hatte und dann nach Athen sich begeben hatte oder nach Caesarea zurückgekehrt war.[44]

Um 351, unserer Schätzung nach, beschloß Basilios, den Anforderungen junger Leute aus guten Häusern entsprechend, im berühmten Athen sich weiterzubilden. In Rom und Konstantinopel konzentrierten sich der Reichtum und die politische Macht des Kaiserreiches. Aber weder die eine noch die andere Stadt vermochte die Stadt der Pallas Athene aus ihrer beherrschenden Stellung, den sie an der Führungsspitze der höchsten akademischen Ausbildung innehatte, zu verdrängen. Denn allein in dieser Stadt mit ihren alten traditionsreichen philosophischen Schulen herrschte noch im Vierten Jahrhundert n.Chr. ein liberaler und toleranter Geist. Und zu Basilios' Zeit betrachtete man Athen immer noch als der "Worte" Boden und als das Eldorado der Rhetorik bzw. der Sophistik.[45] Ja, in dieser renommierten Stadt hatte sich bis in jene Tage noch ein Stück unbeschadeter Antike erhalten, so daß gar noch prachtvolle heidnische

[40] Lange Zeit war Basilios leberkrank, wie so viele Asketen; vgl. von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 97.

[41] Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43.12.

[42] Hierzu verweisen wir auf W. von Christ, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 2 (München 1924) 987 f.

[43] K. G. Bonis, *Γρηγόριος ὁ Θεολόγος* (Athens 1953) S. 18, Anm. 1 und 2.

[44] Darüber sagen die Quellen nichts aus. R. J. Deferrari schreibt in der Einleitung zu seinem Werk *Saint Basil, The Letters* (Cambridge, Mass./London 1950), 1: xvii, folgendes: "Libanius indeed, was at Constantinople in 347 and our Saint could have arrived there thus early, according to a closely packed chronology, and could have sat under the Great Master, but the attractive hypothesis of their association even at Constantinople is still only an hypothesis." Und in Anm. 3 (ebenda) betrachtet er die den beiden zugesprochene Korrespondenz für sehr zweifelhaft. Jedenfalls akzeptiert die neuere Kritik von den 25 Briefen 13 als echt (unter Nr. 335-359 u. 358).

[45] Gregor von Nazianz sagt, Athen sei stets "τὸ τῶν λόγων ἔδαφος" gewesen (*Or.* 43.14).

Tempel samt dem zu ihnen gehörenden Kult, kurz gesagt, die ganze antike Atmosphäre intakt war.[46] Aber auch Theater, Palästren, Wettkämpfe und religiöse Feste bildeten noch einen wichtigen Bestandteil des öffentlichen Lebens. Die schöne attizistische Sprache behielt trotz ihrer Vereinfachung und Popularisierung ihre Lieblichkeit und ausdrucksvolle Schönheit in der Rede, besonders allerdings als Schriftsprache.[47]

Als nun Basilios in Athen eintraf, wurde er von seinem ehemaligen Mitschüler aus der Caesareaer Zeit empfangen: es war Gregor von Nazianz, mit dem ihn fürderhin eine enge Freundschaft verbinden sollte.[48] Wie üblich, schlossen sich auch damals in Athen die Studenten je nach dem Lande ihrer Herkunft zu Kreisen zusammen. Einen solchen bildeten auch die Armenier, und diese sahen den kappadokischen Kreis scheel an, aber ganz besonders beneideten sie Basilios. Er vermied jegliche Diskussion mit ihnen. Aber einmal konnte er doch nicht umhin, mit ihnen in ein Gespräch verwickelt zu werden. Gregorios stand ihm zur Seite, und so besiegte er seine Gegner völlig. Die Folge war, daß Gregorios nun noch mehr seinen geistig so hervorragend starken Freund Basilios schätzte. Von da an mag wohl das gelten, was Gregorios später in seiner Grabrede sagte: die beiden waren "eine Seele in zwei Leibern."[49]

Besonderer Beachtung verdient es, welche Bekanntschaften Gregorios und sogar auch Basilios mit heidnischen Gelehrten, Kommilitonen und anderen Persönlichkeiten während ihrer Athener Studienzeit gemacht hatten. Außer ihren Lehrern Himerios und Proairesios, den berühmtesten Sophisten jener Zeit, waren die beiden Freunde sicherlich auch mit Julian (s.o.) bekannt geworden.[50] Selbstverständlich lernten sie in Athen unter ihren Kommilitonen nicht nur Studenten aus Armenien und Kappadokien kennen, sondern auch solche aus dem ganzen Hoheitsgebiet des Griechisch-Römischen Reiches, schlossen aber Freundschaft nur mit denen unter ihnen, die aus guten Familien kamen und gläubige Christen waren.

[46] Vgl. mehr darüber bei Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 25 f.

[47] J. Burckhardt, *Griechische Kulturgeschichte*, 3 (Leipzig 1952) 282: "Daß das Griechische in diesem Orient 'gut' gesprochen worden wäre, kann man freilich nicht verlangen. Die Barbaren, die zum Hellenismus gebracht wurden, konnten vielfach so wenig zu einer korrekten Aussprache gelangen als die Hellenen in den asiatischen Sprachen. Man klagte aber damals selbst in Attika darüber, daß zegen des Verkehrs mit Makedonien viele in der Sprache makedonisierten." Absichtlich haben wir diese Passage zitiert, da Basilios der Große bekanntlich ein Griechisch gebrauchte, das in etwa der "Dimotiki," d.h. der griechischen Volkssprache gleichkommt.

[48] Siehe Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43.15-24 von 381.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Adv. Iul.*, PG 35: 692A.

Unter ihnen waren auch Hesychios, Terentios, Sophronios, Eusebios und höchstwahrscheinlich auch andere.[51] Schließlich sei vermerkt daß ihr berühmter Lehrer Proairesios ein Christ war, Himerios aber ein Heide.[52]

Auf eine ausführliche Schilderung des damaligen Athener Studentenlebens können wir hier verzichten,[53] nur sei gesagt, daß dieses mit allen heidnischen Ausschweifungen und krankhaften moralischen Manifestationen Basilios sicherlich so tief getroffen und daher für sein ganzes weiteres Leben zum hervorragendsten praktischen Seelsorger und Mönchsvater geprägt hatten.[54] Aber schon zu jener Zeit widmete sich Basilios, abgesehen davon, daß er von Haus aus schon die Heilige Schrift gut kannte, außerhalb seines regulären Studienplans zusammen mit seinem Freund Gregorios dem vertiefenden Studium der Heiligen Schrift, was ihm zur einzigen Quelle der Belehrung und der seelischen Erbauung, zum beglückenden Genuß und geistlichen Gewinn gedieh. Darüberhinaus wurde sie ihm dadurch auch zum sicheren Führer in Theorie und Praxis, der Weg zum gottgefälligen Glauben und Wissen, das Licht zum Leben und Handeln![55]

Die Vervollkommnung seines Gesamtwissens verdankt Basilios, abgesehen von seinem unstillbaren Wissensdurst und seiner vollen Hingabe an das Studium, auch den besten Lehrern seiner Epoche. Außer den beiden oben genannten Lehrern der Rhetorik hatten Basilios und Gregorios bestimmt noch andere Kapazitäten in Athen zu ihren Lehrern, deren Namen uns jedoch nicht überliefert sind.[56] Zusammenfassend möchten wir nun annehmen, was wir oben schon andeutungsweise bemerkt haben: ohne konkrete Angaben machen zu können, meinen wir doch, daß sich bei Basilios sogutwie bei seinem Freunde Gregorios gerade in der Athener Zeit die entscheidenden Prinzipien für ihre spätere kirchliche Tätigkeit herausgebildet haben müssen; denn gerade das noch von der

[51] Siehe *EHes.* [64], *EHes.* [72], *ETer.* [214], *ESophr.* [76], *ESophr.* [96], *EEus. sod.* [271], etc.

[52] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26, PG 67: 529A; Sozomenos, *Hist. eccl.* 6.17, PG 67: 1333.

[53] Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 517; ibid., 520; 16, ibid., 516. Noch heute ist die entsprechende Studie von F. X. Eggersdorfer, "Die großen Kirchenväter des 4. Jahrhunderts auf den heidnischen Hochschulen ihrer Zeit," *ThM* 13 (1903) 335-345; 426-432, aktuell. Siehe auch G. F. Hertzberg, *Die Geschichte Griechenlands unter der Herrschaft der Römer* (Halle 1875) S. 345 ff. Eine gelungene Schilderung der "Studien in Athen" bietet Burckhardt, *Die Zeit Konstantins*, S. 477 ff.

[54] Verwiesen sei vor allem auf F. Laun, "Die beiden Regeln des Basilius, ihre Echtheit und Entstehung," *ZKG* 44 (1925) 1-61, wo nicht nur die wesentliche Echtheit derselben nachgewiesen wird, sondern auch interessante Beobachtungen zum Inhalt zu finden sind.

[55] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 525-528.

[56] Vgl. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26, PG 67: 528 f.

Antike zehrende zugleich aber schon von dem Novum der christlichen, sich im Werden befindlichen Reichskultur, wenn man das so nennen darf, überschattete Leben dieser Metropole der Oekumene des Vierten Jahrhunderts mußte solchen Geistern, die schon von Haus aus das unbändige Ringen des Alten, nun im Vergehen Befindlichen der heidnischen Welt mit dem Neuen, aber doch auch aus dem Alten sich Emporringenden der neuen, der christlichen Welt Impulse geben, von denen wir heute nur noch etwas ahnen können.

C. Basilios' des Grossen Anachorese

Nach über vierjähriger Studienzeit in Athen kehrte Basilios zu den Seinen nach Caesarea zurück, inzwischen war aber sein Vater abgeschieden und sein jüngster Bruder Petros geboren.[57] Die Familie begab sich nun auf ihre Besitztümer am Fluß Iris in Pontos. All das läßt sich mit dem Jahre 355 bzw. 356 datieren.[58] Aber es hielt ihn nicht lange in Pontos, und er wandte sich wieder nach Caesarea zurück, wo er zunächst, über 25 Jahre alt, den Anwaltsberuf ausübte, wobei ihm ein derartiger Erfolg beschieden war, daß er sogleich zum Lehrer der Rhetorik ernannt wurde.[59] Diese Funktion war allerdings zu damaliger Zeit im Römischen Reich mit ganz besonderen Befugnissen und Rechten verbunden,[60] worauf wir hier jedoch nicht näher einzugehen brauchen.[61] Und diese hohe Stellung bereitete Basilios nicht nur für sein späteres Amt als Erzbischof seiner Heimatstadt vor, sondern gab ihm zugleich auch die Gelegenheit, sich praktische Erfahrungen in der Gesellschaft anzueignen und nicht zuletzt die soziale Struktur derselben und auch die der Kirche mit allen ihren Verflechtungen kennenzulernen.[62]

Aber, obgleich noch sehr jung, konnten alle Ehren und politischen Verpflichtungen, die er in seinem hohen Amt hatte, zu keinem falschen Ehrgeiz hinreissen. Die tiefere Beschäftigung mit der Philosophie — wir

[57] Vgl. Gregor von Nyssa, *Vita Macr.*, PG 46: 972.

[58] Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 26.

[59] Zu Recht hat Gregor von Nazianz auch dieses Werk Basilios gepriesen, wenn er sagte: *Καισαρέων μέγ' ἄεισμα, φαάντατε ὦ Βασίλειε, βροντὴ σεῖο λόγος, ἀστεροπὴ δὲ βίος*, *Epigr.* 118, *In Bas.*, PG 38: 74.

[60] Vgl. E. Stein, *Geschichte des spätrömischen Reiches*, 1 (Wien 1928) 330; P. Wolf, *Vom Schulwesen der Spätantike. Studien zu Libanios* (Baden-Baden 1952) S. 75.

[61] Zum Ausbildungswesen verweisen wir u.auf Stein, *Geschichte*, 1: 520-521, 537-538; Wolf, *Vom Schulwesen*; H. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel* (München 1926).

[62] Siehe hierzu Basilios, *ENeoc. pm.* [210].

denken da besonders an die Athener Periode — hatte ihn wahrlich den tieferen Sinn des Lebens gelehrt, und seine religiöse Erziehung, die ihm in der Jugend zuteilgeworden war, beides hatte ihm höhere Ideale in seine Seele eingeflößt. Sich in einem solchen seelischen Zustand befindend, eilte Basilios zu seinen geliebten Angehörigen, zu dem einsamen Ort bei Pontus, wo sich der Familienbesitz befand. Seine Mutter Emmelia, seine Schwester Makrina und sein jüngster Bruder Petros waren auch dort. Aber die geistlich am meisten geprüfte war Makrina. Sie, die Leidgeprüfte,[63] erkannte sogleich ihres Bruders inneres Leiden und wußte, daß er weder zum Anwalt noch zum Lehrer der Rhetorik bestimmt war; zu Höherem war ihr Bruder berufen.

Und Basilios selbst fühlte sich von seiner Schwester Makrina durchschaut, und nach ernster Selbstprüfung fand er den Weg zum Evangelium wieder zurück; er erkannte die Nichtigkeit seiner weltlichen Ambitionen, denen er bisher nachgejagt, ja, nun wußte er um den leeren Wahn der "Weisheit" dieser Welt, und zu dieser Erkenntnis hatte ihm einzig und allein Makrina seine fromme Schwester verholfen.[64] Infolgedessen faßte der weise und willensstarke Basilios auf der Stelle den Entschluß, sich von nun an voll und ganz der Tätigkeit für die Kirche Christi zu widmen und zu einem großen Leuchtturm christlicher Weisheit, Erziehung und Tugend zu werden. Aber der tiefsinnige Geist des heiligen Vaters ließ es nicht zu, daß er von jugendlicher Begeisterung sich hätte zu Entschlüssen hinreissen lassen, die je heiliger auch desto größere Besonnenheit und Vorsicht bei der Vorbereitung und in der Methode zur Erlangung des wahren asketischen Ideals erforderten. So entschloß er sich, verschiedene klösterliche Niederlassungen aufzusuchen, die verstreut zwischen der Cyrenaika bis zur Thebais, zwischen den Bergen von Palästina und den Plateaus von Syrien und Mesopotamien lagen. Zweck dieser seiner großen Reise war, er wollte die großen asketischen Vorbilder kennenlernen und mit eigenen Augen das Leben der asketisierenden Mönche sehen und die von ihnen zu extrem hochgesteckten Ziele bei der Erlangung des zu erstrebenden Guten in der Praxis kennenlernen.

So besuchte Basilios zunächst die Mönchssiedlungen von Ägypten, wo er noch am Leben befindliche namhafte Vertreter des uranfänglichen Mönchsideals antraf. Es sind Namen wie die der beiden Makarios, der des Bischofs Serapion von Thmuis u.a. Aber auch der Kriegsfurie begegnete er, d.h. den Leuten des "mehr oder weniger arianisch gesinnten" Kaisers

[63] Gregor von Nyssa, *Vita Macr.*, PG 46: 964, 965.

[64] Ibid., 965.

Konstantios,[65] welche die Anhänger der nizänischen Lehre, vor allem die Verteidiger des Homoousios, somit also in Ägypten die Anhänger des Athanasios von Alexandria,[66] die ja die Synode von Sirmion (351) mit ihrem sehr allgemein gehaltenen Symbolum (das vierte antiochenische) und den 27 Anathematismen verworfen hatten,[67] nicht nur verfolgten, sondern sie, ob in Klöstern oder auf der Flucht, niedermetzelten, so daß die Leichen nicht selten unbegraben blieben.[68] Und all das hinterließ bei Basilios, der zum Teil zum Augenzeugen dieser furchtbaren Verfolgungen wurde, gewißlich tiefste Spuren, die ihm desgleichen, d.h. wie seine Athener Erfahrungen, entscheidende Lehren für sein späteres Wirken erteilten. Nur eines ist Basilios während seines Verweilens in Ägypten nicht vergönnt gewesen: es gelang ihm nicht, mit dem unübertrefflichen Vorkämpfer der Orthodoxie, mit Athanasios dem Großen zusammenzutreffen. Aber sein Beispiel wie das der übrigen Kirchenväter und frommen Mönche, mit denen er in Kontakt gekommen war, blieb sein unerschütterlicher Wegweiser und Führer bei allen seinen späteren dogmatischen und schlechthin theologischen Problemen, zu deren Lösung er mitsamt den anderen großen Kappadokiern bestimmt war.[69]

Als Basilios um das Jahr 359 nach Caesarea zurückkehrte, war sein Entschluß gereift, das Mönchsgewand anzulegen. Höchstwahrscheinlich übte er aber auch weiterhin seinen Beruf als Anwalt aus.[70] Zunächst lernte er jedoch in seinem Lande sich der Askese hingebende Mönche kennen; sie unterstanden der Leitung und dem Priorat des bekannten Eustathios, des Metropoliten von Sebaste im Pontos (ca. 300 bis ca. 377). Mit ihm verband Basilios zunächst eine gute Freundschaft. Als Eustathios späterhin aber als "Arianer" verschrien wurde, war auch für Basilios "das Bekenntnis wichtiger als die alte Freundschaft und die Gemeinsamkeit im Dienst der asketischen Ziele."[71] Unbekannt bleibt, wie lange Basilios bei jenen Mönchen, später auch "Eustathianer" genannt,[72] sich aufgehalten

[65] Zu dem Brief des Kaisers an Athanasios siehe Athanasios, *Apol. ad Const.* 23; *Hist. Arian.* 24. Vgl. Ch. Papadopoulos, *Ἱστορία τῆς Ἐκκλησίας Ἀλεξανδρείας* (Alexandria 1935) S. 193-194.

[66] Vgl. die einzigartige Darlegung der Ereignisse bei H. Lietzmann, *Geschichte der alten Kirche* (Berlin 1953) S. 217 ff.

[67] Zur Synode von Sirmion 351 Athanasios, *Ep. de syn.* 27; Hilarius, *De syn.* 38.

[68] Vgl. Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 34; Lietzmann, *Geschichte*, S. 232 f.

[69] Vgl. *EEust.* [223], um 375.

[70] Vgl. Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 35.

[71] Vgl. von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 89; Bonis, ibid.

[72] Seine Anhänger, hier als "Eustathianer" bezeichnet, zählten zu den Homöusianern (s.u.);vgl. F. Loofs, *Grundlinien der Kirchengeschichte* (Halle 1910) S. 37 f.; siehe auch

bzw. Kontakte mit ihnen unterhalten hatte. Eines steht aber fest: Basilios' des Großen Prinzipien betreffs mönchisches Leben und schlechthin klösterliche Ordnung sind ganz offensichtlich vom Geist und von der Praxis der "Eustathianer" geprägt. So betrachtete unser großer Vater des Mönchtums alles, was über Eustathios und seine Getreuen verbreitet wurde, als von arianisch Gesinnten kommende Anschwärzungen und als von böswilligen und streitsüchtigen Leuten ausgestreute Verleumdungen.[73] Aber Basilios wollte nicht voreingenommen urteilen, so machte er sich selbst daran, ihre Gesinnung zu erforschen, so daß er später leider bekennen mußte, sich getäuscht zu haben.[74] Und Eustathios war in der Tat ein Schüler von Arius gewesen und zeitlebens hatte er gezögert, das Homousios von Nicäa (325) zu akzeptieren. Wohl hatte er es auf den Synoden von Ankyra (358) und von Lampsakos (365) verteidigt,[75] aber sein eigentliches Interesse war stets auf das klösterliche Leben gerichtet, so daß ihm die Organisation des Mönchslebens in Kleinarmenien (= Pontos) und Kleinasien besonders am Herzen lag.[76] Wir haben uns mit ihm nicht weiter zu befassen, nur sei erwähnt, daß Basilios der Große scheinbar unter dem klösterlichen Einfluß des Eustathios gestanden hatte, und er wirkte anfangs an der Abfassung seiner Mönchsregeln mit,[77] aber darüber weiter unten mehr.

Nunmehr entschlossen, sich voll und ganz der Askese hinzugeben, aber auch zutiefst von den Eustathianern enttäuscht,[78] ging Basilios daran all seinen ungeheuren Besitz unter die Armen seines Vaterlandes zu verteilen, um sich sodann in die kleinarmenischen Wüsten zurückzuziehen, wo sich auch das väterliche Gut befand und wo sich die Mutter, die Schwester Makrina und der Bruder Petros aufhielten. Er kam also im Jahre 359 oder anfang 360 nach Pontos und begab sich sofort auf die andere Seite des Iris-Flußes an einen einsamen Ort und ließ sich dort an

derselbe, "Eustathius von Sebaste," *REPThK* 5 (1898) 627 ff. Vgl. auch K. Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1 (Tübingen 1941) 548, wo es sich zwar nur um die Feier des Weihnachtfestes handelt, es aber doch von Interesse ist, daß Müller "die Gemeinde der altnicänischen Eustathianer" erwähnt, "die mit Rom, 379 auch die der jungnicänischen Meletianer, die mit Basilius in naher Verbindung stand. ..."

[73] So die Meinung des Verf.; vgl. Bonis *Βασίλειος*, S. 35 unten.

[74] Vgl. *EEust.* [223].

[75] Ibid.

[76] Vgl. *REPThK* 5 (1898) 627 ff.

[77] Vgl. Laun, "Die beiden Regeln"; trotz aller textkritischen Sondierungen in puncto Echtheitsfrage wird nirgendwo von Eustathios etwas in Erwähnung gebracht, es sei denn ganz am Rande; siehe S. 57 Anm. 1.

[78] Vgl. Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 36 unten.

einem Berghang, umgeben von der Iris, nieder,[79] und nach einem längeren Briefwechsel kam auch sein Freund Gregor von Nazianz dorthin.[80] Nun vertieften sich beide in das Studium der Heiligen Schrift und in die Schriften der Kirchenväter, so daß sie auch sämtliche Werke des Alexandriner Interpreten Origenes lasen, und sie kamen zu dem Entschluß, gemeinsam gewissermaßen eine Anthologie aus den Werken dieses großen Schriftstellers zusammenzustellen; sie nannten diese Sammlung "Philokalia".[81]

So wurde Basilios der Große der Begründer des organisierten zönobitischen Lebens der Asketen. Vor seiner Zeit lebten nämlich die Asketen entweder ganz allein oder gruppenweise, dabei aber gänzlich unorganisiert. Man betrachtet selbstverständlich Pachomios (ca. 290-346) als den eigentlichen Begründer des Zönobitismus, aber Basilios der Große war nicht nur der erste, der das Könobium in ganz Kleinasien verwirklichte, sondern er war zugleich auch der Bahnbrecher und bester Organisator des wahren Könobium, indem er die seither überall für die Asketen verbindlichen Statuten des Könobium festgesetzt hat.[82] Was ihn dafür geradezu genial befähigte, war, daß er nicht in erster Linie als Theoretiker an dies große Werk heranging, sondern als erfahrener Praktiker, der die Mönchssiedlung zu einer "könobitischen Gemeinschaft"[83] aufbaute. Zu diesem Zwecke verfaßte er den unerläßlichen "Konstituierenden Kodex,"[84] der das asketische Leben dieser asketischen Gemeinschaft für die Gesamtzeit eines Tages von 24 Stunden bis in die letzten Einzelheiten regelte.[85] Bekanntlich betrachtet man als den Patriarchen des mönchischen Lebens im Westen den Heiligen Benedikt (ca. 480 bis ca. 550); selbst er empfahl seinen Mönchen, die Kanones des Basilios zu lesen, und meinte, daß der Corpus Asceticum des Basilios einen sicheren Kompaß für Leben und Handeln des Asketen darstelle, der, wenn ihn die Mönche zum Führer hätten, sie alle Tugenden erlangen liesse.[86]

[79] *EGNaz.* [14], who Basilios selbst seinem Freunde Gregor die Ortschaft wunderschön beschreibt.

[80] Gregors Ankunft am Iris fand sehr wahrscheinlich in demselben Jahre, also 360, statt; s. Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 39.

[81] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Ep.* 6, PG 37: 29 ff.

[82] Zur Echtheitsfrage der ***Const.*, der auch die Kanones Basilios des Großen enthält, s. Laun, "Die beiden Regeln," S. 3 f.

[83] Zum Könobium vgl. K. Heussi, *Der Ursprung des Mönchtums* (Tübingen 1936) S. 85, wo auch weitere Literaturangaben.

[84] Gemeint sind damit die ***Const.*, s.o. Anm. 82.

[85] Basilios selbst beschreibt diese seine Deontologie ganz wunderbar in seinem *EGNaz.* [2].

[86] Vgl. Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 43, wo auch weitere Literaturangaben über Sankt Benedikt den Reformator des westlichen Mönchtums.

D. Rückkehr in die Welt — Priesterlich-pastorales Wirken

Im Jahre 363 bzw. 364[87] ließ Basilios sich überzeugen, daß er die ihm teuer gewordene Ruhe seiner Klause verlassen müsse, um der Kirche in seiner Heimat zu dienen. Daraufhin wurde er von Eusebios von Caesarea zum Presbyter geweiht. Seine theologische und kirchliche Ausbildung fand alsbald bei allen aus seiner engeren und weiteren Umgebung lebhaftesten Widerhall. Alle bewunderten seinen Scharfsinn, seine Redegewalt, seine Willenskraft, sein überwältigendes Auftreten, sein höheres Ethos und seine strahlende seelische und geistige Größe. Bei einem Vergleich von Basilios mit seinem Bischof Eusebios gerät letzterer fraglos ins Hintertreffen. So kam es dahin, daß Basilios' Feinde diesen beim Bischof als hochmütig und Egoisten anschwärzten. Zunächst zeigte sich Eusebius ihm gegenüber recht kühl, dann verweigerte er ihm jedoch jegliches Vertrauen.[88] Basilios wurde hingegen von den Mönchen und Orthodoxen und gleichermaßen von einem Großteil der Priesterschaft in und außerhalb von Kappadokien unterstützt. Für den Augenblick hatte sich die Lage also derart zugespitzt, daß es gar zu einem Schisma hätte kommen können. Aber unser großer Kirchenvater wollte alles andere als das, und so trat er von allen seinen Obliegenheiten zurück und suchte wiederum Zuflucht in seiner Klause in Annesoi am Iris-Fluß in Kleinarmenien.

Nach dem Abgang des mächtigen Basilios begannen in der Kirche wiederum die Streitigkeiten mit den arianisch Gesinnten. Die Arianer nutzten nämlich die Unzufriedenheit der Caesareer ob des Scheidens von Basilios dahin aus, daß sie ihrem Gesinnungsgenossen, dem Kaiser Valens (364-378), nahelegten, Eusebios unter dem Vorwand zu vertreiben, daß er dadurch Ruhe stiften wolle, und dann sollte er einen Arianer als Bischof von Caesarea einsetzen. Aber das Eingreifen Gregors von Nazianz rettete die Situation: er schrieb Briefe an Eusebios und Basilios; an ersteren gebrauchte er einen etwas barschen Ton, und letzterem empfahl er wärmstens und ermutigte ihn zugleich, wegen der der Kirche drohenden Gefahren eiligst zurückzukehren.[89] Und so geschah es denn auch, und dank der Vermittlung durch Gregor von Nazianz war der Friede wieder hergestellt.[90]

[87] Meist heißt es "um 364": vgl. z.B. B. Altaner, *Patrologie* (Freiburg i.Br. 1950) S. 249; *REPThK* 2 (1897) 437.

[88] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 533.

[89] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Ep.* 16, PG 37: 49; *Ep.* 19, ibid., 43; vgl. Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 6.15, PG 67: 1332.

[90] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.33, PG 36: 541.

Basilios' Präsenz in Caesarea war sogleich spürbar: das orthodoxe Volk fühlte sich wieder sicher; Valens hielt sich in Caesarea vom Juli 365 ab auf.[91] Drei Faktoren zwangen den arianisch gesinnten Valens, eiligst diese Stadt wieder zu verlassen:[92] erstens, der Aufstand des Generals Prokopios, der mit Hilfe des Eunuchen Eugenios in Konstantinopel das Palais eingenommen und mit General Markellos ganz Bithynien besetzt hatte;[93] zweitens, die drohende Hungersnot, die ganze Provinzen von Kleinasien und auch Kappadokien zu vernichten drohte; und drittens, das Auftreten des Basilios, woraufhin sich alle Orthodoxen zusammentaten, um gegen die Beleidigungen der arianischen Eindringlinge vorzugehen.[94] Dies in Erwägung ziehend, mußte Valens anfang 366 aufbrechen, und mit ihm zogen die meisten arianischen Eindringlinge wieder ab.

Von da an widmete Basilios sich als Presbyter derart vielseitigen Aufgaben, daß selbst Gregors begnadete Feder es nicht fertigbrachte, dies gebührend auszumalen. Vieles und Mannigfaltiges bilden das Charakteristische von Basilios' Aktivitäten zur Obsorge und zur Beschützung der Kirche. Der herrschenden Klasse und den Mächtigen der Stadt gegenüber gab er sich völlig unbefangen und offenherzig. Er griff zugunsten der Benachteiligten ein und wurde zum Fürsprech und Beschützer der Bedürftigen. Er sorgte für die Vereinigung der Orthodoxen und für die Reorganisierung der Geistlichkeit. Er verfaßte "Gebetsvorschriften,"[95] d.h. er gestaltete die Messe[96] und verlangte "Ordnung auf der Kanzel."[97] Seine pastorale Fürsorge galt ganz besonders den sozialen Anstalten.[98] So zeigte Basilios bei der katastrophalen Hungersnot, von der Kappadokien und Pontos betroffen war (s.o.), wahrhaft vorzügliche Eigenschaften als Führer. Wo und wie auch immer unter der Bevölkerung Übergriffe bzw. mit Mangelware Mißbrauch getrieben wurde oder sonstiges Unrecht geschah, da ließ er es an Worten und Taten nicht fehlen, um dem Einhalt zu gebieten.[99]

[91] Vgl. O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 3 (Freiburg i.Br. 1912) 133.

[92] Vgl. Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 15, PG 67: 1332.

[93] Über den Aufstand des Markellos, eines Verwandten des Kaisers Julian (361/363) siehe Stein, *Geschichte*, 1: 222, 270.3; *RECA* 28 (1930) 1491.

[94] Vgl. hierzu Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.33, PG 36: 540.

[95] Gemeint sind die *εὐχῶν διατάξεις*; vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 541-544.

[96] D.h. die *εὐκοσμία τοῦ βήματος*; Gregor von Nazianzus, ibid.

[97] Ibid., c. 35 und 36.

[98] Ibid., PG 46: 808A.

[99] *HFam.* [8], PG 31: 277-304, gehalten aus Anlaß der großen Hungersnot und Trockenheitsperiode.

Um die Mitte des Jahres 370 verschied der greise Bischof von Caesarea Eusebios.[100] Die Blicke der Orthodoxen richteten sich sogleich auf Basilios. Aber eine starke arianisch gesinnte Partei wollte einen Arianer zum Nachfolger auf den verwaisten Thron haben, so daß sie sich der Nominierung des Basilios widersetzten. Zu vermerken ist, daß sich die Jurisdiktion des Metropoliten von Caesarea in Kappadokien auf 50 Diözesen erstreckte, die sich auf 11 Provinzen verteilten. Caesarea war folglich nicht nur ein kirchliches, sondern auch ein politisches Zentrum von großer Wichtigkeit, wohin sich des Kaisers Blick gerichtet hatte. Und die Leute des Valens liessen es an Schikanen nicht fehlen; denn als Arianer war und blieb ihnen Basilios ein Dorn im Auge, so daß sie, einmal ganz abgesehen von ihren böswilligen, gegen die orthodoxe Bevölkerung gerichteten Verwaltungsaktionen, wieder anfingen, Basilios als hochmütig, Tadler, Egoisten oder gar als Superzeloten zu verleumden. Schon schien alles verloren, als der hochbetagte Bischof von Nazianz, Gregor, nach Caesarea kam und die Sachen sich zugunsten von Basilios wandten. So wurde er schließlich zum Bischof von Caesarea gewählt.[101] Obschon er sich, nunmehr 40 Jahre alt, auf der Höhe seines Lebens befunden haben sollte, hat ihn die strenge Askese doch schon frühzeitig altern lassen, ganz besonders trug aber dazu sein chronisches Leberleiden bei. Und doch behinderte dies sein körperliches Leiden keineswegs, so daß er sich als wahres Vorbild eines Hirten und Lehrers, Steuermanns und Sozialreformers, eines Weisen und Theologen mit hohem Gedankenflug, eines Pädagogen und bahnbrechenden Reformers des Mönchslebens erwies. Aber es führte uns zu weit, hier aller Qualitäten dieses einzigartigen Kirchenmannes Erwähnung zu tun.[102]

[100] Unter seinem Namen ist die Homilie über das kananäische Weib bekannt; sie ist erhalten in einer koptischen Handschrift in London. Ediert ist sie in Koptisch und Englisch von E. A. T. W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London 1910) pp. 133-143; 275-285. Es hat sich aber erwiesen, daß diese Homilie eine Übersetzung der gleichnamigen Homilie des Chrysostomos ist (PG 52: 449-460). Vgl. G. Mercati, *JThS* 8 (1907) 114.

[101] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.27, PG 36: 538. In Kap. 37 (ibid., 545) beschreibt Gregor die Schwierigkeiten, die sich bei der Wahl ergaben. Zur Stellung des Bischofs von Caesarea vgl. K. Lübeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients* (Münster 1901) S. 189 ff. Demhingegen erkennt J. Schäfer, *Basilius' des Großen Beziehungen zum Abendlande* (Münster 1909) dem Metropoliten als Erzbischof nicht die Stellung eines Exarchen bzw. die Gewalt desselben = die Obermetropolitangewalt dem Bischof Caesarea zu. Zur "Berufung" zum Bischof s. Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1: 511; als Jahr der "Berufung" wird 370 angegeben.

[102] Erwähnenswert ist an dieser Stelle, daß der Titel "der große Basilios" bereits bei Gregor von Nazianz und Gregor von Nyssa Usus war. Vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43.1 16; *Ep.* 53; Gregor von Nyssa, *Or. in Bas.*, PG 46: 800.8013; *C. Eun.*, PG 45: 272.273.

Vor allem sorgte sich Basilios um die Einheit der ganzen Kirche, d.h. der des Ostens und der des Westens; während der Orient unter den dogmatischen Streitigkeiten und aufgrund schismatischer Tendenzen und Parteiungen erbebte, erfreute sich der Okzident der ersehnten Einheit unter den Bischöfen. So kam Basilios auf den Gedanken, daß der Westen seinen Beitrag zur Einheit des Ostens leisten könnte. Darum hatte er mit dem im Westen weilenden Athanasios einen regen Briefwechsel.[103] In seinem ersten Brief an Athanasios tut er da Erwähnung des Meletianischen Schismas[104] in der Antiochenischen Kirche, worum Athanasios selber sich kümmern solle. Diesen Brief übersandte Basilios durch den Diakon Dorotheos der Kirche von Antiochia. Zugleich gab er ihm noch einen anderen Brief an Athanasios mit, worin er seine Meinung dahingehend äußerte, daß Meletios anerkannt werden solle und diejenigen, die sich von ihm getrennt, ihm wieder gehorchen sollten.[105] Nach Empfang der Briefe entsandte Athanasios zusammen mit Dorotheos seinen Presbyter Petros an Basilios, damit sie in seinem Namen die nötigen Schritte unternähmen zur Wiederherstellung des Friedens. Daraufhin schickte Basilios Athanasios mit Dortheos einen dritten Brief,[106] auf daß seitens der Römischen Kirche zur Beilegung der Häresie des Markellos[107] geeignete Männer entsandt würden. Zugleich schrieb er auch an Papst Damasus[108] und ersuchte um Friedensstifter, die bei der Wiederherstellung des Friedens in den Kirchen des Orients behilflich sein sollten. Gerade dieser Brief ist sehr wichtig, da er wiederum die Frage des päpstlichen "eccletus" aufwarf, was ja die Beziehungen zwischen Ost- und Westkirche besonders zur Zeit des Photios erschüttert hatte. Sämtliche oben angeführten Briefe wurden im Jahre 371 abgefaßt.[109] Aber Anscheinend waren die Bemühungen des friedliebenden Basilios um Wiederher-

[103] Siehe PG 31: 424; *EAth.* [66; 67; 69].
[104] In *EAth.* [66] (s.o. Anm. 103).
[105] In *EAth.* [67] (s.o. Anm. 103).
[106] Ibid.
[107] Markellos wurde aufgrund eines Buches verurteilt, das uns nur aus relativ wenigen Fragmenten bekannt ist, auch sein Titel bleibt unbekannt; doch steht aufgrund der reichen Fragmente bei Eusebios fest, daß es sich um eine energische Streitschrift gehandelt haben muß. Jedenfalls wurde er durch die Konstantinopler Synode von 336 als Ketzer befunden, weil er in dem besagten Buch den Sohn Gottes mit der Geburt aus der Jungfrau Maria seinen Anfang nehmen ließ und ein Ende seiner Herrschaft annahm; vgl. F. Loofs, "Marcellus von Ancyra," *REPThK* 12 (1903) 259. Vgl. auch Schneemelcher, "Athanasius," S. 287 f.
[108] *ESyn.* [70].
[109] Vgl. PG 31: 424 die entspr. Anm.

stellung der völligen Einheit unter den Kirchen erfolglos geblieben. Die Westler blieben gehalten, und so wurde der hoch hinaus strebende Plan Basilios des Großen vereitelt. Und dennoch unterließ auch fürderhin Basilios nichts unversucht, um Eintracht, Frieden und Ordnung in der Kirche wiederherzustellen. Es verbitterte ihn daher gar sehr, als der arianisch gesinnte Kaiser Valens entweder aus politischer Zweckmäßigkeit oder aber, was näher liegen mag, aus Feindschaft der kirchlich-orthodoxen Politik der Einheit, die Basilios betrieb, Kappadokien in zwei Provinzen teilte; die eine hatte zur Hauptstadt Kappadokia und die andere Tyana, und letztere hatte Anthimos zum Metropoliten, der die Grenzen seines Sprengels so weit wie möglich zu Lasten der ersteren Provinz auszudehnen bestrebte. Der Streit kulminierte schließlich in den Ansprüchen des Anthimos auf Erstreckung seiner Jurisdiktion auch auf die beiden Provinzen, die bereits aus politischen Gründen vom übrigen Gebiet desamaetropolitansprengels von Caesarea abgetrennt waren.[110] Genauer gesagt, sind es die Provinzen des Berges Taurus und der Sasimer.[111] Damit nun nicht auch der Ort der Sasimer von Anthimos eingenommen werde, weihte Basilios seinen großen Freund Gregor von Nazianz auch zum Bischof des Ortes Sasima.[112] Allerdings hatte Gregor sich anfangs geweigert, diese dürftige Diözese zu übernehmen, gab dann aber auf Drängen seines greisen Vaters hin nach und ließ sich weihen.

Kaum war Anthimos von der neuen Sachlage in Kenntnis gesetzt, so begehrte er auf und behinderte Gregorios sich nach Sasima zu begeben, indem er meinte, daß er ihm als seinem Metropoliten Gehorsam schulde. Der von Natur aus milde Gregorios glaubte vielleicht, zur Schlichtung des Streites zwischen beiden Bischöfen etwas tun zu können. Als aber Basilios davon erfuhr, rügte er Gregorios, weil er für Anthimos Partei genommen habe. Gregorios verdroß diese Anklage, und sogleich trat er von der Diözese Sasima zurück, ohne in ihr auch nur eine Amtshandlung verrichtet zu haben. Von nun an wurde auch das Verhältnis zwischen den beiden Freunden kühl, und Gregorios zog sich enttäuscht in einsamere Gegenden zurück; das ihm geschehene Unrecht konnte er nie wieder vergessen.[113]

[110] Vgl. Kirsch, *Die Kirche*, S. 478; hinsichtl. "Metropolitansprengel," *REPThK* 12 (1903) 438.

[111] Sasima war ein an sich ganz bedeutungsloses Dorf, das seine musische Beschreibung bei Gregor von Nazianz gefunden hat; s. PG 37: 1059, Vers 439 ff. Vgl. Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 56-57.

[112] *EEust.* [98], PG 32: 496.

[113] Vgl. die Epen *De vita sua*, Vers 476 ff., PG 37: 1042.

Aber dieser Freundeszwist war nicht das einzige Übel, das Basilios traf. Das andere ließ nicht auf sich warten; es kam von seinem zu anderen Zeiten sehr geschätzten Eustathios von Sebaste[114] (s.o. S. 298). Plötzlich verwandelte sich die enge Freundschaft beider in eine heftige und erbarmungslose Feindschaft, und die Ursache war folgende: Theodotos, Bischof von Nikopolis der Hauptstadt von Kleinarmenien, wo auch Sebaste lag, beschuldigte Eustathios des Arianismus und verlangte von Basilios, mit diesem jegliche Beziehungen abzubrechen. Basilios zögerte, weil er wußte, daß Eustathios in Rom und Tyana bereits ein orthodoxes Glaubensbekenntnis unterschrieben hatte.[115] Aber Theodotos berief eine Synode ein, zu der er Basilios einlud, um über Eustathios zu befinden. Die Einladung wurde bereitwillig angenommen, aber Basilios hielt es bei seiner Durchfahrt durch Sebaste für seine Pflicht, Eustathios über das Vorkommnis in Kenntnis zu setzen und von ihm ein orthodoxes Glaubensbekenntnis zu bekommen. Eustathios ließ sich durch Basilios' Argumente dazu überreden, und dann beteten sie zusammen, und Basilios zweifelte keineswegs an der Aufrichtigkeit des Bekenntnisses des Eustathios, verlangte aber keine schriftliche "Confessio," um erst mit Theodotos zu sprechen, damit von ihm mit aller Akribie das "Glaubensbekenntnis" des Eustathios abgefaßt werde. Theodotos erfuhr davon und schloß daraufhin Basilios von der Synode aus.[116] Aber dann kam es doch noch zur Abfassung des besagten Glaubensbekenntnisses, das Eustathios auch mit Freuden unterschrieb, inhaltlich war es praktisch eine Bestätigung des Nicaenum, verdammte aber jene, die da sagten, der Heilige Geist sei ein Geschöpf.[117] Nun war es Basilios, der daselbst eine Synode sämtlicher Bischöfe von Kappadokien und Armenien einberief, aber zu aller Enttäuschung erschien Eustathios nicht, schickte Basilios nur ein Billet, sehr liebenswürdig abgefaßt, aber kein Wort von dem was vorgefallen! Dessen Hypokrisie erkennend, brach nun Basilios seinen Verkehr mit ihm für immer ab. Und nun brach bei Eustathios der ganze Haß mit allen seinen häßlichen Folgen wider Basilios aus, so daß er ihn sogar als Häretiker und Apollinaristen verleumdete.[118] Nach einiger Zeit hatte

[114] Siehe F. Loofs, *Eustathius von Sebaste und die Chronologie der Basiliusbriefe* (Halle 1898); idem, "Eustathius von Sebaste," *REPThK* 5 (1898) 627-630; F. Zucchetti, "Eustazio di Sebaste e Basilio di Cesarea," *RR* 2 (1926) 17-22.

[115] *EItal.* [243].

[116] *ETer.* [99].

[117] *EEust.* [125]; der volle Text findet sich in Courtonne, 2: 30-34; Deferrari, 2: 258-270.

[118] Eustathios gab sogar ein gegen Basilios gerichtetes Buch heraus, voll von Schmähungen und Verleumdungen, wo er auch meinte, er sei hinters Licht geführt

Eustathios aber wohl doch Gewissensbisse, so daß er Eusebios von Samosata ersuchte, bei Basilios, der sich durch sein Schweigen als so tolerant erwiesen hatte, vermittelnd auf einen Kompromiß hinzuwirken. Aber Basilios verlangte von Eustathios, öffentlich und mit Freimut den nizänischen Glauben zu verkünden und jene, die da sagten, daß der Heilige Geist ein Geschöpf sei, in den Kirchenbann zu tun. Und wiederum reagierte Eustathios daraufhin mit Ausflüchten.[119] Dies war nunmehr die endgültige Trennung. So schied sich die Kirche von Sebaste in Eustathianer und Basilianer. Wie auch diese Entzweiung der einstigen Freunde beurteilt werden mag,[120] so bleibt doch ausschlaggebend, daß Basilios' Handeln von der Erhaltung der Orthodoxie her bestimmt war und es ihm nicht mehr darum ging, eine nunmehr unnütz gewordene Freundschaft zu erhalten.

Aber die wahrhafte Größe des Basilios trat wohl noch mehr bei seiner Konfrontierung mit den Machthabern seiner Zeit hervor. Um seine Orthodoxie zu verteidigen, scheute er sich nicht, dem Kaiser und seinen Leuten freiheraus die Wahrheit zu sagen. Und wer Valens in Wirklichkeit war, das sagt uns klipp und klar Gregor von Nazianz,[121] d.h. praktisch der Fortsetzer der Verfolgungen nach Julian dem Abtrünnigen. Trotz seines ersten Mißerfolgs beim Einführen des Arianismus in Kappadokien, und nachdem er die besagte Provinz in zwei geteilt hatte, versuchte er zum zweiten Mal, seine arianische Politik Kappadokien aufzuoktroyieren.[122] Diese Politik war in Konstantinopel durch die Wahl des Demophilos[123] durchgesetzt worden, in Ägypten nach dem Tode des Athanasios, in Antiochia durch den Sturz des wahrhaft orthodoxen Patriarchen Meletios und auch schon in den Provinzen Bithynien und Galatien. So glaubte

worden, als er das "Credo" unterschreiben habe. Dieses Werk nannte Basilios einen "Scheidebrief" (s. *EGen.* [224]). Hinsichtlich seines Kontaktes mit Apollinarios ist zu erwähnen, daß Basilios ihm vor 17 Jahren einmal geschrieben hatte, als beide noch Laien gewesen waren; vgl. *EMel.* [129], *EAmph.* [150], *EEust. arch.* [151].

[119] *EEus.* [128].

[120] Siehe Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, S. 60.

[121] Siehe Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.43, PG 36: 536-537.

[122] Über die Teilung von Kappadokien in zwei Provinzen durch Valens, siehe W. M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London 1890) S. 283 ff. Die Teilung geschah im Jahr 371/372, und anfangs wurde als Sitz des Metropoliten das kleine und unbedeutende Dorf Podandos bestimmt, später aber Tyana. Bekannt ist der Zwist des neuen Metropoliten von Tyana Anthimus mit Basilios wegen der Grenzen der Diözese Sasima, die, wie oben schon angedeutet, als mit denen seiner Provinz koinzidierend betrachtete.

[123] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.16, PG 67: 500 ff.

Valens, er könne seine philarianische Politik nun auch der äußerst wichtigen, sich aber hartnäckig derselben widersetzenden Provinz Kappadokien aufzwingen. Er entsandte also Anfang 372 seinen Satrapen Modestos zu Basilios, der sich dem großen Kirchenmann gegenüber recht respektlos benahm, aber dem auch Basilios keine Antwort schuldig blieb.[124] Schließlich sah Modestos ein, daß er bei Basilios nichts erreichen konnte, was er auch seinem Herrn dem Kaiser Valens bei seiner Ankunft in Caesarea vermeldete,[125] und er schlug ihm vor, Basilios zu verbannen. Aber der Kaiser konnte sich zu diesem Schritt aus Furcht vor dem Volke nicht entschliessen.[126] Und doch: Valens war nicht Herrn seiner Entschlüsse; vor allem mochte er unter seiner arianisierenden Gemahlin Domnika gestanden haben. So ließ er sich überreden, den unbeugsamen Basilios zu verbannen. Aber da geschah etwas Unerwartetes: die Kaiserin wurde in der darauf folgenden Nacht von bösen Träumen geplagt, und ihr Sohn lag im Sterben; kein Arzt war in der Lage, das Kind zu retten. Da glaubte Domnika, es sei eine Schickung Gottes als Strafe für Basilios' Verbannung. So ließ sie nach Basilios schicken, und bei seinem Betreten des kaiserlichen Hofes fiel sogleich das Fieber, wie durch ein Wunder gewirkt. Als der Prinz aber danach doch von arianischen Priestern getauft wurde, verstarb er.[127] Nach diesen Ereignissen vernichtete Valens seinen Erlaß zur Verbannung des Basilios.[128]

E. Zu Basilios' Zeiten die Kirche bedrängende Irrlehren

Das Vierte Jahrhundert ist kirchen- sowie profangeschichtlich gekennzeichnet vor allem durch den Zerfall der antiken Welt. Wie gesagt, fand diese Entwicklung in ihrem Endstadium seinen Höhepunkt in der Person des Kaisers Julian.[129] Der erste Feind der Kirche war also das sich noch

[124] Vgl. hierzu Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.43, PG 36: 560-561.

[125] Ibid. Näheres über das Verhältnis des Valens zu Basilios siehe G. May, "Die Großen Kappadokier und die staatliche Kirchenpolitik von Valens bis Theodosius," p. 322, vor allem aber S. 327, in G. Ruhbach, ed. *Die Kirche* (Darmstadt 1976).

[126] Vgl. die wunderbare Schilderung dieser Angelegenheit bei Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.53; vgl. Theodoret, *Hist. eccl.* 4.19; Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26; Sozomenos, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16. Siehe auch May, "Die Großen Kappadokier," S. 329.

[127] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.54; Socrates, Sozomenos und Theodoret (oben Anm. 126).

[128] Vgl. hierzu Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.56, 57.

[129] Bekanntlich ist die Gestalt Julians des Abtrünnigen sehr umstritten. Eines hat sich aber nach Jahrhunderten der Abklärung und Verjährung jeglichen subjektiven Hasses herausgestellt: Freunde und Feinde bewundern ihn; denn er war die typische Herrschergestalt an der historischen Scheide zwischen hellenischer Antike und griechischem

einmal wider das sich zum neuen Kulturträger des Reiches entfaltende Christentum aufbäumende Heidentum. Und gerade dieses Moment, d.h. das einerseits hartnäckig um weitere Existenz ringende Heidentum und andererseits das sich an die Führungsstellung durchringende Christentum, dieses Moment kann gar nicht genugsam betrachtet werden. Denn bei "Heidentum" ist doch nicht nur an Julians beachtlichen Restaurationsversuch zu denken, den man übrigens gar nicht so hätte hochzuspielen brauchen,[130] sondern vielmehr an die dem jungen Christentum weit gefährlichere Gnosis in ihren, sei es heidenchristlichen oder gar judenchristlichen, Nuancen; denn viel gefährlicher für die Existenz eines noch nicht völlig gefestigten Gefüges, wie es das Christentum zu jenen Zeiten nur einige Jahrzehnte nach dem im Nicaenum niedergelegten Credo der Kirche noch darstellte, war der innere und nicht der äußere Gegner! Also nicht Julian, sondern die außerkirchliche Gnosis.[131]

Bekanntlich war aber der innere Feind zu Zeiten Basilios des Großen weit gefährlicher; wir meinen den von Arius[132] und seinen Gefolgsmännern[133] begründeten Arianismus. Und die Auseinandersetzung mit den

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Christentum. Er war aufrichtig und daher achtbar, aber nicht zuletzt war er eben doch das Opfer der Verunglückungen innerfamiliärer Geschehnisse, und das nimmt ihm bei allen seinen ihm nicht absprechbaren Fähigkeiten doch den Glanz eines "unsterblichen Helden" — er litt unter Ressentiments. Aber wir glauben doch, auf die einmalige gute Biographie verweisen zu müssen, die seiner Person wohl doch gerecht wird: Bidez, *Julian*. Nicht zuletzt sei auch von E. Talbot die Einleitung zu seinen *Œuvres complètes de l'Empereur Julien ... précédée d'une étude sur Julien* (Paris 1863) hier angeführt.

[130] Vgl. Puech, *Histoire*, S. 26-33, der in aller Objektivität diesem Manne gerecht zu werden trachtet.

[131] Wie wir wissen, zog sie sich die ersten Jahrhunderte hindurch — genau gesagt, bis hin zum sog. *Quicumque vult*, d.h. zum Athanasianum. Vgl. darüber *Opp. Athan.*, PG 28: 1567-1604, woselbst auch die verschiedenen Übersetzungen und Formen. Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion*, 16-17, 17-19. Daß es Athanasios allerdings nicht zum Verfasser hat, ist allgemein anerkannt. Es soll im VI. Jht in Spanien aufgekommen sein; vgl. dazu vor allem G. Morin, "L'origine du symbole d'Athanase," *JThS* 12 (1911) 161-190. J. Stiglmayr schlägt Fulgentius als Verfasser vor: "Das 'Quicunque' und Fulgentius von Ruspe," *ZKTh* 49 (1925) 341. Aber, wie dem auch sei, dies Symbol hat den christologischen Streitigkeiten von der einen Kirche aus offiziell ein Ende gesetzt und der außerkirchlichen Gnosis, wie sie sich in den vorangegangenen Jahrhunderten in den sich ständig wiederholenden Kontrastpaaren, d.h. entweder in der Akzentverlagerung zugunsten einer Überbetonung der Gottheit Jesu Christi oder im Gegensatz dazu der Menschheit Desselben, gezeigt hatte.

[132] Zur Person "Arius" verweisen wir auf F. Loofs, "Arianismus," *REPThK* 2 (1897) 6-7.

[133] Zu nennen sind da vor allem die sich besonders hervortuenden Kontrastpaare der vorangegangenen Jahrhunderte, d.h. Doketismus und Ebionitismus im II. Jht., wodurch sich die Regula-Christologie abzeichnete; Modalismus bzw. Sabellianismus und der

Irrlehren, die der Arianismus mit sich brachte, machte den Verfechtern des nizänischen Glaubens, also der Orthodoxie, in der Folgezeit weit mehr zu schaffen als das Heidentum, was allein schon daraus zu ersehen ist, daß ihr literarischer Nachlaß fast gar nicht überliefert, sondern im großen und ganzen der Vernichtung anheimgefallen ist. Den Heiden, wie dem Kaiser Julian, dem Libanios (†393), dem Themistios (†um 390), dem Ammanianos Markellinos (†um 400),[134] um nur einige zu nennen, ist es in dieser Hinsicht besser gegangen als den heterodoxen Christen.[135] Bevor wir zu Basilios' Wirken im Rahmen der orthodox kirchlichen Lehre kommen, haben wir noch einen kurzen Blick auf die geschichtliche Entwicklung des Arianismus zu werfen. Praktisch ist diese in drei Abschnitte einzuteilen: der erste liegt an sich schon in der Zeit der theologischen Schulen von Alexandria, die mit Origenes ihre Glanzzeit erlebt hatten, also eine beachtliche Zeitspanne vor Arius (– 336), und endet mit der I. Oekumenischen Synode von Nicaea (325); der zweite Abschnitt, und in diesem liegt zum Großteil das Wirken Basilios, beginnt damit, daß die Anhänger Eusebios' von Konstantinopel,[136] die ja das Nicaenum nicht akzeptierten, und dieser Abschnitt endete mit der zweiten Synode von Sirmion (357). In dieser Periode wurden noch folgende Synoden abgehalten: eine in Tyrus (335), wo Athanasios von Konstantin abgesetzt und nach Gallien verbannt wurde, und sogleich danach eine in Jerusalem, wobei Arius wieder in die Kirchengemeinschaft aufgenommen wurde. Eine andere Synode wurde im Jahre 341 in Antiochia abgehalten, wobei die versammelten Bischöfe erklärten, daß sie keine Gefolgsmänner des Arius sein könnten, denn "wie könnten sie schon als Bischöfe Anhänger eines Presbyters sein?" Auf dieser Synode wurden vier Glaubensbekenntnisse angenommen, in denen man sich bemüht hatte, einen mittleren Kurs zwischen dem nizänischen "Homoousios" und den Definitionen des Arius zu steuern.[137] Eine allgemeine Synode wurde wiederum nach Sardika

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Adoptianismus der Antiochener Schule, wodurch sich kirchlicherseits die Logos-Christologie herausbildete (III. Jht.); Apollinarismus und Arianismus im IV. Jht., wodurch sich kirchlicherseits die Homoousios-Christologie durchsetzte; und schließlich waren es Monophysitismus und Nestorianismus im V. Jht., wodurch sich im Prinzip die Chalcedonense-Christologie herausbildete und somit das christologische Dogma ein für allemal im Athanasianum abschließende Formulierung fand. Zu verweisen ist vor allem auf den Artikel von J. Češka, "Die politischen Hintergründe der Homousios-Lehre des Athanasius," S. 301 ff. in G. Ruhbach, ed. *Die Kirche* (Darmstadt 1976).

[134] Siehe Loofs, "Arianismus," 2: 7.45-50.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Vgl. F. Loofs, "Eusebius von Nikomedien und Konstantinopel," *REPThK* 5 (1898) 620.5-20.

[137] Diese vier Texte der Symbole bei Athanasios, *Ep. de syn.* 22-25.

(Thrakien) einberufen; Konstantius und Konstans machten Anstrengungen, auf derselben die Streiter für östliche und westliche Orthodoxie zu versöhnen — aber vergeblich: die Orientalen zogen sich in die benachbarte Stadt Philippopolis zurück und liessen ihre westlichen Gegner in Sardika allein. Eusebianismus war im Osten unter Konstantius so siegreich wie der nizänische Glaube im Westen unter Konstans. Die Eusebianer befürchteten, daß die Homoousios-Orthodoxie zum Sabellianismus[138] führen könnte, weswegen sie die Absetzung des Markellos von Ankyra[139] bewirkten. Und der Sabellianismus[140] seines Schülers war auf der zweiten Synode von Antiochia (343) und auf der von Mailand (346) verurteilt worden.[141] Nach dem Tode des Konstans (350) und nach der Besiegung des Magnentius versuchte Konstantius den Eusebianismus[142] im Westen mit Gewalt durchzusetzen, so daß er auf den Synoden

[138] Vgl. hierzu A. Harnack, "Monarchianismus 6. Die modalistischen Monarchianer im Morgenland, der Sabellianismus," *REPThK* 13 (1903) 332 ff. Siehe auch Anm. 107, Schneemelcher, "Athanasius," S. 287 f.

[139] Der eigentliche Grund der Verurteilung des Markellos, ist wohl in einem seiner Werke zu suchen, das uns nur aus relativ wenigen Fragmenten bekannt ist. Hilarius von Poitiers (um 315-367) charakterisiert es nicht durch seinen Titel, sondern durch einen Hinweis auf seine am meisten angegriffene Lehre, wenn er es als einen Liber bezeichnet, "quem (Marcellus) de subjectione Domini (1 Kor. 15.28) edidederat." Aber die Fragmente und andere Mitteilungen bei Eusebios lassen erkennen, daß es sich da um eine schwerwiegende Streitschrift wider die Antinizäner gehandelt haben muß, dessen Hauptangriffspunkt die eusebianische Theologie war: unerträglich war ihm vor allem die Annahme dreier göttlicher Hypostasen — ein ihr und den Arianern gemeinsames origenistisches Erbe; denn er schien in dieser Lehre deren heidnisch-philosophischen Ursprung erkannt haben zu wollen. So nach Loofs, "Marcellus," 12: 260.22 ff. Jedenfalls standen auf seiner Seite das Konzil von Sardika (s.o.), Papst Julius I. und Athanasios (wenigstens bis 344). Aber das Auftreten seines Schülers Photinos wirkte so zu seinem Ungunsten, daß Basilios der Große, Hilarius, Chrysostomos und Sulpicius Severus gegen ihn waren; Photios d.Gr. rechnet ihn unter die Häretiker (*Collat. et demonstr.* Q. I 4 8).

[140] Was der Hauptpunkt der sabellianischen Häresie war, war bekanntlich, daß diese antitrinitarische Schule eine Trinität bekannte, die nicht im göttlichen Wesen, sondern in den Beziehungen Gottes zur Welt begründet war. Vater, Sohn und Geist sind für Sabellius nur drei Erscheinungs- bzw. Wirkungsarten einer und derselben, göttlichen Person. Siehe auch Schneemelcher, "Athanasius," S. 288.

[141] Vgl. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 2.19-20; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 3.11; Athanasius, *Ep. de syn.* 26; Hilarius, *Fragm.* 5.

[142] Gemeint sind selbstverständlich die Gefolgsleute des Eusebios von Nikomedien und deren arianische Einstellung, sie bildeten eine arianisierende Partei, und in den Verhandlungen mit derselben sahen sich die Väter bald gezwungen, den Sophismen jener die bestimmtesten und unzweideutigsten Ausdrücke zur Bezeichnung der Kirchenlehre entgegenzustellen, nämlich die Lehre, daß der Logos wahrer Sohn Gottes ist, geboren (*γεννηθέντα*) aus dem Wesen des Vaters (*ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός*), daß er dem Vater wesensgleich (*ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρί*) ist. Mehr über die Partei der Eusebianer, siehe Müller, *Kirchengeschichte*, 1: 439 ff.

zu Arles (354) und zu Mailand (355) die versammelten Bischöfe zwang, die Verdammung des Athanasios zu unterschreiben. — Die dritte Periode endete jedoch mit der Unterdrückung des Arianismus unter Theodosios I. (s.o.), und die letzten Spuren von Arianismus lassen sich in einem Gesetz des Theodosios II. (428) nachweisen.[143]

Aber kommen wir nun zum Wesen des Arianismus; denn nur so können wir die ganze Härte dieses Streites begreifen, mit welcher dieser vor allem auch seitens Basilios ausgetragen wurde, und wir stellen zusammenfassend fest: Arius war persönlicher Freund des Lukianos von Antiochia;[144] er war adoptianischer Monarchianer, Moralist, Rationalist und vor allem Logos-Theologe, und als solcher begann mit ihm ganz unverblümt der Profan-Logos zu existieren.[145] Den Logos verstand man als ein Mittelwesen, aber eben als subordinierte Gottheit. Wohl wollte Arius kein "Radikaler" sein, aber formulierte eben doch rücksichtslos: Arius' Christus wurde als Geschöpf verkündet — Christus ist anderen Wesens als der Vater, und doch ist er kein bloßer Mensch; ethisch ist er fast vollkommen, also anders als die Menschen, und darum ist er etwas Anderes als die Menschen. Der arianische Christus ist weder Gott noch Mensch, er ist vielleicht ein Halbgott. Allem Anschein nach war Arius zu spät geboren, denn er konnte die eigentlichen Konsequenzen seiner Lehre nicht mehr in die Tat umsetzen. So ist der Arianismus an sich so etwas wie ein Katechismusstück ohne reale Bedeutung. Vor Jahren fand man in der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris einige Homilien des Sophisten Asterios, eines Schülers des Lukianos[146] — natürlich Arianer; seine in diesen Predigten enthaltene Pastoraltheologie belehrt uns einzigartig über die geistliche Armut des Arianismus: danach ist Christus nicht wahrer Gott; seine Gottheit ist ein belangloses Mittelding; denn die Arianer reden von dieser Gottheit nur unter dem Zwang der Hl. Schrift. So man im Vierten Jahrhundert noch außerhalb der kirchlichen Tradition seine eigenen Wege einzuschlagen gedachte, verfiel man unwillkürlich in einen inhaltlosen Menschenkultus. Und Arius mochte wohl der gefährlichste

[143] Allerdings erhielten sie sich im Orient, wenn auch ohnmächtig und geteilt, bis ins VI. Jht. Quellen dazu: Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 5.23 f.; Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 12.11; Theodoret, *Haer. fab.* 4.4; Nicephorus Call., *Hist. eccl.* 14.13, 17; Theodor Lector, *Hist. eccl.* 2.25. Vgl. auch May, "Die Großen Kappadokier," S. 335.

[144] Lukian (†312 als Märtyrer), Begründer der antiochenischen Exegetenschule vertrat eine stark subordinatianische Logoslehre und wurde so der eigentliche Vater des Arianismus; vgl. Altaner, *Patrologie*, S. 178.

[145] Vgl. A. Harnack, "Lucian der Märtyrer," *REPThK* 11 (1902) 654 ff.

[146] Siehe hierzu Altaner, *Patrologie*, S. 230.

Ketzer aller Zeiten gewesen sein, da er dazu das Zeug hatte, d.h. vor allem den Charme des begabten Ketzers, den Charme mancher modernen Theologen. Alle Damen von Alexandria schwärmten für ihn, aber hinter dieser Propagandapersönlichkeit steckte gewißlich kein Scharlatan.

Und wie legt die Kirche die Bibel aus — nicht wie Arius oder Athanasios? Die Antwort erteilt das Nicaenum: "genitum, non factum." Dieses "*γεννηθείς*" des Nicaenum ist dasselbe wie das "*ἀγέννητος*" des Ignatius von Antiochia; ersteres bezieht sich nämlich auf Gott und letzteres auf die Menschen. Mit dem Taufsymbol der Regula[147] hätten sich die Arianer vielleicht abfinden können, mit dem Nicaenum aber nie und nimmer; denn das "Deus de Deo" bedeutet ja die Wesenseinheit, weswegen es auch heißt: "*ὁμοούσιος τῷ Πατρὶ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός*." Das Nicaenum hat sich kraft seines christlichen Gehaltes gegen die Welt durchgesetzt; es philosophiert nicht. Mit seiner Homoousie geht es weit über das Frühere hinaus. Der Geist um die Inkarnation ist viel fester geworden, allein deswegen schon, weil das Wort dasteht. Auch waren die damaligen Synoden keine modernen Parlamente, wo die Stimmen gezählt wurden; ihre Beschlüsse waren Kollektivbeschlüsse. Die Minderheit hatte nachzugeben oder die Synode zu verlassen, und die Kirche bekannte sich zu in Jahrhunderten erprobten Dogmen, die sie auf den Synoden neu präzisierte.

Der Christus des Nicaenum ist der des Ignatios: "natus ex Maria virgine." Er ist der vollkommene Mensch und der wahre Gott — der "perfectus Deus, perfectus (verus) homo" des Melito von Sardes. Er ist die "una persona" des Tertullian. Sachlich betrachtet, ist das Nicaenum also keine Novität. Auch waren die "Prälaten" des Vierten Jahrhunderts durchaus keine schöpferischen Menschen. So könnte man das Nicaenum vielleicht gar als eine, mit Verlaub gesagt, Re-Formation bezeichnen, wo ganz und gar auf das Biblische zurückgegriffen wurde. Das Moment, daß der Schöpfergott mit dem Erlösergott identisch ist, ist zum wesentlichen Punkt des Credo der Kirche geworden; denn der Gnostiker brauchte ja keinen Erlösergott, auch nicht der Idealist, verkörpert zu jener Zeit im Ebioniten, um nur ein Beispiel anzuführen. Sonach hat sich erwiesen, daß das Nicaenum nicht als eine Hellenisierung des christlichen Glaubens, präziser gesagt, des Credo der Kirche zu verstehen ist, sondern ganz im Gegenteil als Abwehr derselben. Das Nicaenum könnte man auch als Bollwerk verstehen, das sich die Kirche um ihren Heiland errichtet hat

[147] Siehe T. Zahn, "Glaubensregel," *REPThK* 6 (1899) 683.1-16.

und welches zugleich einen Protest gegen Pantheismus und Menschenkultus ausdrückt.

Ja, da wir nun einmal auf das Nicaenum hatten näher eingehen müssen, fragen wir uns zugleich, ob das Dogma an sich in der christlichen Religion, die doch eine "so geistige" ist, überhaupt eine solche Rolle spielen sollte. Diese Fragestellung klingt recht unorthodox, aber ist in unserer Zeit eben doch gar nicht so fehl am Platz. Und wir werden sie natürlich positiv beantworten; denn schon rein menschlich-sozial gesehen muß die Kirche eine "regula fidei" — das ist ja wohl die eigentliche Funktion des Dogmas — haben, damit nicht ihre innere Wesenheit verfälscht wird und sie dadurch ihre eben geistliche Validität einbüßt, und nicht zuletzt ist das Dogma der Kirche alleinige Basis, da sie ja keine natürliche besitzt. Ein bekenntnisloses wie auch kirchenloses Christentum hat ja nie existiert. Eine dogmenlose Kirche würde sich zwar immer der Sympathie dieser Welt erfreuen können, aber sie würde leer und hohl werden. Man griff zu allen Zeiten das Dogma hauptsächlich deswegen an, weil es supernaturalistisch, medizinisch, pharmakologisch usw. sei. Richtig wäre daran allein, daß die Kirchenväter sich nicht damit beschieden haben, von der göttlichen Psychologie zu sprechen, sondern sie reden in ihren Erklärungen von der göttlichen Substanz, von der *θεότης* bzw. von der *θεία φύσις*.

Aber da lag eben der springende Punkt: seit ca. 318 hatte Arius gepredigt, daß der Logos nicht dem Vater wesensgleich, nicht wahrlich Gott sei, sondern nur ein Geschöpf, allerdings viel vollkommener als andere Geschöpfe, der von Gott in seinen darauf folgenden Schöpfungswerken gebraucht wurde. So war der Sohn also niedriger als der Vater und anderen Wesens — die wirkliche Gottheit Christi, der Eckstein der Christenheit, stand auf dem Spiel.[148] Das Erste Oekumenische Konzil von Nikäa (325) verdammte feierlichst diese Irrlehre, aber fünf Jahre später entflammte diese Kontroverse von neuem und dauerte über fünfzig Jahre an, erschütterte die Kirche, denn Kaiser und Bischöfe[149] nahmen diese

[148] Siehe u.a. H. Schmid, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte* (Nördlingen 1877) S. 25 ff., eine kürzer und präziser gefaßte Darlegung der Trinitätslehre läßt sich kaum anderswo finden. Zur Homousios-Lehre vgl. in diesem Zusammenhang auch Češka, "Die politischen," S. 319-321.

[149] Siehe die dramatische Schilderung der Ereignisse auf der Synode zu Mailand (355) bei Kirsch, *Die Kirche*, S. 396. Selbst Konstantin der Große war ja auf dem Totenbett von einem arianischen Bischof getauft worden. Vgl. auch H. von Campenhausen, "Die ersten Konflikte zwischen Kirche und Staat," in *Die Kirche*, ed. G. Ruhbach (Darmstadt 1976) S. 19. Vor allem aber H. Lietzmanns "Die Anfänge des Problems Kirche und Staat," in ibid., S. 9 ff.

Ketzerei, bzw. Spielarten derselben, an, und deren Anwendung aus politischer Zweckmäßigkeit verbitterte die Parteien in ihrem Streit und machte alles nur noch verwickelter. Da stand ein Mann unter allen unerschüttert für den wahren Glauben ein: der Heilige Athanasios, Erzbischof von Alexandria (s.o.), und die Auswirkungen dieser Häresie waren so verheerend, daß der Kaiser Konstantius an den Papst Liberius, den er nach Thrakien verbannte, die ungehaltene Frage richten konnte: "Wer bist du, daß du dich für Athanasios wider die Welt einsetzt?"[150] Und dieser Ausspruch ist damals sprichwörtlich geworden. Oder wie der Heilige Hieronymus sagt: "Die ganze Welt lechzte danach und wunderte sich darüber, sich arianisch zu finden."[151] Aber, wie gesagt, bestieg ein orthodoxer Kaiser, Theodosios I., den Thron (379), und die Zweite Oekumenische Synode von Konstantinopel bekräftigte nochmals die Verdammung des Arianismus und nahm das Nicaenum in erweiterter Form wieder an. Diese Häresie, deren Einfluß seit der Regierungszeit Julians des Abtrünnigen sich ständig verminderte, wurde schließlich besiegt, aber sie blieb doch noch für weitere drei Jahrhunderte eine starke politische Macht und zwar bei den Goten, Vandalen, Langobarden und anderen Barbaren, die in Spanien, Afrika und Italien Königreiche gründeten und deren Religion ein Christentum dieser falschen Façon war.

Dieses Kapitel nun beschliessend, drängt sich uns die Frage auf, warum wir uns eigentlich derart mit dem Arianismus befaßt haben und dabei in keiner Weise auf Basilios den großen Verfechter der Homoousios-Theologie der Nicäner gestossen sind, sondern vielmehr Athanasios erwähnt haben. Und so sind wir dem eine Antwort schuldig; sie wird sich aus dem Weiteren wohl ergeben, aber vorwegnehmend sei gesagt, daß wir Basilios eben nicht unter den großen Systematikern und Apologeten des Vierten Jahrhunderts zu suchen haben, sondern wir finden ihn vielmehr als den unvergleichlichen Pastoraltheologen und vor allem als den Lehrer der Askese und somit unter den Größten, die dem Mönchtum der Kirche im Osten das Gepräge gegeben und daraufhin auch das Mönchswesen der Kirche im Westen entscheidend beeinflußt haben.[152] Wie es allerdings Basilios dazu getrieben hat, das kann schon jetzt beantwortet werden: Die

[150] Siehe D. Attwater, *St. Chrysostom Pastor and Preacher* (London 1959) S. 15.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Vor allem ist es "Benedikt von Nursia," *REPThK* 2 (1897) 577 ff., * um 480, der in seinen Mönchsregeln viel Gemeinsames mit denen hat, die unter dem Namen Basilios überliefert sind. Vgl. auch E. Preuschen und G. Krüger, *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1. Teil. *Das Altertum* (Tübingen 1923) S. 263.

Kirche war nämlich durch Konstantin gewissermaßen staatlich anerkannt, d.h. das Christentum war zur Staatsreligion erhoben worden. Das brachte verständlicherweise auch seine negativen Folgen mit sich; die Kirche drohte nämlich zum Schauplatz eines bloßen "Kultur- und Konjunkturchristentums"[153] zu entarten, was auch von objektiven Beobachtern innerhalb und außerhalb der Kirche klagend oder gar spöttisch bemängelt wurde. So kam es, abgesehen von den innerkirchlich sich austobenden Lehrstreitigkeiten, zu der wesentlichen Frage nach den Glaubensgrundlagen der Kirche, die gerade durch den arianischen Streit aufgeworfen, aber noch immer nicht entschieden war. Während das noch sehr junge Byzantinische Reich materiell und kulturell einem Aufstieg ohnegleichen entgegensah, hatte die ebenfalls noch junge "Reichskirche" kritische Tiefen zu überwinden. Aber obschon allem Anschein nach die Lage sich zu beruhigen anbahnte, wurde dennoch der Weg der Verantwortung für die weitere Zukunft bedrohlich immer stärker verbaut.

In diesen weit gespannten Rahmen gestellt, ist sich Person und Wirken Basilios des Großen zu vergegenwärtigen. Und wer war nun eigentlich dieser Mann seinem innersten Wesen nach? ganz schlicht und einfach: einer der hervorragendsten Asketen, die die Kirche aufzuweisen hat, und als ihr Hirte ein wahrhaft großer orthodoxer Theologe. Dies gilt für Basilios in ganz besonderem Maße, da er eben in jeder Hinsicht aus seiner Praxis heraus seine theologischen Aussagen hat verlauten lassen. Als zu den Jungnizänern gehörig, war er nicht nur ein Zeitgenosse des alten Athanasios, sondern mehr oder weniger auch sein Schüler; in einem anderen Lande focht er denselben "guten Kampf" wie jener und führte ihn in einem gemäßigteren, aber dennoch entschiedenen Geiste weiter. Und dies tat er in einem Gebiet, das einst hettitisch, dann aber eine persische Provinz gewesen war. Das Christentum hatte Kappadokien wohl durch den Origenes-Schüler Gregor den Wundertäter empfangen,[154] und so wird er dies Land bereits entsprechend hellenisiert haben. Das Griechentum wie das Christentum waren nun schon seit geraumer Zeit in der Familie Basilios des Großen Tradition geworden; denn seine Großeltern hatten, da sie bereits Christen gewesen, in der letzten Verfolgung

[153] Diese treffende Formulierung ist von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 86, entnommen.

[154] Gregorios Thaumaturgus (* um 213, † um 271 in Neocaesarea, Pontus) war späterhin Bischof, Missionär und Organisator des Christentums im Pontos, d.h. Kappadokiens.

unter Maximinos[155] zeitweise flüchten müssen. So war nun Basilios, wie eingangs gesagt, von Haus aus zwar nizänisch-christlich erzogen worden, genoß dann aber eine höhere Ausbildung im rein hellenischen Geist; denn er sollte nach dem Willen seines Vaters keinen "einäugigen" Unterricht erhalten,[156] sondern sich eine vollkommene klassische und philosophische Bildung erwerben. Und bei den Besitzungen, welche die Familie ihr eigen nennen konnte, ergaben sich zur Verwirklichung dieses Zieles keinerlei äußere Schwierigkeiten. Daß all diese Voraussetzungen das ideale Vorfeld zu Basilios' einmaligem Wirken für die Kirche bildeten, das wird sich aus der nun folgenden Darlegung seiner Lehre erzeigen.

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F. Basilios der Theologe

Im Anschluß an alles im ersten Teil Gesagte kommen wir nun zum Kernpunkt unseres Themas, d.h. Basilios und die Organisation der Kirche seiner Zeit. Dabei ist als erstes hervorzuheben, daß er kraft seines bischöflichen Amtes eigentlich schon in sich die Organisation der Kirche verkörperte. Aber das ist ja weiter nichts Besonderes, da dieses Amt eben das Wesen der Kirche beinhaltet. So haben wir einen Schritt weiterzugehen, indem wir sagen, daß dieses Amt drei "Amtsobliegenheiten" hat, nämlich jene, zu denen nicht zuletzt auch das "Lehramt" gehört. Und gerade zu diesem hatte sich Basilios das seinerzeit beste Rüstzeug angeeignet, wir denken nur an seine Studienzeit an der Athener Akademie (s.o.). Seine philosophischen Kenntnisse sind über jeden Zweifel erhaben. Aber was ihm im Lehramt als außergewöhnlich hoch entwickeltes Mittel zur Verfügung stand, war seine Redekunst. Gewiß, seine Zeitgenossen Athanasios von Alexandria, Gregor von Nazianz, Johannes Chrysostomos u.a. standen ihm samt seinem Bruder Gregor von Nyssa an Gelehrsamkeit, Redekunst und Frömmigkeit kaum nach. Aber schon ein Philostorgios zog Basilios dem Athanasios so sehr vor, daß er geschrieben hat, auch der sonst hochbedeutende Mann erscheine im Vergleich mit Basilios wie ein Kind. Und zu Gregor von Nazianz vermerkte er, daß es ihm so vorkäme, als hätte er dasselbe leisten können wie Basilios, wenn er nicht

[155] Näheres zu dieser letzlichen Beendung der damaligen Christenverfolgungen bei Kirsch, *Die Kirche*, S. 302.

[156] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.12. Erwähnt sei in diesem Zusammenhang die Studie von M. A. Orphanos, "The Influence of Plutarch on St. Basil of Caesarea," *EPh* 59 (1977) 288-322; denn hier wird ein wahrlich gutes Bild von Basils großzügiger Bildung vermittelt.

auf so viele Spitzfindigkeiten und Weisheit von draußen aus angewiesen gewesen wäre.[157] Aber wir wollen uns hier darüber nicht weiter verbreitern, auch haben wir hier nicht von Basilios' unbestritten einmaliger Redekunst, die unserer Ansicht nach der des Chrysostomos weit überlegen war,[158] zu handeln: denn wir haben ihn als den Kirchenmann zu erfassen, da er allein das gewesen ist und innerhalb der kirchlichen Überlieferung für immer bleiben wird. Darum wirkt er auch einerseits als Redner, ohne zu übertreiben, wahrhaft faszinierend, aber als Lehrer — zumindest für einen sensationssüchtigen Theologen — scheinbar enttäuschend, wie wir weiter unten sehen werden. Aber nur scheinbar, denn in Wirklichkeit war er wohl der führende Dogmatiker, den die Kirche des IV. Jahrhunderts zum Anwalt in Sachen Trinitätslehre und Ethik aufzuweisen hatte. Und das Rätselhafte bei diesem großen Mann liegt eben gerade darin begründet, daß er in seiner Art der Mann der Kirche war, also auch der Sprecher der Kirche und nicht seiner eigenen Person in Sachen Kirchenlehre. Und mit derselben ist es etwas Anderes als mit der Lehre eines hervorragenden Theologen, sagen wir ruhig einmal eines Theologen vom Schlage eines Origenes zum Beispiel, wo man von der Theologie des soundso spricht, was aber bei Basilios nun eben nicht zutrifft, weswegen er auch bei so manchem Theologen Enttäuschung bewirken mag.

Da nun die Kirche als die eine, und das kann nicht oft genug wiederholt werden, eine vorzeitliche Größe ist, die auf Erden sogutwie wie in der gesamten Schöpfung die Wirklichkeit des Dreieinen lebendigen Schöpfergottes bezeugt, ist ihr Zeugnis auch wesentlich immer das gleiche: das heißt, sie entwickelt nichts Neues, sondern schöpft vielmehr aus dem ihr anvertrauten Schatz der aus der Gottheit sich ihr übermittelnden ewigen Wahrheit. Sie spricht also mittels ihrer erwählten Organe nur über das, was von jeher in ihr bekannt, ihrer Substanz also zueigen war. Und dies trifft besonders bei Dingen zu, die das Wesen der Gottheit selbst betreffen; denn, wie gesagt,[159] ist die Kirche *κατ' ἐξοχήν* innertrinitarischen Ursprungs und zwar im Zusammenhang mit der Inkarnation der Zweiten Person Derselben. Demzufolge können auch berufene Kirchenmänner als

[157] Vgl. O. Ring, *Drei Homilien der Frühzeit Basilius' des Großen* (Paderborn 1930) S. 13.

[158] Ring, *Drei Homilien*, S. 14, beschreibt das mit einem ganz trefflichen Wort: "Aus einer Brust, die voll Heiligkeit und von allen Lüsten der Menschen geläutert ist, strömt schlichte und natürliche Rede...." Vgl. u.a. E. Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile* (Denée 1949) S. 5 f.

[159] Siehe Anm. 3, oben.

erwählte Sprecher der Kirche genau dem in ihren Aussagen entsprechen, was sie zu gegebener Zeit für recht befindet. Wohl gemerkt, solche Kirchenmänner sind also von keinerlei weltlicher Obrigkeit zu ihrem hohen Amt berufen, sondern von der Kirche selbst, so daß sie "persönlich" als "Persönlichkeit" auch kaum eine außerordentliche Rolle zu spielen brauchen, diese aber als der Mund der Kirche spielen können. Und das scheint uns gerade bei unserem Basilios der Fall zu sein, so daß er in der Tat die Stimme der Kirche in ihrer Erscheinungsweise des Vierten Jahrhunderts war. Das mag paradox klingen, wenn man etwa der Ansicht sein sollte, daß die Kirche bei der Offenbarung ihrer Wahrheit eine in etwa evolutionäre Entwicklung durchmache, d.h. also, daß die Wahrheit als solche "Fortschritte mache," also progressiv wäre. Nein, das anzunehmen wäre grundfalsch. Und darin liegt auch das entscheidende Moment begründet, weswegen Basilios bei verbindlichen dogmatischen Aussagen eben sehr vorsichtig gewesen ist. Außerdem mochten ihm als dem praktischen, nicht spekulativen Theologen auch in Lehrentscheidungsfragen innerlich Hindernisse im Wege gestanden haben.

Vielleicht wäre es gar nicht so absurd, einmal zwischen Basilios und Irenäus von Lyon in dieser Hinsicht einen Vergleich anzustellen; denn bei letzterem ist in manchen Punkten in der Methodik seiner Theologie Ähnliches feststellbar wie bei unserem Basilios: auch er hatte mit dem Bischofssitz in Lugdunum einen wichtigen Sprengel zu betreuen und war, wie Basilios den Arianern, desgleichen einer großen antikirchlichen Bewegung konfrontiert — dem Gnostizismus — und hatte sich als Kirchenmann damit auseinanderzusetzen, damit er nicht die Gläubigen der einen Kirche abtrünnig machte. Es hat sich also erwiesen, daß auch bei ihm eigentlich von keiner "ihm zueigenen" Theologie kaum die Rede sein kann.[160] Aber, dem hier weiter nachzugehen, ist nicht unsere Aufgabe, interessant ist allein, was F. Loofs in seinen Schlußbemerkungen zu seiner Untersuchung der von Irenäus benutzten Quellen[161] hinsichtlich der Theologie des Irenäus abschliessend sagt, und diese seine abwertende Ansicht wird heute wohl kaum noch gehalten werden können, d.h. er spricht ihm jegliche Originalität ab, wenn er u.a. sagt: "Er hat tiefe und schöne Gedanken in seinen Quellen, vornehmlich dem Theophilus nachgesprochen; aber sein Verständnis des Tiefsten, das er übernommen

[160] So zumindest die Feststellung von F. Loofs, *Theophilus von Antiochien adversus Marcionem und die anderen Quellen bei Irenaeus* (Halle 1930) S. 341.

[161] Loofs, *Theophilus*, S. 432 ff., vor allem auch S. 434-435, wo Loofs von der Epideixis spricht.

hat, ist oft ein recht oberflächliches."[162] Nein, soweit können wir Loofs gewißlich nicht folgen, wahr ist allerdings, daß Irenäus, wenn man es so ausdrücken kann, orthodoxer Traditionstheologe war, und in diesem Punkte mögen sich diese beiden Kirchenmänner treffen, wobei man allerdings Basilios in seinen Hauptschriften wohl kaum die Originalität absprechen dürfte.[163] Vor allem wird dies nun nicht in seinem Vertreten der nizänischen Theologie zur Stützung des Dogmas von der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit der Gottheit in Frage zu stellen sein.

Was bei Basilios aber auf keinen Fall übersehen werden darf, ist, daß er wie kein anderer zwei für das damalige kirchliche Leben vitale Elemente in Einklang zu bringen verstand: das hellenistische und das urchristliche. Dies waren an sich ja auch die beiden das vierte Jahrhundert auf geistiger Ebene beherrschenden und mit — bzw. gegeneinander ringenden — Parteien. Während der Hellenist daran interessiert war, daß althergebrachte griechische Gesittung gegenüber der kirchlichen Überlieferung erhalten blieb, rang die urchristliche Richtung darum, daß ihre Maximen sich auch fürderhin behaupteten. Aber, den Gegebenheiten und Anforderungen der sich in jenem Jahrhundert mit der Begründung des Byzantinischen Reiches herausbildenden neuen Oekumene entsprechend, war es einfach ein Gebot der Zeit, daß diese Parteiungen zu einem gemeinsamen Nenner gelangten. Und der einzigartig weise Vermittler zwischen beiden Richtungen war Basilios. So räumte er den Hellenisten das Recht der Hochachtung vor der griechischen Bildung ein, und die Urchristlichen bestärkte er in ihrem Festhalten an der heiligen Einfalt ihres schlichten Glaubens. Zu jedem Kompromiß war Basilios bereit, abgesehen von einem: er ließ keinen Zweifel am Worte Gottes und an den Überlieferungen der Kirche[164] zu.[165] Ja, in allen seinen Homilien läßt sich klar erkennen, daß er in Fragen Sittlichkeit als einzige Richtschnur die absolute Selbstverleugnung gelten läßt. Also begegnet er den Hellenisten überall, wo er in seinen Homilien auf sie zu sprechen kommt, mit der Methodik der griechischen Wissenschaft, den Urchristlichen aber mit dem gesunden Menschenverstand, und für diese Redekunst unseres Kirchenvaters ist Libanios selbst der gegebene Gewährsmann.[166]

[162] Ibid., S. 434.

[163] Gemeint sind als solche vor allem *C. Eun.* 1-3, *De Sp. S.*, *Hex.* 1-9, und die beiden Mönchsregeln.

[164] Siehe Ring, *Drei Homilien*, S. 322.

[165] Ibid., Anm. 1.

[166] Vgl. ***ELib.* [352], PG 32: 1096B2; Foerster, *Libanius*, 11: 592, Nr. 17.

Und nun das Paradox: gerade aufgrund seiner spekulationslosen, dafür aber umso betonter praktischen Theologie war er der große Mann der Kirche in seinem Jahrhundert. Sein bewußtes und offensichtliches Zögern bei der letztlich gültigen Homousios-Theologie, d.h. bei der Festigung des Nicaenum ist nicht etwa auf Kräfteverschleiß[167] oder auf Unzulänglichkeit zurückzuführen, sondern, wie wir glauben, auf seine pastorale Ausrichtung; denn es ging ihm nicht so sehr um ein Vorwärtstreiben präzisierter dogmatischer Formulierungen als vielmehr um die Heilung von unter Christen entstandenen Zwiespaltigkeiten — würden wir hier sagen, daß es um die Einheit der Kirche ging, so wäre das falsch, da es ja im Wesen derselben begründet liegt, daß sie nur die eine sein kann, was den Kirchenvätern der ersten Jahrhunderte viel geläufiger war, als wir heute vielleicht wahrhaben möchten.[168] Was wir allenfalls mit Karl Koll[169] für sein Zögern gelten lassen wollen, ist dessen plausible Erklärung, daß es in der ganzen Auseinandersetzung mit den Arianern um die prinzipielle Frage ging, ob die Kirchenlehre mittels aristotelischer Terminologie überhaupt interpretiert werden kann.[170] Nicht zustimmen können wir Karl Holl, wenn er meint, daß es sich wohl verstehen lasse, warum Basilios vor "diesen verwickelteren logischen und metaphysischen Fragen" haltmachte;[171] denn er fühle, wohin man komme, wenn "man sich auf sie einlasse." Nein, so geht es nun auch wieder nicht. Gewiß, wie oben schon erklärt, ließ sich Basilios nicht leicht zu entscheidenden, das Dogma der Kirche betreffenden Festlegungen hinreissen, aber sicherlich hat er sich nicht vor logischen und metaphysischen Fragen gescheut! Was wir im vorliegenden Falle vielmehr annehmen möchten, ist, daß er nun eben kein aristotelisierender Theologe gewesen ist, sondern, wie es der schlechthinnigen, ihm damals geläufigen kappadokischen Theologie zueigen war, wie die anderen kappadokischen Theologen auch selbst leichte origenistische Tendenzen hatte.

Nun sei mir erlaubt, noch ein Wort zum Gesamtcharakter der besagten kappadokischen Theologie zu sagen; denn zu Basilios des Großen Zeit war sie zu ihrem Höhepunkt gelangt, mußte also auch einen Anfang

[167] Bekanntlich litt er an dem für Mönche typischen Leberleiden, das durch seine ungewöhnlich strenge Askese nur verschlimmert wurde; vgl. weiter oben S. 303.

[168] Siehen oben Anm. 3.

[169] K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den Großen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen 1904) S. 131, 134. Vgl. auch K. G. Bonis, *Ἀμφιλοχίου Ἰκονίου, "Περὶ ψευδοῦς ἀσκήσεως"* (Athens 1979) S. 18.

[170] Holl, *Amphilochius*, S. 134 unten.

[171] Holl, *Amphilochius*, S. 134.

genommen und eine gewisse Entwicklungszeit durchgemacht haben. Ihr Vater ist eigentlich Gregorios Thaumaturgos (s.o.), nach anderer Auffassung soll es auch Didymos der Blinde sein, unter dessen Schülern zu Alexandria auch Gregor von Nazianz zu zählen war.[172] Aber dem sollte kein übermäßiges Gewicht beigemessen werden, da sich der Nazianzener ja immer nur vorübergehend dort aufgehalten und es in seinen Schriften auch nicht besonders hervorgehoben hat. Was aber doch betont hervorzuheben ist, ist, daß Origenes auf die Kappadokier eine nicht zu übersehende Anziehungskraft ausgeübt hat, sie aber von seinen — um es mit Holl zu sagen — Extravaganzen sich distanzierten.[173] Was Origenes bei ihnen bewirkt hat, ist vor allem ihre Gottesauffassung: Gott als Geist offenbart sich im Geist und ist im Geist zu suchen; die Sehnsucht nach Befreiung aus den Schranken der rohen Leiblichkeit und der Drang, sich in Gottes mystische Geheimnisse mystisch zu versenken, ist bei den Kappadokiern zur maßgebenden Ausrichtung geworden. So wurde auch für sie ein durch Gregorios Thaumaturgos initiierter, im Sinne der kirchlichen Orthodoxie abgeschwächter Origenismus zur richtungbestimmenden Voraussetzung, um die sich ihnen aufdrängenden dogmatischen Fragen im Rahmen der erforderlichen Verteidigung der orthodox kirchlichen Lehre ihren Zeitumständen entsprechend zu behandeln. So sahen sich zunächst Basilios und Gregor von Nazianz dem großen Problem des IV. Jahrhunderts in der Phase des arianischen Streits mit der vermittelnden Formel "*μία οὐσία – τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*" konfrontiert. Und so wurden sie zu den eifrigsten Vorkämpfern bzw. Interpreten dieser neuen Formulierung des Glaubensbekenntnisses. Aber das heißt noch nicht, daß die kappadokische Theologie im IV. Jahrhundert uniform gewesen wäre. Denn das dogmatische System hatte sich bereits zu einem recht komplizierten herausgebildet. So gab es auch bei den Kappadokiern kein ganz ausgeglichenes Gedankensystem, da ihre dogmatische Darstellungsweise noch in zweierlei Hinsicht erschwert war: zum einen nahmen sie dazu, worum sich damals alles drehte, keine einfache Stellung ein, zum

[172] So H. von Schubert, *Grundzüge der Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen 1950) S. 501 f., 511 Anm. 1; allerdings deutet er nur vorsichtig an, daß wohl auch Didymos' Einfluß bei der Entstehung der kappadokischen Theologie Pate gestanden habe. Tatsache ist jedoch, daß Gregor von Nazianzus zur Zeit des Didymos in Alexandria studiert hat und somit eine Verbindung zwischen Origenismus und athanasianischer Theologie und daher zur trinitarischen Terminologie zustandegekommen sein kann (*μία οὐσία – τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*). Wie dem auch sei, allein ist es von Schuberts beachtliches und bleibendes Verdienst, so entschieden zum ersten Mal auf Didymos' dogmengeschichtliche Bedeutung hingewiesen zu haben.

[173] Siehe weiter oben Anm. 171.

andern war bei ihnen die theoretische Reflexion nicht so vordergründig wie ihr ausgeprägt praktisch pastorales kirchliches Interesse.

Falsch wäre es, so man bei der Charakterisierung der kappadokischen Theologie von den Parteigegensätzen jenes Jahrhunderts ausginge und deren Eigenheit etwa nur von der Entwicklung der homoiusianischen Partei her verstehen wollte. Würde man so an die Darstellung herangehen, so würde der Standpunkt der Kappadokier als künstlich errechnet erscheinen. Auch könnte man dann nicht ihre sicheres Auftreten begreifen — geschweige wie sie selbst glauben mochten, daß ihre Anschauung ihnen durch einen natürlichen Entwicklungsprozeß gekommen war.[174] Aber die Erklärung dafür läßt sich bald finden, so man nämlich dem Rechnung trägt, daß die Anfänge dieser Theologie ja unter dem Einfluß einer mächtigen einheimischen Tradition standen. Und diese reichte bis tief in die vornizänische Periode und war im IV. Jahrhundert noch keineswegs erloschen. So wurde besonders in der Familie des Basilios die Erinnerung an Gregorios den Wundertäter wachgehalten. Dabei ging es nicht allein um den Legendenkranz, der sich um diesen Heiligen geflochten hatte; auch seine Theologie lebte in diesem Familienkreis kräftig weiter, was gerade das Credo Gregors des Wundertäters eindeutig bezeugt. Denn dieses hatte ihn, wie auch andere, namentlich in seiner Jugend bei der christlichen Unterweisung nachhaltig beeindruckt.[175] Und was von dieser *Expositio fidei* vor allem das dogmatische Denken der Kappadokier bestimmte, war der Passus: "*οὔτε οὖν κτιστόν τι ἢ δοῦλον ἐν τῇ Τριάδι οὔτε ἐπείσακτον ... οὔτε γὰρ ἐνέλιπέ ποτε υἱὸς Πατρὶ οὔτε υἱῷ πνεῦμα.*" Diese Worte tauchen bei den Kappadokiern immer wieder auf; sie werden auch dort benutzt, wo Gregors Bekenntnis nicht ausdrücklich zitiert wird, was eindeutig darauf schließen läßt, daß sie es sich voll und ganz zueigen gemacht hatten.[176]

Obige Formel diente ihnen nun nicht nur als Schlagworte, sondern hatte vielmehr ihre ganze dogmatische Denkweise bestimmt: ihre Wider-

[174] Vgl. Basilios' Beschreibung seiner inneren Entwicklung in *EEust.* [223], PG 32: 825C, deren Aufrichtigkeit über jeden Zweifel wohl erhaben sein kann: "... *ἣν ἐκ παιδὸς ἔλαβον ἔννοιαν περὶ Θεοῦ παρὰ τῆς μακαρίας μητρὸς τῆς μάμμης Μακρίνης, ταύτην αὐξηθεῖσαν ἔσχον ἐν ἐμαυτῷ. ... ὥσπερ γὰρ τὸ σπέρμα αὐξανόμενον μεῖζον μὲν ἀπὸ μικροῦ γίνεται, ταὐτὸν δὲ ἐστιν ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐ κατὰ γένος μεταβαλλόμενον, ἀλλὰ κατ' αὔξησιν τελειούμενον, οὕτω λογίζομαι καὶ ἐμοὶ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον διὰ τῆς προκοπῆς ηὐξῆσθαι.*"

[175] Vgl. Basilios' *ENeoc.* [204], PG 32: 752D; *EEust.* [223], PG 32: 828C.

[176] Zum Beleg dafür verweisen wir nur auf gewiße Stellen: PG 32: 589A: "*οὐδὲν γὰρ ὅλως τῆς θείας καὶ μακαρίας Τριάδος κτιστόν*"; PG 29: 665D: *C. Eun.* 3, "*οὐδενὸς κτίσματος οὐδὲ δούλου πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ συντεταγμένου, ὡς τῆς θεότητος ἐν Τριάδι συμπληρουμένης.*" Vgl. auch Gregor von Nazianzus, PG 36: 236A-B: *Or.* 33; PG 36: 441B: *Or.* 41 u.a.

legungen arianischer un pneumatimachischer Lehrmeinungen und ihr Anwenden des Doppeldilemmas von "*κτιστὸν – δοῦλον*" oder "*ἄκτιστον – δεσποτικὸν*" zeigt ganz klar, wie sie von den Ausdrücken des besagten Bekenntnisses abhängig waren. Und in diesem ehrbaren Credo hatten sie ihre Stütze, ihre Kraftquelle,[177] und nicht zuletzt betrachteten sie sich aufgrund dessen als die Vertreter der Orthodoxie.[178] Aber war es nur das? Nein, sicher nicht nur "Vertreter der Orthodoxie," wir meinen vielmehr, ohne damit zu weit zu greifen, da sie ja alle Bischöfe der einen Kirche waren, und was das zu damaliger Zeit hieß, dürfen wir wohl als bekannt voraussetzen, wollen es aber dennoch wiederholen: in der geistlichen Struktur der Kirche — ach, man könnte ja auch sagen, in der Organisation derselben, wobei uns gerade dies Wort "Organisation" im Zusammenhang mit dem Wesenskern der Kirche geradezu despektierlich klingen möchte, wir es aber im Titel dieser Darlegung festgelegt haben — ist der Bischof aufgrund der Successio apostolica die Verkörperung eben dieser Struktur und somit die Spitze dieses Aufbaus oder, so man will, Organisation ist und war von Anbeginn der Apostolischen Zeit an eben der Bischof. Und dieses Bewußtsein war von altersher den Bischöfen geläufig. Und wir sind fest davon überzeugt, daß genau dieses Moment der springende Punkt ist, weswegen besonders in jenen Jahrhunderten Glaubenskämpfe mit solcher Hartnäckigkeit ausgetragen wurden, so daß wir heute im Zeitalter sogenannter Toleranz so etwas kaum noch recht zu werten verstehen. Und wenn wir dazu nicht mehr fähig sein sollten, so wäre das allein schon ein kritisches Kriterium der Validität, besser, der Würdigkeit zur Gliedschaft an dieser einen Kirche; denn das Kriterium der Validität bzw. Würdigkeit der Gliedschaft an dem einen Leib ist doch wohl die Frage der Identität, d.h. daß wir uns mit den ersten Gliedern dieser einen Kirche identifizieren können. Und dies Kriterium gilt für den Bischof sogutwie für den Laien. Die Gliedschaft ist eine, wie im Raum der Kirche der ersten Jahrhunderte, genau so auch im Raum der Kirche aller späteren Zeiten bis hin zur Zweiten Parusie ihres Herrn und Hauptes Jesu

[177] Vgl. hierzu *ENeoc. pm.* [210], PG 32: 776A; dem widerspricht es also auch nicht, wenn Basilios an der Theologie Gregors des Wundertäters einiges zu "entschuldigen" hat. Vgl. hierzu K. Aland, "Kaiser und Kirche von Konstantin bis Byzanz," in *Die Kirche*, ed. G. Ruhbach (Darmstadt 1976) S. 63 f.

[178] In diesem Zusammenhang ist auch beachtenswert, wie selbstbewußt die Kappadokier ihre Heimat als eine Hochburg der Orthodoxie bezeichnen; vgl. Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 540C, "*μαθόντες μὴ ῥαδίως Καππαδοκῶν καταφρονεῖν, εἰ καὶ πάντων ἀνθρώπων · ὧν οὐδὲν οὕτως ἴδιον ὡς τὸ τῆς πίστεως ἀρραγὲς καὶ πρὸς τὴν Τριάδα πιστὸν καὶ γνήσιον*," oder: (*ἡ πατρὶς*) *ἱερά τε καὶ πᾶσιν ἐπ' εὐσεβείᾳ γνώριμος*"; *Or.* 21, PG 35: 1097A.

Christi. — Und daß sich auch dessen ein Kirchenmann wie Basilios völlig bewußt war, ist unserer Meinung über allen Zweifel erhaben.

Was nun Basilios' Zögern bei der Festlegung verbindlicher Formeln im Credo anbelangt — wir denken da speziell an seine Schwierigkeiten, die ihm in den Auseinandersetzungen mit dem arianischen Trinitätsverständnis, was wir weiter unten näher berühren werden, erstanden waren. Bei aller Hochachtung vor Karl Holls[179] wissenschaftlichen Qualifikationen möchten wir uns doch von seiner sicherlich aufgrund seiner konfessionellen Bande, d.h. ausgesprochen lutherisch, nicht aus konfessionellen Gründen, sondern allein um der Sache willen, von seiner Ansicht, Basilios sei ein Biblizist gewesen, entschieden distanzieren; denn, gingen wir mit seinem Kriterium konform, so hieße das, wir würden aus Basilios dem Großen einen "Protestanten" machen. Nein, ein "ängstlich biblizistisches" Denken,[180] weiß Gott, können wir Basilios wahrhaftig nicht unterschieben, und wie Karl Holl diese Entgleisung unterlaufen ist, das können wir nur ahnen; denn "Biblizismus" ist eine theologische Haltung, die allein die Bibel als göttliche Offenbarung gelten lassen will und der besonders charakteristisch für den württembergischen Pietismus war.[181] Und wir fragen uns, was ein Basilios mit dem württembergischen Pietismus gemeinsam haben kann! Immerhin räumt er unserem großen Kirchenvater seine geistliche Größe ein, die ihm wahrlich zukommt, aber er kann sich doch nicht dazu durchringen, Basilios eben als den Kirchenmann anzuerkennen, der er in Wirklichkeit gewesen ist! Darum ist auch erklärlich, weswegen er in der kirchenpolitisch entscheidenden Frage — so zumindest zu seiner Zeit — sich zu einem klaren Entscheid nicht hat durchringen können, wie es anderen ohne weiteres gelang, nur sei an Gregor von Nazianz, seinen Intimus, erinnert. Ihm lag es nun einmal nicht so daran, in der Kontroverse mit den Arianern neues Öl ins Feuer zu schütten, sondern ihm lag zweifelsohne vielmehr daran, Differenzen aus dem Wege zu schaffen — dies allerdings nicht auf Kosten seines kirchlichen Gewissens, sondern allein aufgrund christlicher Nächstenliebe. Aber letztlich siegte bei ihm doch das Kirchenbewußtsein; denn es schließt ja, wenn es echt und wahrhaftig ist, die wahre Nächstenliebe in

[179] Karl Holl (1866-1926), Professor für Kirchengeschichte zu Berlin, hat sich vor allem durch seine Erforschung des Urchristentums verdient gemacht.

[180] Siehe Holl, *Amphilochius*, S. 135-136.

[181] Vielleicht ist von Holl auch das Wort unglücklich gewählt; denn unter "Biblizismus" ist ja eine theologische Haltung zu verstehen, die allein die Bibel als göttliche Offenbarung gelten lassen will; im engeren Sinne eine bes. im württembergischen Pietismus durch Bengel, Oettinger, Beck und Auberlen vertretene Richtung (s. *Brockhaus Enzyklopädie*, 2 [1967] 694, "Biblizismus").

sich: kann denn der Mensch wirklich das ewige Heil erlangen, wenn er in Glaubensfragen falsch ausgerichtet ist? wenn er nicht der rechten Kirchengemeinschaft angehört? und schließlich, wenn er nicht an den rechten Gott glaubt, also eine falsche Gottesvorstellung hat?

Ja, solche Fragen sind im Rahmen theologischer Diskussionen an sich nicht üblich. Und doch, so meinen wir, sollten sie nicht übersehen werden; denn gerade diese Fragen bestimmen ja entscheidend die Funktion, die bei der Ausübung des bischöflichen Amtes bei dem Amtsträger an sich die entscheidende Rolle spielen und worauf sich eigentlich die gesamte geistliche Organisation der Kirche aufbaut und darauf basiert. Darum ist es eine logische Konsequenz, wenn Basilios, ohne deswegen des "Biblizismus" bezichtigt werden zu können, seine Argumentationen, vor allem in den trinitarischen Auseinandersetzungen mit den Arianern, biblisch fundiert sehen will und vor Philosophemen, die besonders vom Neuplatonismus bzw. auch vom Aristotelismus her in die dogmatische Präzisierung der Trinitäts- und schlechthin in die kirchliche Lehre einzudringen bestrebt sind, möglichst Abstand zu nehmen bemüht ist. Dies ist bei ihm ganz augenscheinlich bei der damaligen Auseinandersetzung betreffs der göttlichen Idiome, die den drei Hypostasen zueigen sein sollen. So widerstrebte er z.B. der Annahme der *ἀγεννησία*[182] als hypostatisches Prädikat des Vaters, das im orthodoxen dogmatischen Sprachgebrauch schon ganz geläufig geworden, so daß wir kaum noch verspüren können, was Basilios dagegen hatte einwenden können.[183] Und doch vollbrachte er mit seiner Argumentation einen entscheidenden Schlag wider die Arianer; denn ihrem Argument war nun dadurch die Schärfe genommen, daß er das "*ἀγέννητον*" dahin erklärte, daß es nur das "*ἄναρχον τῆς ζωῆς*" besagen wolle, dabei aber nichts über die Natur des Existierenden aussage. Basilios blieb aber bei diesem Negativen nicht stehen, sondern gab diesem scheinbar ganz ausgefallenen Prädikat wieder eine derartige Bedeutung, daß er es der Hypostase des Vaters als Idiom (d.h. Eigenschaft) zuweisen konnte — und dementsprechend konnte er es dann auch als das "*γεννητός*" der Hypostase des Sohnes bezeichnen. Mit diesen Prädikaten hatte er den Arianern freilich den Wind aus den Segeln

[182] Vgl. *C. Eun.* 1, PG 29: 545B: "*οὐχ ἐν τῇ τοῦ τί ἐστιν ἀνερευνήσει ἡ τοῦ ἀγεννήτου ἡμῖν ἔννοια ὑποπίπτει, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ἵνα βιασάμενος εἴπω τὸν λόγον, ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὅπως ἐστίν.*" Dabei würde das "*ἀγέννητος*" so viel bedeuten wie "*ἐξ οὐδενός*" (ibid., 548A).

[183] Vgl. *C. Eun.* 2, PG 29: 637A-B, "*εἰ δ' ὅπερ ἐστίν ἀληθές, γνωριοτικάς τινας ἰδιότητας ἐπιθεωρουμένας τῇ οὐσίᾳ δέχοιτό τις εἶναι τὸ γεννητὸν καὶ τὸ ἀγέννητον, πρὸς τὴν τρανὴν καὶ ἀσύγχυτον Πατρὸς καὶ Υἱοῦ χειραγωγούσας ἔννοιαν, τόν τε τῆς ἀσεβείας διαφεύξεται κίνδυνον καὶ τὸν ἐν λογισμοῖς ἀκόλουθον διασώσει.*"

genommen. Damit war scheinbar den Arianern der Boden ihrer Lehre erschüttert worden; denn für sie war ja das "*ἀγέννητος*" die eigentliche Wesenseigenschaft Gottes. Und trotzdem der Gebrauch der Prädikate "*ἀγέννητος*" und "*γεννητός*" Basilios derartigen Erfolg wider die Arianer einbrachte, hat er diese Begriffe nicht in seine eigene dogmatische Terminologie aufgenommen — wahrscheinlich waren sie ihm zu unbiblisch; er gebraucht sie daher nur sehr selten, und wenn, dann nur dort, wo er polemisch vorgeht.[184] Und so er im positiven Sinne bei seiner Darlegung der innertrinitarischen Relationen die Ausdrücke "*πατὴρ*" und "*υἱὸς*" bzw. "*πατρότης*" und "*υἱότης*" vorzog, so war für ihn, abgesehen von der biblischen Autorität, das Moment ausschlaggebend, daß nämlich diese Bezeichnungen sogleich auch die inneren Beziehungen der Personen untereinander erkennen lassen.[185]

Wenn Basilios auch die Termini "*πατὴρ – υἱὸς*" oder "*ἀγεννησία – γέννησις*" bei seiner Polemik gegen die Arianer ins Feld führte, so blieb doch an der dritten Stelle, d.h. bei der Plazierung des Heiligen Geistes innerhalb seiner Trinitätslehre eine offene Stelle.[186] Und einmal hat er diese dritte Stelle auch gänzlich offen gelassen,[187] denn hier tat sich für Basilios tatsächlich ein Problem auf, mit dem er nie fertig geworden war. Er selbst hat das auch immer ganz offen zugegeben. Und seine Aporie ist zeitlebens die gewesen, daß der Heilige Geist nicht geschaffen, also kein "*κτίσμα*," also in der Hl. Dreieinigkeit seine eigene Hypostase besitze.[188] Und in *Contra Eunomium* gesteht er, trotz aller Schärfe seiner Polemik, ganz offen ein, daß ihm zur Vervollständigung noch etwas fehle.[189] Bei

[184] Vgl. Stellen wie *HSab.* [24], PG 31: 605C f.; **EGNys.* [38], PG 32: 340A; *EEust.* [125], ibid.: 549C.

[185] *C. Eun.* 1, PG 29: 516D: "*ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀγεννήτου προσηγορίαν κἂν τὰ μάλιστα δοκῇ ταῖς ἐννοίαις ἡμῶν συμβαίνειν, ἀλλ᾽ οὖν ὡς οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γραφῆς κειμένην καὶ πρῶτον στοιχεῖον οὖσαν τῆς βλασφημίας αὐτῶν σιωπᾶσθαι ἂν δικαίως ἀξίαν εἶναι φήσαιμι, τῆς Πατρὸς φωνῆς, ἴσον δυναμένης τῷ ἀγεννήτῳ πρὸς τῷ καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἔννοιαν συνημμένως ἑαυτῇ διὰ τῆς σχέσεως συνεισάγειν.*"

[186] Man ziehe nun einmal in Betracht, wie er sich in *ETer.* [214], PG 32: 789B; *EAmph.* [236], ibid.: 884A-B mit den ungereimten Ausdrücken "*ἁγιαστικὴ δύναμις*" oder "*ἁγιασμὸς*" behilft.

[187] Vgl. *Mor.PrF.*, PG 685C, "*περὶ ἑκάστου τῶν ὀνομαζομένων πάντως τινῶν ἐξαιρέτων ἰδιωμάτων εὐσεβῶς θεωρουμένων, τοῦ μὲν Πατρὸς ἐν τῷ ἰδιώματι τοῦ πατρός, τοῦ δὲ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ ἰδιώματι τοῦ υιοῦ, τοῦ δὲ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἐν τῷ οἰκείῳ ἰδιώματι.*"

[188] Besonders aufschlußreich ist für Basilios' Konsequenz in der Darstellung die Stelle in *C. Eun.* 3, PG 29: 669C: "*καὶ μηδεὶς οἰέσθω ἀθέτησιν εἶναι τῆς ὑποστάσεως τὴν ἄρνησιν τοῦ κτίσμα εἶναι τὸ Πνεῦμα*"; vgl. auch *Hex.* 2, PG 29: 44A; *C. Eun.* 3, ibid.: 665B ff. u.a.

[189] Siehe *C. Eun.* 3, PG 29: 668B: "*τί οὖν θαυμαστόν, καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀνεπαισχύντως ἡμᾶς τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὁμολογεῖν, τὴν μέντοι ἀναντιρρήτως Αὐτῷ προσμαρτυρουμένην δοξολογία ἀποδιδόναι ;*"

dem Sohne ist in der Hl. Schrift nämlich ganz klar gesagt, wie er aus dem Vater hervorgegangen sei, d.h. durch eine "*γέννησις*." Aber bei dem Heiligen Geist ist in der Hl. Schrift nichts Entsprechendes aufzufinden; weder ist er ein "*κτίσμα*" noch ist er durch eine "*γέννησις*" entstanden. Und da ihm darüber die Hl. Schrift keinerlei Anhaltspunkte gibt, glaubt er, schweigen zu müssen.[190] Aus diesem Grunde nahm er auch zeitlebens davon Abstand, in seine trinitarische Formel ein Merkmal (*γνώρισμα*) für den Heiligen Geist anzuführen. Auch in seiner Schrift *De Spiritu Sancto* hat er dies wahrscheinlich bewußt vermieden, wenn er schreibt: "*ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ εἶναι λέγεται· οὐχ ὡς τὰ πάντα ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προελθόν· οὐ γεννητῶς ὡς ὁ υἱός, αλλ' ὡς πνεῦμα στόματος Αὐτοῦ ... τῆς μὲν οἰκειότητος δηλουμένης ἐντεῦθεν, τοῦ δὲ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως ἀρρήτου φυλασσομένου.*"[191] Diese Stelle stimmt völlig mit einer anderen überein, woraus sich schliessen läßt, daß Basilios von dem Trilemma *ἢ ἀγέννητον ἢ γεννητὸν ἢ κτιστὸν* ausgeht, um dadurch den Nachweis zu erbringen, daß keiner dieser drei Modi beim Heiligen Geist zutreffe. Eine andere Stelle zeigt ebenfalls, wie vorsichtig, ja, reserviert Basilios sich zeigte, wenn es etwa darum ging, vielleicht einen neuen Begriff in den dogmatischen Sprachgebrauch einzuführen, wir haben den der "*ἐκπόρευσις*" im Sinn. Wieder ist es, unserer Ansicht nach, nicht etwa eine Scheu vor dem Formulieren und somit die Ausdrucksmöglichkeit bereichern und die Glaubenserkenntnis zu vertiefen, nein, es ist wieder das Kirchenbewußtsein dieses großen Kirchenmannes, das ihn daran hinderte, bei der Widerlegung seiner Gegner neue Barrieren zu errichten, die sodann einer Wiedervereinigung der von der wahren Lehre der Kirche Abgefallenen im Wege stehen würden, und dabei denken wir auch an Basilios' alten Freund Eustathios von Sebaste und an Eunomios und nicht zuletzt an die anderen Orthodoxen, die allzu heftig vorwärts wollten. Eigentlich liegt genau in diesem Punkte, d.h. in dem einmaligen Kirchenbewußtsein des Basilios seine wahrhafte Größe — er ließ sich einfach nicht mitreißen, sondern mußte unbeirrt den Weg der biblisch fundierten Mäßigkeit befolgen.[192] Deshalb verzichtete er gerade auf Aussagen über die Seinsweise (*τρόπος τῆς ὑπάρξεως*) des Heiligen Geistes. Aber diese Ungewißheit

[190] Deswegen fühlt Basilios sich auch verpflichtet, zu dieser Frage zu schweigen (vgl. *C. Eun.* 3, PG 29: 669C).

[191] Vgl. auch *HSab.* [24], PG 31: 612D.

[192] Vgl. auch *HSab.* [24], PG 31: 616C: "*ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ Υἱὸς παρὰ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθε καὶ τὸ Πνεῦμα ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐκπορεύεται. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Υἱὸς ἐκ τοῦ Πατρὸς γεννητῶς, τὸ δὲ Πνεῦμα ἀρρήτως ἐκ τοῦ Θεοῦ*"; vgl. 613A-B: "*τί οὐχὶ μετὰ πάντων καὶ περὶ τοῦ τρόπου τῆς ὑπάρξεως τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος τὴν ἀκίνδυνον ἄγνοιαν ἀνεπαισχύντως ὁμολογεῖς.*"

über die Seinsweise des Geistes wollte er nur als einen theologischen Mangel verstanden wissen, der auf keinen Fall die Verehrung des Heiligen Geistes behindern sollte.[193] Aber dennoch bezeugen seine, wenn auch erst in seinen späteren Schriften auftretenden trinitarischen Doxologien,[194] daß er eine präzisierte Lehre von der Trinität bereit hatte, die ihm allerdings zunächst von seinen Gegnern den Vorwurf eines Tritheismus einbrachte,[195] den er jedoch damit zurückwies, daß er meinte, seine Formel[196] sollte "die rechte Mitte" sein zwischen Sabellianismus (Judaismus) und Hellenismus.[197] Bekanntlich befaßte sich Basilios mit dem Tritheismus besonders in der Schrift "*Πρὸς τοὺς συκοφαντοῦντας ἡμᾶς, ὅτι τρεῖς θεοὺς λέγομεν.*"[198] Es ist hier nicht der Ort, Basilios' Trinitätslehre zu demonstrieren, das würde uns auch viel zu weit führen, aber vor allem in dem Punkte zeigt es sich, wie Basilios um die rechte Interpretation der Trinitätslehre der Kirche bemüht war, da ja von da aus auch die Kirche und das von ihr und durch sie zu vermittelnde Heil recht zu verstehen und wirksam zu erfassen ist. Das Anliegen von Basilios war also die rechte Darlegung der Hypostasenlehre. Um nun das Mißverständnis gleich im vorhinein zu entkräften: ihm sind da keine Entgleisungen unterlaufen, sondern er hat sich, um dieser Frage bei den jeweiligen Umständen zu begegnen, verschiedener, sich abwechselnder Ausdrucksweisen bedient, die in seinen Schriften ihren Niederschlag gefunden haben und den Forscher nur allzu leicht in die Irre führen mögen. Und es bleibt eine, vorsichtig ausgedrückt, nicht ganz geklärte Frage, ob in Basilios' System der Hypostasenlehre tatsächlich ein "tiefster Zwiespalt" sich auftut, wie es Karl Holl darzulegen versucht.[199] Und da wird das Argument angeführt, das uns bereits geläufig ist: die Gleichstellung der Hypostase des Heiligen Geistes mit denen des Vaters und des Sohnes; er versucht nämlich in der

[193] So sagt er in *C. Eun.* 3, PG 29: 668B: "*τί οὖν θαυμαστὸν καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἁγίου Πνεύματος ἀνεπαισχύντως ἡμᾶς τὴν ἄγνοιαν ὁμολογεῖν, τὴν μέντοι ἀναντιρρήτως Αὐτῷ προσμαρτυρουμένην δοξολογίαν ἀποδιδόναι.*"

[194] Vgl. z.B. PG 31: 385C: "*ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ ... μεθ' οὗ ἡ δόξα τῷ Πατρὶ σὺν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*"; *HMam.* [23], PG 31: 600B: "*Αὐτῷ* (Gott und Christus) *ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος σὺν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*"; ***ECaes.* [8], PG 32: 268B: "*εὐχαριστήσαντες Πατρὶ καὶ Υἱῷ καὶ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πέρας ἐπιθῶμεν τῷ γράμματι.*"

[195] Vgl. *EOlymp.* [131], PG 32: 568B; ***ECaes.* [8], ibid.: 248C; ***EEust. arch.* [189], ibid.: 685C.

[196] "*τῷ Θεῷ ... μετὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ σὺν τῷ Πνεύματι*" (PG 32: 72B-C) und die andere: "*διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι*" (PG 32: 176B); beide Stellen aus *De Sp. S.*

[197] Vgl. *HSab.* [24], PG 31: 600C; *ENeoc. pm.* [210], PG 32: 776B.

[198] Zu Unrecht ist damals von der Benediktiner-Reformkongregation der Mauriner dem Basilios die Urheberschaft dieser Schrift abgesprochen worden.

[199] Siehe Holl, *Amphilochius*, S. 149.

Bekämpfung des Eunomios,[200] d.h. dessen Anomöanismus,[201] den Heiligen Geist an Vater und Sohn anzuschliessen, und bildet somit für das Verhältnis von Sohn und Geist die Formel, daß man nur im Geist den Sohn erkenne.[202] So wird bei Basilios der Heilsprozeß zu einem Aufsteigen durch Geist und Sohn zum Vater.[203]

Auf diese Weise hat Basilios seine eigene Hypostasenlehre entwickelt. Dabei polemisierte er unentwegt gegen den Sabellianismus, indem er ständig betonte, daß allein durch die Unterscheidung der drei Hypostasen in dem von ihm präzisierten Sinn die Verwirrung vermieden und Klarheit in die Gottesanschauung gebracht werden könne.[204] Und er stützte seine These darauf, daß die Eigenschaften der drei Hypostasen keine Bestimmung von Gottes Wesen bedeuteten; denn Gottes Wesen ist für uns ja nicht erkennbar. Mit diesem Satz hat Basilios nicht etwa eine nicht einmal durch Ableitung erreichbare Erkenntnis der *οὐσία* Gottes im Sinne, sondern er meint vielmehr, daß Gott in seinen Wirkungsweisen (*ἐνέργειαι*) erfaßbar ist,[205] so daß auch die Namen, die wir Gott zuschreiben nichts anderes sind als Bezeichnungen Seiner Wirkungsweisen. Gerade darum steht bei ihm, allem Anschein nach, die historische Offenbarung nicht so im Mittelpunkt seines Denkens, wie wir es bei Athanasios sehen. Das mag daran liegen, daß bei ihm teils noch Origenistisches nachwirkte, teils aber auch sein mönchisch-mystischer Enthusiasmus eine große Rolle spielte. So braucht es auch nicht befremden, daß Basilios in seinen erbaulichen Reden die Person Jesu Christi sehr selten gebraucht. Aber fraglos legt er natürlich wert darauf, daß der Logos wirklicher Mensch geworden ist. Deswegen streift er auch nur einmal die Frage, wie Gottheit und Menschheit sich eigentlich vereinigen, und dabei gibt er dem Gesamtproblem weit mehr einen metaphysischen Anstrich.[206] Aber insgesamt gesehen hat

[200] Vgl. *De Sp. S.*, PG 32: 153 ff.

[201] Seine Bekämpfung des Eunomios gipfelt in seinem Argument, daß jener durch seinen Anomöismus "*τὴν δι' Αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* Christus) *γενομηένην τῆς γνώσεως ἄνοδον τὸ ὅσον ἐπ' αὐτῷ διακόπτει*" (*C. Eun.* 1, PG 29: 553A).

[202] Hierzu die klassische Stelle, *De Sp. S.*, PG 32: 153A: "*ὡς γὰρ οὐδεὶς οἶδε τὸν Πατέρα εἰ μὴ ὁ Υἱός, οὕτως οὐδεὶς δύναται εἰπεῖν κύριον Ἰησοῦν εἰ μὴ ἐν Πνεύματι Ἁγίῳ.*"

[203] *EAsc.* [226], PG 32: 869A: "*διὰ τοῦτο οὐδέποτε τῆς πρὸς τὸν Πατέρα καὶ Υἱὸν συναφείας τὸν Παράκλητον ἀποσπῶμεν· ὁ γὰρ νοῦς ἡμῶν φωτιζόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ Πνεύματος πρὸς Υἱὸν ἀναβλέπει καὶ ἐν Αὐτῷ ὡς ἐν εἰκόνι θεωρεῖ τὸν Πατέρα.*"

[204] Vgl. z.B. *HSab.* [24], PG 31: 605A; *EBer.* [220], PG 32: 776B.

[205] Vgl. *EAmph.* [234], PG 32: 869A: "*ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῶν ἐνεργειῶν γνωρίζειν λέγομεν τὸν Θεὸν ἡμῶν, τῇ δὲ οὐσίᾳ αὐτῇ προσεγγίζειν οὐχ ὑπισχνούμεθα. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἐνέργειαι Αὐτοῦ πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταβαίνουσιν, ἡ δὲ οὐσία Αὐτοῦ μένει ἀπρόσιτος.*"

[206] Vgl. *HChr.* [27], PG 31: 1460C: "*τίνα τρόπον ἐν σαρκὶ ἡ θεότης; ὡς τὸ πῦρ ἐν σιδήρῳ· οὐ μεταβατικῶς, ἀλλὰ μεταδοτικῶς*"; vgl. ibid.: 1461A: "*οὕτω καὶ ἡ ἀνθρωπίνη τοῦ Κυρίου σάρξ αὐτὴ μετέσχε τῆς θεότητος, οὐ τῇ θεότητι μετέδωκε τῆς οἰκείας ἀσθενείας.*"

Basilios, wie eingangs schon gesagt, in dogmatischer Hinsicht eigentlich kaum etwas durchschlagend Neues entwickelt. Er hat seine wahre Größe wohl weit mehr auf dem pastoralen Gebiet und somit in der praktischen, vor allem aber kirchlichen Theologie gezeigt.

G. Basilios der Kirchenmann

Im Vorangegangenen, haben wir gesehen, daß Basilios wohl entscheidend zur Präzisierung des im Nicaenum formulierten Trinitätsdogmas beigetragen, dabei aber keine spektakuläre neue theologische Linie aufgezeigt hat. Gewiß, er war, wie wir oben gesehen haben, ein bedeutender Dogmatiker seiner um die Rechtgläubigkeit ringenden Kirche, daran ist gar nicht zu rütteln, aber sein größeres Werk geschah eben doch auf einem anderen Gebiet: er war und bleibt für die Gesamtkirche, besonders aber für den damaligen östlichen Teil derselben, der unübertroffene Gesetzgeber und somit Organisator des kirchlichen Mönchtums, oder, wie Hans von Schubert urteilt:[207] "Hat ihn der durchschlagende Erfolg seiner 'Regeln', im Osten besonders, zum Vater des griechischen Mönchtums gemacht, so reicht seine Bedeutung doch auch nach dieser Seite über die ganze Kirche." Und Tatsache ist, daß über diese bedeutendste Persönlichkeit des östlichen Mönchtums noch immer nicht so hinreichend gearbeitet worden ist, daß man daraus endgültige Schlüsse ziehen könnte. Und dennoch hat ihn Benedikt von Nursia als Quelle für seine von ihm aufgestellten Mönchsregeln erwähnt — und Basilios' Regeln sind für das orthodoxe Mönchtum auch heute noch maßgebend. An ihrer Echtheit ist übrigens kaum mehr zu zweifeln,[208] so daß sie in der Tat eine wertvolle Quelle zur Erforschung von Basilios' einstiger Stellung zum mönchischen Leben und zur Sinngebung desselben wahrhaft einmalige Aufschlüsse für das innere geistliche Leben und dessen Ordnung geben.

Merkwürdig mag es klingen, daß wir gerade von Basilios' Mönchsregeln ausgehen wollen, um so zum Hauptpunkt unserer Darlegung, d.h. zur Frage der Organisation der Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert zu kommen und wie Basilios dazu Stellung genommen hat. Ja, es mag gar überraschend erscheinen, daß wir da zur Frage des Mönchtums (*nolens volens*) gelangen, aber so ist es eben: um überhaupt in etwa Basilios verstehen zu können, müssen wir zu dem greifen, was für das Christentum gerade das Bezeichnendste sein mag, d.h. ein Christ sollte, wenn es sein muß, auch

[207] Text aus W. Moeller, *Lehrbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, 1 (Tübingen 1902) 571.
[208] Vgl. Laun, "Die beiden Regeln," S. 59-60.

den Mut haben, einmal "unmodern" zu sein. Und so stellen wir zu unserer Überraschung fest, daß eben zu Basilios' Zeiten die Frage des mönchischen Lebens, dessen Fundierung und schließlich auch dessen Funktion innerhalb des kirchlichen Lebens einen derart wichtigen Platz einnahm, daß Basilios sich genötigt sah, mit seinen *Constitutiones Monasticae*,[209] über deren Echtheit zu diskutieren, hier wohl nicht hergehört,[210] eben an diesem Punkte den Hebel anzusetzen "um Ordnung zu schaffen"; und wenn wir es so formulieren, dann hat es gewißlich seinen guten Grund. Denn im rigoristischen Asketismus der Eustathianer, die zu guter Letzt sogar verheiratete Christen als vom Heilswege ausgeschlossen betrachteten,[211] bzw. die Askese im markionitischen oder manichäischen Sinne, die ja am Dualismus[212] krankte, hatte Basilios, selbst ein außergewöhnlicher Asket[213] — und, wie eingangs erwähnt,[214] war sie bei ihm nicht künstlich anerzogenes Gut, sondern dank seines intimen Familienkreises, vor allem durch Einwirken seiner Mutter Emmelia und seiner Schwester Makrina organisch mit seinem innersten Wesen verwachsen — seinen Widerpart. Nein, bei all seiner asketischen Strenge hat er zeitlebens dieselbe nie mit dem Wesen der Kirche in Konflikt geraten lassen, d.h. er hat auch das Mönchtum nicht zu einem etwa außerkirchlichen rigoristischen Asketenvereinigung entarten lassen. Und darin liegt sein wohl größtes Verdienst um die Organisation der Kirche: als deren wahrer Mönchsvater hat er dem Mönchtum seiner Zeit und, da sein Werk "gut" war, demselben für alle Zeiten nicht nur eine neue Richtung verliehen, sondern den mit der Kirche harmonierenden Rhythmus gegeben. Nicht als Theoretiker entwarf er für seine Schüler die bestimmten Regeln des zönobitischen Lebens, sondern als Priester stand er selbst einem Kloster in Caesarea vor. In den Wüsten des Pontos gründete er mehrere Klöster und förderte in ihnen mit allem Eifer eine strenge und geregelte Zucht,[215] die aber eingebettet war in der Gemeinschaft mit der Gesamtkirche. Gewiß, auch Pachomios hat dem Mönchs-

[209] Siehe K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bußgewalt im griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898) S. 157.

[210] Siehe Laun, "Die beiden Regeln," wo die Echtheitsfrage erschöpfend behandelt wird.

[211] Siehe Loofs, "Eustathius," *REPThK* 5 (1898) 630; vgl. auch von Campenhausen *Die griechischen*, S. 89.

[212] Vgl. R. H. Grützmacher, "Mönchtum," *REPThK* 13 (1903) 222.59.

[213] Siehe von Campenhausen, *Die griechischen*, S. 89.

[214] Grützmacher, "Mönchtum," col. 222.59 ff.

[215] Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.21; Gregor von Nazianzus, *Or.* 42.34 f.; Basilios, *EApokr. fus.* und *br.*; ****Const.*; *De perf.* [22].

leben eine Ordnung gegeben, aber sie bezog sich viel mehr auf das äußere Zusammensein der Mönche, während Basilios weit mehr das innere, geistige Leben und seine Förderung als Ausdruck des christlichen Vollkommenheitsideals im Zönobitismus begründet. So sollten die Mönche absolut besitzlos leben, weswegen Basilios sich auch bemühte, für sie völlige Steuerfreiheit zu erlangen.[216] Daher sollten sie auch in Kleidung, Nahrung, Wohnung und Schlaf nur auf das Allernotwendigste Anspruch haben.[217] Dabei sollten sie vor allem aber Reinheit und Keuschheit pflegen,[218] in christlicher Liebe miteinander verkehren, sich gegenseitig fördern und sich im Gehorsam üben. Und dieser Punkt lag Basilios wohl auch am meisten am Herzen, d.h. daß die Mönche ihren Willen aufgäben und sich ganz ihren Oberen unterwürfen, so wie sich die Heiligen Gott unterwarfen. Und all dies muß Basilios deswegen so betont haben, weil sich an vielen Orten und an verschiedenen Auswüchsen des Mönchtums zeigte, daß, wo es an Gehorsam gebrach, auch keine wahre Zucht und Beharrlichkeit im Guten herrschte.[219]

Nach gewissen Ansätzen zur Kritik des anachoretischen Mönchsideals bei Pachomios hat Basilios das zönobitische Leben im Kloster prinzipiell als das höher stehende erklärt,[220] wobei die Nächstenliebe auf den ersten Blick hin rein innerklösterlich verstanden sein will, da ja die Klöster, nach Auffassung des Hl. Basilios, gewissermaßen ein Refugium darstellen sollten für jene, die einer verbildeten und vergifteten Kultur entronnen in der Einsamkeit der Natur seelisch gesunden und dann den Weg zur Vervollkommnung beschreiten sollten. Aber dennoch übte das, wenn man so will, basilianische Mönchtum auf Kirche samt Klerus eine sehr tief greifende Wirkung aus: indirekt brachte es ihr nämlich zur rechten Zeit eine tiefere sittliche Anschauung: an die Stelle der in der damaligen Buß- und Beichtpraxis — insofern sie bereits überhaupt üblich war — setzte das Mönchtum seine Lehre von den Hauptsünden, die einem jeden Menschen innewohnen und deren Bekämpfung eines jeden Lebensaufgabe sein sollte. Diese neue, vom Mönchtum neu erworbene sittliche Erkenntnis machte sich Basilios zueigen, indem er jede Sünde als Ungehorsam gegen Gott zu einer Todsünde erklärte. Nachdem es schon Pacho-

[216] *ECens.* [284], PG 32: 1020.

[217] Über die Armut vgl. ***SRen.*, PG 31: 632A-C; **SAsc.* ibid.: 877-881; vgl. auch PG 32: 225, 1140, 1180.

[218] **SAsc.*, PG 31: 873.

[219] Über den Gehorsam siehe u.a. ***SRen.* 2-3; **SAsc.* 3; *EApokr. fus.* 30, PG 31: 993; ***Const.* 19, ibid.: 1388.

[220] Siehe *REPThK* 13 (1903) col. 223.30 ff.

mios in seinen ihm unterstehenden Klöstern gefordert hatte, verlangte nun Basilios, daß der Mönch seine innersten Gedanken vor den älteren Brüdern oder vor dem Abt bekenne.[221] So ist dann die Beichte aus der klösterlichen Praxis zu einer Institution der Kirche geworden.

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Wenn wir nun zum Schluß ein abgerundetes Bild von der Größe dieses Kirchenmannes geben wollten, so tritt diese erst dann zutage, wenn man Basilios nicht zuletzt auch im Zusammenhang der Kämpfe seiner Zeit und der kirchlichen Spannungen seines Jahrhunderts wertet. Als Kirchenpolitiker zeigte er nicht ganz dieselbe Entscheidenheit wie sein großer Vorgänger Athanasios; denn auch in dogmatischen Fragen, die ja politischen sogutwie gleich kamen, war er viel gemäßigter, um eben die Einheit der Kirche auf diese Weise zu erhalten bzw., wo sie gestört, sie wiederherzustellen. Seine leicht mißzuverstehende zögernde Haltung darf darum nicht etwa als Charakterschwäche oder eigenes Unvermögen ausgelegt werden; ganz im Gegenteil: das Gebot der Stunde lautete: Anpassung an die sich ihm entgegenstellenden Schwierigkeiten, die ihn dazu zwangen, seine Bewegungsfreiheit zu behaupten, um sich recht entfalten zu können. Kirchenpolitisch gestaltete sich für ihn die Lage deshalb so schwierig, weil er nicht nur weitschauender, sondern wohl auch ehrlicher, vielleicht gar auch aufrichtiger war als mancher andere Hierarch zu jener Zeit. So ist es nicht zuletzt sein Verdienst, daß die junge byzantinische Kirche das theologische Leben der vorangegangenen Jahrhunderte vermittelte und Sorge dafür trug, daß die geistige Freiheit im Raum der Kirche erhalten blieb. Während viele nicht über die Schultheologie, Parteilichkeiten, aber auch nicht über rein materielle Interessen hinauskamen, behielt Basilios stets die Gesamtheit kirchlicher Angelegenheiten im Auge. Die tiefgreifenden Veränderungen, die mit dem Staatskirchenwesen vorsichgingen, blieben ihm nicht verborgen, und es hieß, nun althergebrachtes Denken im kirchlichen Raum mit dem Neuen in Einklang zu bringen; denn manche Ideale des Urchristentums mußten nun fahren gelassen werden. Vielleicht ist auch das der Grund, weswegen er sich derart für die Erneuerung bzw. die Durchorganisierung des klösterlichen Gemeinschaftslebens einsetzte: nicht ausgeschlossen, daß er dadurch im kleinen Kreis urkirchliches Leben realisieren wollte, damit dies sodann auf die Gesamtkirche sich auswirkte. In seinem theologischen Streben legte er sich Beschränkung auf; denn er mied bewußt die Neuerungssucht der

[221] *EApokr. br.* 227, 229.

Irrlehrer, sie verlangte immer kompliziertere Definitionen; und der müßige Eifer der Berufstheologen, die die "Fallen" nicht um der Wahrheit, sondern nur um des Disputierens willen aufstellen.[222] So gab Basilios unermüdlich allen Christen den Rat, einfach beim Taufbekenntnis, beim Nicaenum stehenzubleiben und sich von dort durch keine spitzfindigen Fragen ablocken und verführen zu lassen.[223]

[222] *De Sp. S.* 1.
[223] *EAnt. ec.* [140].

8

The "Spiritual Sense" of Scripture

The Exegetical Basis for St. Basil's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit

Jaroslav Pelikan
Yale University

Basil of Caesarea stands at the center of one of the most remarkable chapters in the entire history of ancient Christian dogma, the development of the doctrine of the person of the Holy Spirit during the second half of the fourth century. For while the question of the person of the Son of God dominated Christian thought from the conflict with Gnostic Docetism in the second century to the Monotheletist and Monenergist controversies of the seventh century, and even beyond, the question of the Holy Spirit was raised, debated, and settled in two decades or so. Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto* is one of a small group of treatises (which would also include the writings of Athanasius, Gregory of Nazianzus, Didymus the Blind, and some anonymous authors on the Greek side, together with those of Hilary and Ambrose on the Latin side) that addressed the doctrine of the Holy Spirit directly, determining the form that it was to take in both East and West for a millennium or more.[1] Except for the later addition of the Filioque,

[1] The most important recent study of *De Spiritu Sancto* is that of H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto: Der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluß des trinitarischen Dogmas* (Göttingen 1956); see the review article of W. Jaeger, *ThlZ* 83 (1958) 255-258. Among older works, two are especially helpful: H. B. Swete, *The Holy Spirit in the Ancient Church* (London 1912); and Th. Schermann, *Die Gottheit des Heiligen Geistes nach den griechischen Vätern des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Freiburg i.Br. 1901). In my investigation of *De Sp. S.* I have used, in addition to the text of PG 32: 68-217, the editions of C. F. H. Johnston, *The Book of St. Basil the Great On the Holy Spirit* (Oxford 1892), and B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1968) both of which contain helpful notes.

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 337-360.

which was itself cast in the mold of the received doctrines of the Trinity and the Holy Spirit, what Basil and his contemporaries worked out as orthodox teaching is what most of Christendom has gone on confessing.

The surprising haste with which Basil's generation disposed of the problem of the person of the Holy Spirit may conceal the depths of the struggle in which they were engaged. It was a matter of the most serious concern, as Gregory of Nazianzus wrote to Basil in the year 373 or so, "how far it is appropriate for us to go in speaking of the deity of the Spirit [*μέχρι τίνος προϊτεον ἡμῖν τῆς τοῦ Πνεύματος θεολογίας*]."[2] And the answers, even of those whose Trinitarian orthodoxy was universally acknowledged as impeccable, were anything but uniform. Indeed, as the letter of Gregory of Nazianzus makes clear, Basil himself was accused during his own lifetime of "slighting" the Holy Spirit even while he spoke "most excellently and perfectly" about the Father and the Son; in his rather touchy reply to this accusation Basil denounced it as a slander, but declined to provide a statement of faith about the doctrine of God that would refute the gainsayer.[3] The criticisms persisted, however, eventually compelling Basil, against his will, to spell out his understanding of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son in the Trinity. This he did in the treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*, composed sometime between the end of 374 and the end of 375. Even in this treatise he was quite chary of calling the Holy Spirit "God" in so many words; the closest he came to doing so was when he referred to the Spirit as "divine in nature [*θεῖον τῇ φύσει*]."[4] He also promised to go into the matter more fully in a special treatise;[5] whether this promise was fulfilled with his composition of *Homilia contra Sabellianos, et Arium, et Anomoeos* [24] as C. F. H. Johnston suggested, or whether Basil never got around to writing such a treatise, we cannot determine with certainty. But it was the *De Spiritu Sancto* that became his cardinal statement on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, upon which Ambrose was to draw so heavily in his own *De Spiritu Sancto* of 381 that Jerome accused him of outright plagiarism.[6]

In this study I propose to analyse the "Spiritual sense" of Scripture in Basil's treatise. That phrase, with its play on the word "spiritual," comes, albeit a bit indirectly, from Basil himself. The Pauline antithesis between letter and spirit, whose locus classicus is 2 Corinthians 3.9, was for most

[2] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Ep.* 58, PG 37: 117B.
[3] *EGNaz.* [71], PG 32: 436-440.
[4] *De Sp. S.* 23.54, PG 32: 169A; Pruche, p. 444.17.
[5] *De Sp. S.* 24.55, PG 32: 172C; Pruche, p. 450.43-44.
[6] Jerome, "Praefatio" to Didymus *De Sp. S.*, PG 39: 1032A.

Christian exegetes the justification of their reliance on allegory and typology in the interpretation of the Old Testament. Without challenging that meaning of "spiritual sense," Basil made of the antithesis "an opposition between the ministry of the Law and that of the Holy Spirit."[7] And therefore Gregory of Nazianzus, writing the year after Basil's death, spoke of him as having "penetrated the letter and looked at the interior" of Scripture, above all in his treatment of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.[8] According to Basil there was no "spiritual gift [χάρισμα πνευματικόν]" in Moses, only the Law;[9] but one who was led by the Holy Spirit and who, by conformity to the image of the Son of God, had become a son of God himself was truly called "Spiritual."[10] Those who wrote the books of Scripture had been led by the Holy Spirit in a special manner, so that Scripture was "inspired by the Spirit of God [θεόπνευστος]."[11] To understand Scripture properly, therefore, it was necessary to recognize that in Scripture a "Spiritual sense" was frequently conveyed by means of terms derived from physical objects.[12]

It was precisely this "Spiritual sense" of Scripture that was in contention between Basil and his critics. Like the opponents of the homoousion, Basil's adversaries saw themselves as the defenders of Scripture against those who were substituting new-fangled formulas for those of the Bible. Basil's liturgical usage on the Holy Spirit, they charged, was "without evidence and without precedent in Scripture [ἀμάρτυρον καὶ ἄγραφον]."[13] For their part, they claimed that their view represented the "standard [of teaching]" laid down in Scripture.[14] They insisted that there must be "proof that is based on Scripture" for any doctrine of the Holy Spirit,[15] and they rejected any formula that did not meet this criterion. For they maintained that "apostolic usage" should be preferred to "following alien [teachers]" in the liturgical formulas employed in the worship of the church.[16] But Basil would not concede to his opponents that they had

[7] Pruche, commenting on *De Sp. S.* 24.55, p. 449.

[8] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 31.21, PG 36: 156D.

[9] *De Sp. S.* 14.32, PG 32: 125A; Pruche, p. 358.16-17.

[10] *De Sp. S.* 26.61, PG 32: 180C; Pruche, p. 466.9-12.

[11] *De Sp. S.* 21.52, PG 32: 165C; Pruche, p. 438.75.

[12] *De Sp. S.* 26.52; PG 32: 181C; Pruche, p. 470.4-6. It seems desirable, for the purposes of this paper, to capitalize the word "spiritual" when it refers to the person of the Holy Spirit and therefore to the interpretation of Scripture that is aimed at discovering the "Spiritual sense."

[13] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 27.68, PG 32: 193D-196A; Pruche, p. 490.23-24.

[14] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 25.58, PG 32: 176A; Pruche, p. 456.16-17.

[15] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 10.25, PG 32: 112C; Pruche, p. 334.13-15.

[16] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 4.6, PG 32: 77B-C; Pruche, p. 270.23-26.

"apostolic usage" on their side. They supposed that this usage was uniform in its terminology and that fidelity to Scripture meant conformity to its uniform language. In the language of worship, the church was willing to acknowledge more than one "usage," for there were in fact "diverse manners [πολύτροποι]" of speaking in Scripture.[17] It was, moreover, impossible for anyone to follow biblical usage with complete consistency in his liturgical practice, and Basil's opponents were no exception.[18] Despite their literalism about the usage and language of Scripture, they were, in Basil's judgment, opposed to "what we have been taught by Scripture."[19] Against such theologians, he found, "inspired Scripture is powerless to mediate, the traditions of the apostles cannot suggest terms of arbitration."[20] Despite their protestations about biblical language, they were actually battling against Scripture.[21] The norm of sound doctrine was not "our idea," but "the canon of the Lord's teaching."[22] As "the oracles of the Spirit," Scripture taught theologians how to think about doctrine, including and especially the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.[23] Another term for Scripture was "the word of truth," and "following what has been written" was incumbent on the faithful.[24] But the norm of Scripture was not its specific language, which varied greatly, but its "standard of teaching,"[25] which was expressed in many different ways. Sheer differences of linguistic usage did not of themselves indicate differences within the divine nature.[26]

Because the principal issues in the doctrine of the Trinity had arisen in connection with the relation of the person of the Son to the person of the Father, the forms of argumentation, biblical as well as speculative, that had been worked out for the settlement of those issues were the ones on which theologians relied, even when the ground of battle had shifted and it was the relation of the person of the Spirit to the Father and the Son that was in controversy. About one-fifth of Basil's treatise *De Spiritu Sancto*,

[17] *De Sp. S.* 7.16, PG 32: 93C; Pruche, p. 298.7-9; *De Sp. S.* 5.9, PG 32: 84A; Pruche, p. 278.15-17.

[18] *De Sp. S.* 25.58, PG 32: 176A-B; Pruche, p. 458.22-24.

[19] *De Sp. S.* 21.52, PG 32: 164A; Pruche, p. 432.1-9.

[20] *De Sp. S.* 30.77, PG 32: 213C; Pruche, p. 524.47-50.

[21] *De Sp. S.* 6.15, PG 32: 89C; Pruche, p. 292.13-14.

[22] *De Sp. S.* 27.68, PG 32: 193A; Pruche, p. 488.9-12.

[23] *De Sp. S.* 9.23, PG 32: 109C; Pruche, p. 330.28.

[24] *De Sp. S.* 4.6, PG 32: 77A; Pruche, p. 268.2; *De Sp. S.* 10.24, PG 32: 112B; Pruche, p. 334.20-21.

[25] *De Sp. S.* 10.26, PG 32: 113A; Pruche, p. 336.6 (quoting Rom. 6.17).

[26] *De Sp. S.* 5.11, PG 32: 85A; Pruche, p. 282.17-20.

beginning at 5.7 and continuing to 8.21, is given over to a rehearsal of the proofs for the deity of the Son as these had been systematized since the earliest years of the defense of the Nicene definition by Athanasius and others, including of course Basil himself in his polemics against Eunomius. At times in these chapters it is necessary for the reader to remind himself that this is intended to be an essay on the Holy Spirit, not just another essay on the Son and Logos. One reason for Basil's continuing preoccupation with the defense of orthodox belief about the Son even in a book about the Spirit would seem to be his Christocentric interpretation of the doctrine of God as Trinity. It was axiomatic for him that "when we name the name of Christ, we confess the whole [Godhead]."[27] Therefore he had recourse to the doctrine of the Son when he was responding to a challenge dealing with the doctrine of the Spirit: if the parallel between Moses and the Spirit proved that the Spirit was not equal to the Father, then the parallel between Moses and the Son (which was far more explicit in the New Testament) would also have to prove that the Son was not equal to the Father.[28]

But Basil's application of the exegetical case for the homoousia of Father and Son to the case for the homoousia of the Spirit went much further. Some of the very passages of Scripture that the defenders of Nicea had interpreted as pertaining directly, or even exclusively, to the Son now became, according to Basil's hermeneutics, part of the "Spiritual sense" instead. These passages belonged to the "metaphysics of light" that had been incorporated into the text of the Nicene Creed and had formed an essential part of Athanasius' brief against the Arians.[29] Elsewhere in his writings Basil, too, applied these passages to Christ, and here in *De Spiritu Sancto* he took note of the use that the fathers had made of the metaphor of "light" and "radiance" in Hebrews 1.3 as proof that the Son, who was the "Radiance [ἀπαύγασμα]" of the Father, was one in being with the Father, just as the radiance of a light is one in being with the light itself.[30] Especially in the thought of Athanasius this metaphor from the first chapter of Hebrews had been a mainstay of the exegetical case for the Nicene definition of the status of the Son of God as homoousios: "Inasmuch as the Father is eternal," Athanasius insisted, "his Radiance,

[27] *De Sp. S.* 12.28, PG 32: 116C; Pruche, p. 344.7-8.

[28] *De Sp. S.* 14.33, PG 32: 125B; Pruche, p. 360.5-20.

[29] I have dealt with this issue in detail in my book, *The Light of the World* (New York 1962), which is a study of the "metaphysics of light" in Athanasius.

[30] *C. Eun.* 2.16, PG 29: 604B; *De Sp. S.* 7.16, PG 32: 96A; Pruche, p. 300.35-36.

who is his Logos, is eternal."[31] According to Basil's exegesis of the creation story in Genesis, these words of the Epistle to the Hebrews made it obvious that the plural in the statement "Let us make man in our image" (Gen. 1.26) could not refer to any other than the one who was the Radiance of the eternal Light.[32] It is likewise evident from the writings of Athanasius that these words from Hebrews were regularly linked with the words of the Psalm, "In thy light [that is, in the Radiance or the Son] we see light [that is, the Light or the Father]" (Ps. 35.10), which suggests that in his mind they were dependent on each other for their meaning as part of the case for the deity of the Son. Yet here in the *De Spiritu Sancto* of Basil the passage from the Psalms became instead a proof for the deity of the Holy Spirit. Here the light in which believers could see the light of God was not the light of Christ as Son of God and Revealer, but "the illumination of the Spirit."[33] And then, carried along by the identification of the Holy Spirit as the Revealer of the true light, Basil even applied to the Spirit the statement of the prologue of the Gospel of John, that the Son of God and Logos was "the true light that enlightens every man" (John 1.9), which had been, for Athanasius and indeed for the consensus of the tradition, a reference exclusively to the special status of the Second Person of the Trinity.

Nor is the use of the Christological analogy confined to such manipulation of biblical passages, for it makes itself even more evident in the method of Basil's exegetical argumentation. One such adaptation was his use of the standard disjunctive syllogism of the fourth-century debates over Christ: either he is God or he is a creature; if he is a creature, it is idolatry to pay him divine worship, which all Christians do; therefore he must belong on God's side of the line that separates Creator and creature. In the orthodox case against Arianism, that syllogism had been particularly effective, for the Arians, as Newman pointed out, believed that "they might safely confess Him to be perfect God, one with God, the object of worship," and yet they would not concede his oneness in being with God.[34] Echoing that mode of argumentation, Basil challenged his opponents to "say whether it is more proper to rank [the Holy Spirit] with God or to relegate him to the status of a creature."[35] In another adaptation of earlier methods of using Scripture, Basil sought to justify a doxology

[31] Athanasius, *C . Ar.* 1.7.25, PG 26: 64B.
[32] *Hex.* 9.6, PG 29: 205A.
[33] *De Sp. S.* 18.47, PG 32: 153B; Pruche, p. 412.12-14.
[34] J. H. Newman, *The Arians of the Fourth Century*, 3d ed. (London 1871) p. 217.
[35] *De Sp. S.* 16.37, PG 32: 133B; Pruche, p. 374.13-14.

addressed to the Holy Spirit — which had been the immediate occasion for his writing on the subject of the Holy Spirit at all — by defining the glory of the Spirit as "the enumeration of the wondrous works [θαυμάτων] that he has done."[36] Earlier in the treatise, speaking of Christ, he had said: "Is it not [true] to say that the recital of his benefits is an appropriate argument in favor of the doxology [addressed to] him ?"[37] But now this method of justifying a liturgical practice, and thus also of drawing out its theological implications (or, as Basil would probably have preferred to say, its theological presuppositions), was called upon to serve the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

The most obvious repetition of an ealier theological method was enunciated by Basil when he declared that the way to understand the nature of the Holy Spirit was to examine three sets of biblical passages, namely, those that dealt with his "titles [ὀνόματα]," those that described his "activities [ἐνέργειαι]," and those that identified his "gifts [εὐεργεσίαι]."[38] Now each of these three terms, and especially the first two, had been used extensively in the discussions of Christ; indeed, the second of them, "activity [ἐνέργεια]," was to go on being a major ingredient of Christological discussion for many centuries after Basil. The argument for the prerogatives of Christ based on "Christological titles of majesty"[39] had been an important part of the Christian apologia since early times, being embedded in the New Testament itself. Because there was little or no direct testimony of the New Testament calling the Holy Spirit "God," other titles that were taken to be tantamount to this assumed even greater importance in the case for the Third Person of the Trinity than they had in the case for the Second Person. On the basis of a concordance study Basil felt able to specify several titles that the Holy Spirit had in common with the Father and the Son, including both "holy" and "Spirit," which proved that the three persons had the divine nature in common.[40] Hilary drew a similar conclusion from the way Scripture used the title "Spirit of God" for each of the three persons of the Trinity,[41] and Gregory of Nazianzus summarized the case by asking: "Which titles belonging to God are not applied to [the Holy Spirit], with the sole exception of 'Unbegotten' and

[36] *De Sp. S.* 23.54, PG 32: 159A-B; Pruche, p. 446.20-21.
[37] *De Sp. S.* 8.17, PG 32: 96C; Pruche, p. 302.15-17.
[38] *De Sp. S.* 19.48-49, PG 32: 156-157; Pruche, pp. 416-420.
[39] Cf. F. Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: Ihre Geschichte im frühen Christentum* (Göttingen 1963).
[40] *De Sp. S.* 19.48, PG 32: 156B-C; Pruche, pp. 416-418.12-32.
[41] Hilary, *De Trin.* 8.23-25, PL 10: 253-255.

'Begotten'?"[42] Basil paid special attention to the title "Lord [κύριος],"[43] used of the Spirit in such passages as 2 Corinthians 3.17 (to which we shall return later) and applied adjectivally to the Spirit in the Nicene Creed.

One could even extrapolate from such exegetical parallels between the earlier dispute about the Second Person and the more recent dispute about the Third Person and construct a symmetrical formula: "As the Father is made visible in the Son," Basil suggested, "so the Son [is made visible] in the Spirit."[44] This symmetry was more than merely epistemological, for to Basil the relation between the divine persons in revelation was also (and first) their relation in being: epistemology within the "economy" recapitulated ontology within the "theology."[45] Another of the Cappadocians, Basil's brother Gregory of Nyssa, developed this idea in a more thoroughly systematic fashion, basing his argumentation on the title "Only-begotten," which belonged exclusively to the Second Person of the Trinity and could not be predicated of the Third Person.[46] The solution for Gregory, as Prestige has noted, was that he "conceived the being of the Holy Spirit to be so grounded in the being of the Son, as that in turn is grounded in the being of the Father."[47] That theory was to provide the classic formula for the procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Father through the Son [ἐκ Πατρὸς δι' Υἱοῦ]," which would surface repeatedly in the controversies between East and West as a mutually acceptable substitute for the offensive doctrine of Filioque. But its persistent failure as a compromise is indicative of a basic structural flaw in this version of Trinitarian doctrine. Attractive though it was to press the exegetical method of the anti-Arian polemic into service against the Pneumatomachians, the language of Scripture about the Holy Spirit made it mandatory to go beyond the methods of interpretation that had been so useful in treating its language about Christ.

For there was an elemental difference between the two ways of speaking in Scripture, as there was between the economy of the Son and the economy of the Spirit. To quote Prestige again, "Christ had appeared on earth and had made history; but the Holy Spirit was now dwelling in Christian hearts and now making history. ... Only when men could look back on historical results of His operation and correlate them with their

[42] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 31.29, PG 36: 165B.
[43] *De Sp. S.* 21.52, PG 32: 164A-165A; Pruche, pp. 432.10-434.41.
[44] *De Sp. S.* 26.64, PG 32: 185A; Pruche, pp. 474.1-476.2.
[45] *De Sp. S.* 18.47, PG 32: 153B; Pruche, p. 412.17-21.
[46] Gregory of Nyssa, *C. Eun.* 1.42.69, PG 45: 464B-C; *Tres dii*, PG 45: 133B-C.
[47] G. L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, 2d ed. (London 1956) p. 253.

own immediate experience did they become anxious to substitute such a phrase as 'God the Holy Spirit' for 'the holy prophetic Spirit' or 'the Spirit of God', or to state explicitly that He was not only a gift or instrument of grace but its Giver."[48] The patristic modality of speaking about this change was less sophisticated, philosophically and above all historically. But Gregory of Nazianzus did recognize that there had been successive stages in the disclosure of the Trinity, with the Father being made known in the Old Testament and the Son in the New Testament; but the Spirit was made known only in the history of the church since the New Testament, for only "now does the Spirit himself dwell among us, and [only now does he] provide us with clearer evidence of himself."[49] Thus Gregory was working with some theory or other of progressive revelation and of the development of doctrine, by which the doctrine of the Holy Spirit did have to await the experience of the Christian centuries to provide the church with the same kind of data about the Third Person of the Trinity that were provided for the Second Person by the events in the narratives of the Gospels. Basil's version of this insight was to proceed first with a conventional recitation of the exegetical proofs for the homoousia of the Son in chapters 5-8 of *De Spiritu Sancto* and then to move immediately in chapter 9 to a combination of biblical exegesis with evidence that was "*ἄγραφον*," which means in the first instance "not contained in Scripture" but in the liturgy and then, because of how the liturgy was transmitted, "not written down." This was a recognition that a different method of biblical proof was necessary in the doctrine of the Spirit from that employed in the doctrine of the Son.

An obvious difference between the two methods was that while the exegetical evidence for the doctrine of the Son was voluminous, especially because of the practice of finding testimony to him in the Old Testament, the number of biblical passages that could be identified as speaking explicitly about the Holy Spirit was far smaller. Smaller still was the number of places in which it was possible to find data about the relation of the Spirit to the Son and the Father or about the place of the Spirit within the Trinity, even if the Christian exegete laid claim to the entire Old Testament as a witness to the Trinity. One such proof text on the relation of the Spirit to the Son was John 4.24: "God is Spirit, and those who worship him must worship in Spirit and in Truth." On the basis of the consistent designation of the Son as "truth" in the New Testament,

[48] Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, p. 81.
[49] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 31.26, PG 36: 161C.

Athanasius had taken this to be a coordination of the Second and Third Persons of the Trinity with the First Person.[50] Basil likewise took it as an indication that "also in worship the Holy Spirit is inseparable from the Father and the Son."[51] But the most important piece of evidence about the relation of the Spirit to the Son was at the same time the most completely Trinitarian passage in all of Scripture, the great commission of Matthew 28.19-20. When Basil was pressed to specify how the Spirit was related to the Father, whether by "subnumeration [ὑπαρίθμησις]" or by "connumeration [συναρίθμησις]," he insisted that the appropriate term was neither of these, but "coordination [συστοιχία]," which he found documented in the baptismal formula of Matthew 28.19-20.[52]

This passage became the cornerstone of Basil's case. To be sure, it has not been absent from earlier discussions, as when Athanasius in his *De synodis* cited it as a "recapitulation [κεφαλαίον]" of the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity.[53] But there were so many other passages in the Scriptures, above all the eighth chapter of the Book of Proverbs and the many verses in the Gospel of John, dealing with the relation of the Son to the Father, that it had not been necessary to base a substantial part of the argument for the Nicene definition on the closing verses from the Gospel of Matthew. Basil's emphasis on it also partook of the intensity of his own existential concern for the doctrine of baptism, for which this passage was fundamental. "As then baptism has been given to us by the Savior," he wrote in one of his letters, "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit, so we make confession of the faith in conformity with our baptism and make our doxology in conformity with our faith: we doxologize the Holy Spirit together with the Father and the Son, from the conviction that he is not alien to the divine nature."[54] Echoing that concern here in *De Spiritu Sancto*, Basil declared his loyalty to "that tradition which brought me to the light" in baptism, and he affirmed his resolve: "I pray that with this confession I may depart hence to the Lord, and I charge [the opponents] to preserve the faith inviolate until the day of Christ, and to keep the Spirit inseparable from the Father and the Son, maintaining, both in the confession of faith and in the doxology, the doctrine imparted through baptism."[55]

[50] Athanasius, *Ep. Serap.* 1.33, PG 26: 608A-B.
[51] *De Sp. S.* 26.64, PG 32: 185B; Pruche, p. 476.12-13.
[52] *De Sp. S.* 17.43, PG 32: 145D-148A; Pruche, p. 398.1-20.
[53] Athanasius, *Ep. de syn.* 28, PG 26: 744A.
[54] *EEup.* [159] 2, PG 32: 620-621.
[55] *De Sp. S.* 10.26, PG 32: 113B-C; Pruche, p. 338.24-29.

Near the end of *De Spiritu Sancto* Basil was led to enumerate the forces that had brought him, somewhat reluctantly, to define his doctrine of the Holy Spirit. In doing so he assigned the first place to the baptismal formula, in which Christ had been willing to associate the Spirit with himself and with the Father.[56] That primacy assigned to Matthew 28.19-20, which appears also in Hilary,[57] was a repeated theme of the treatise. For example, Basil affirmed the declaration of Acts 5.29, "We ought to obey God rather than men," and then immediately went on to recite the great commission of Matthew 28, in which Christ had not disdained to accept a fellowship with the Holy Spirit.[58] The *ipsissima verba* of the great commission stood as a refutation of any effort to introduce a system of ranking, or of superordination and subordination, into the divine Trinity; for Christ had not said that baptism was to be administered "in the First and the Second and the Third," nor "in One and Two and Three," but "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit," thereby revealing through sacred names a knowledge of faith that led to salvation.[59] It was from the baptismal formula that the church had evolved the creed, which was not contained in Scripture but was framed in such a way that the church's confession might conform to "the tradition of baptism."[60] And if, therefore, someone objected to a particular wording of the creed or the doxology concerning the Trinity and the place of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity, for instance the use of the prepositional phrase "with the Holy Spirit," Basil suggested, as a basis for agreement, the terminology of the baptismal formula as laid down in the Gospel, "the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."[61]

Although the baptismal formula from Matthew 28.19-20 was the most important single passage of Scripture in Basil's effort to define the "Spiritual sense," he gave a much larger share of attention to another group of texts on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, namely, those that related the Spirit to the Father and the Son by means of one or another preposition.[62] The most obvious explanation for this is the immediate provocation of the treatise itself, which was the criticism of Basil as a

[56] *De Sp. S.* 29.75, PG 32: 209A; Pruche, p. 516.24-26.
[57] Hilary, *De Trin.* 2.1, PL 10: 50C.
[58] *De Sp. S.* 10.24, PG 32: 112A; Pruche, p. 332.4-11.
[59] *De Sp. S.* 18.44, PG 32: 148C-D; Pruche, p. 402.1-5.
[60] *De Sp. S.* 27.67, PG 32: 193A; Pruche, p. 488.4-9.
[61] *De Sp. S.* 25.60, PG 32: 177D-180A; Pruche, p. 462.14-20.
[62] For a discussion of the functions performed by prepositions in Gregory of Nazianzus, see T. Mommsen, *Beiträge zu der Lehre von den griechischen Präpositionen* (Berlin 1895) pp. 233-237, 314-318. I know of no similar study of Basil's usage.

violator of tradition for using the preposition "μετά" rather than "διά" for the Son and the preposition "σύν" rather than "ἐν" for the Spirit in the doxology.[63] This criticism required him to probe the differences in the connotations of various prepositions as they were used in Scripture and to refute the implications that his opponents wanted to draw from these prepositions. In carrying out this task, he was continuing the prepositional theology of such predecessors as Athanasius, who had endeavored to prove that when the prepositional phrase "ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ" was applied to Christ it meant "ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας τοῦ Πατρός," as the Council of Nicea had specified, whereas such opponents of the Nicene definition as George of Laodicea had urged that "he may be said to be from God in that sense in which all things are said to be 'from God' [1 Cor. 11.12]."[64] Sometimes Basil, ignoring this precedent, objected that the pedantic attention of his opponents to prepositions was the result of their exposure to pagan philosophers,[65] but they were able to counter that all they were doing was adhering to "apostolic usage."[66] That put the exegesis of biblical prepositions into the center of the controversy.

The fundamental point of Basil's exegetical argument on this issue was that Scripture did not use prepositions with absolute consistency, and that therefore it was unwarranted to draw theological conclusions about the place of the Holy Spirit within the divine nature even from the "apostolic usage" of prepositions.[67] The Arian dialectician Aetius had made it axiomatic that "ἐν" was the only acceptable preposition to use of the Holy Spirit, while "ἐκ" was appropriate to the Father and "διά" to the Son, and he maintained that "this usage of syllables is never interchanged."[68] Aetius' disciple, Eunomius, against whom Basil had written at great length, followed this axiom in formulating his creed: "We believe in one God, the Father Almighty, from whom [ἐξ οὗ] are all things. And in one only-begotten Son of God, God the Logos, our Lord Jesus Christ, through whom [δι' οὗ] are all things. And in one Holy Spirit, the Paraclete, in whom [ἐν ᾧ] a continuance of every grace is granted proportionately to each of the saints for his profit."[69] This triad of prepositions — "ἐκ," "διά,"

[63] *De Sp. S.* 1.3, PG 32: 72B-C; Pruche, pp. 256-258.1-6.
[64] Athanasius, *Ep. de decr.* 19, PG 25: 449C; *Ep. de syn.* 17, PG 26: 712D-713A.
[65] *De Sp. S.* 3.5, PG 32: 76A-B; Pruche, p. 264.1-13.
[66] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 4.6, PG 32: 77B-C; Pruche, p. 270.23-25.
[67] It is interesting to note that most of the entry on "σύν" in *PGL*, p. 1294, is taken up by quotations from Basil's *De Spiritu Sancto*.
[68] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 2.4, PG 32: 73B-C; Pruche, p. 262.20-24.
[69] Eunomius, *Apol.* 5, PG 30: 840B-C.

and "ἐν" — was to determine the relations of Father, Son, and Spirit in the Trinity; for, according to Aetius as quoted by Basil, "whatever, then, is the relation of these terms to one another, such will be the relation of the natures indicated by them, and as the term 'from whom [ἐξ οὗ]' is unlike the term 'through whom [δι' οὗ]', so is the Father unlike the Son,"[70] and therefore as the term "in whom [ἐν ᾧ]" was unlike both the other terms, so the Spirit was unlike both the Father and the Son in nature. In defense not only of his own liturgical use of "μετά" and "σύν" for the Son and the Spirit, but of the orthodox doctrine of the Son and especially of the Spirit, Basil analyzed this triad of prepositions to prove that "the usage is diverse [πολύτροποι αἱ χρήσεις]"[71] and that therefore it would not do to base doctrines on prepositions.

The preposition "ἐν," which Basil's opponents put forth as the key to the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, was the subject of an extended examination in chapters 25 and 26 of *De Spiritu Sancto*.[72] Basil saw that the words of John 4.24 that we discussed earlier, "God is Spirit, and those who worship him must worship in Spirit and in Truth," identified the Spirit as the "place [χώρα] of those who were sanctified," paradoxical as that seemed, and he cited other passages where the same way of speaking appeared. He was able to score a point against his opponents by noting that the phrase "in the Spirit" did not in fact appear in any New Testament doxology. But his principal argument was that even if the phrase had been used in doxologies, as it was in other verses of the Bible, it did not in any sense imply a lower status for the Holy Spirit, and he predicted that when they saw how exalted a rank the preposition "ἐν" conferred on the Holy Spirit, his opponents would switch their ground and reject it. He did concede that "ἐν" was more suitable as a description of the relation of the Spirit to the life of grace shared by believers, while "μετά" described more precisely the relation of the Spirit to the Father and the Son in the Trinity, and he found "ἐνεῖναι" to be a better term for the first but "συνεῖναι" for the second, which was of course the point at issue; hence the controversial use of "σύν" in Basil's doxology. In his own treatment of prepositions for the Holy Spirit, Hilary sought to identify a special meaning for the phrase "in Spiritu," as distinguished from "per Spiritum."[73] But any effort to base a precise theological position on the preposition "ἐν" was bound to fail,

[70] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 2.4, PG 32: 73B; Pruche, p. 260.15-18.
[71] *De Sp. S.* 5.9, PG 32: 84A; Pruche, p. 278.16.
[72] *De Sp. S.* 25-26, PG 32: 173C-185C; Pruche, pp. 456-476.
[73] Hilary, *De Trin.* 8.31, PL 10: 259A.

for, as Moulton has said, even by the period of the Koine "it has become so much a maid-of-all-work that we cannot wonder at its ultimate disappearance, as too indeterminate."[74]

Nor was the situation of the other prepositions significantly more promising for such efforts. As earlier disputes over "ἐκ" had proved, it could be used either of the derivation of creatures "from" God the Creator or of the derivation of the uncreated Son of God "from" the Father, and so Nicea had been obliged to specify that the Son came "from the being of the Father." The ambiguity of "ἐκ" as a term to specify relations within the Trinity, as well as the latitude of its use as a term not only for God the Father but also for the Son and the Holy Spirit, could be shown by an examination of New Testament passages.[75] Thus the church was said to be "ἐξ οὗ [sc. Χριστοῦ]" in Ephesians 4.16 and Colossians 2.19, and the Holy Spirit was said by Christ to "draw from what is mine [ἐκ τοῦ ἐμοῦ]" in John 16.14. But that was not to be taken to mean that the Holy Spirit was subordinate, for sometimes the use of "ἐκ" could move in the opposite direction. As Basil noted on the basis of the very first chapter of the New Testament, "The angel said: 'That which has been conceived in her is by [ἐκ] the Holy Spirit' [Matt. 1.20]." The variations in the English rendering of such instances of "ἐκ," ranging from "by" to "of" to "from," indicate the problems present also in the Latin translation of it as either "ex" or "de." In his *De Spiritu Sancto* Ambrose observed that the Latin versions used "de," but he thought that "ex" was more literal and precise. There were, however, two senses of "ex": to be "ex substantia," as the Son of God was and as the Spirit was in relation to the Father; and to be "ex potentia," as creatures were.[76] Augustine refined this distinction further by pointing out, against the Manicheans, that "ex" did have both of the meanings given by Ambrose, but that "de" referred more specifically to the first of them.[77] In the Greek Bible, however, as Basil put it, "to the careful reader it will be obvious that the uses of 'ἐξ οὗ' are manifold [πολύτροποι]," and that it did not consistently refer to the person of the Father only.

The same was true of the remaining preposition of the triad, "διά," which was supposedly the key to the place of the person of the Son in the Trinity. In 1 Corinthians 8.6, probably the most crucial passage for such

[74] J. H. Moulton, *A Grammar of New Testament Greek, Prolegomena* (Edinburgh 1957) p. 103.

[75] *De Sp. S.* 5.9, PG 32: 81C-84B; Pruche, pp. 278-280.1-26.

[76] Ambrose, *De Sp. S.* 2.5.42, PL 16: 751B-752A; CSEL 79: 102.

[77] Augustine, *De nat. bon.* 27, PL 42: 560; CSEL 25: 868.

distinctions, God the Father was the one "ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτόν," while Christ the Lord was the one "δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ." In the letter quoted by Basil, Aetius had cited these words in support of his thesis that the difference in nature between the Father and the Son could be decided on the basis of the difference between "ἐκ" and "διά."[78] Basil, too, regarded the passage as important, not, however, as "the statement of a legislator" on the correlation between grammar and theology, but as the statement "of one who carefully distinguishes the hypostases" of the Trinity.[79] Therefore he would not accept the argument that only "διά" should be used of the Son and that "μετά" was illegitimate. Rather, he insisted, "μετά" was the correct preposition to use concerning the person of the Son, as when offering a doxology, while "διά" and "ἐν" were more fitting as prepositions for the work of the Son as Mediator of grace.[80] His review of how "διά" was used in Scripture established, moreover, that it did not connote a subordinate status when it was applied to the Son, as the Arians argued, for as a matter of fact "Scripture accepts it equally for the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit."[81] He recited several passages, especially in the epistles of Paul, in which it was the Father "διά" whom something was said or done. Interestingly, as Johnston noted in his edition, the list did not include Hebrews 2.10, where, in a play on the difference between "διά" with the accusative and "διά" with the genitive, the Father is described as the one "δι' ὅν τὰ πάντα καὶ δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα." Evidently this was because Basil, following the precedent of Athanasius,[82] regarded it as a reference to the Son rather than to the Father, as his later use of it in this treatise indicates.[83] Whether this was the result of a textual variant in his New Testament or of an exegetical idiosyncrasy, it does serve to illustrate Basil's point about preposition and theology. Briefly stated, the point was that "the usage is diverse":[84] for "ἐκ" was not confined to the Father, "διά" was not confined to the Son, and "ἐν" was not confined to the Holy Spirit, and hence a conjunction such as "καί" and a preposition such as "σύν" could be used interchangeably.[85]

[78] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 2.4, PG 32: 73A-B; Pruche, p. 260.8-18.
[79] *De Sp. S.* 5.7, PG 32: 80A; Pruche, p. 272.7-9.
[80] *De Sp. S.* 7.16, PG 32: 93C; Pruche, p. 298.9-17.
[81] *De Sp. S.* 5.10, PG 32: 84B-C; Pruche, p. 280.1-18.
[82] Athanasius, *Ep. Aeg. Lib.* 15, PG 25: 572B.
[83] *De Sp. S.* 8.19, PG 32: 104A; Pruche, p. 314.49-50.
[84] *De Sp. S.* 5.9, PG 32: 84A; Pruche, p. 278.16.
[85] *De Sp. S.* 25.59, PG 32: 176B; Pruche, p. 458.9-10; *De Sp. S.* 27.68, PG 32: 196A; Pruche, p. 490.25-27.

There was one additional passage in the New Testament where both "ἐκ" and "διά" appeared, together with a third preposition, not "ἐν" but the closely related (and often identical) "εἰς." That was Romans 11.36 — "ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν τὰ πάντα" — which the New English Bible translates: "Source, Guide, and Goal of all that is." There is no indication in *De Spiritu Sancto* that Aetius or Eunomius had used it to support their position. Basil himself quoted it here in refutation of the conclusions that Aetius and his party were basing on the relation between "ἐκ" and "διά" in 1 Corinthians 8.6. In doing so, Basil insisted that the entire sentence in Romans referred to the Second Person of the Trinity, arguing that the reference to the "κύριος" in the words of Isaiah 40.13 quoted just before this sentence identified Christ the Lord as the one meant also in this doxological conclusion. The phrase "ἐξ αὐτοῦ" pertained to him as "the cause of the being" of all things, the phrase "δι' αὐτοῦ" identified him as the one through whom all things had "continuity and coherence [διαμονὴ καὶ σύστασις]," and the phrase "εἰς αὐτόν" referred to him as the one to whom all things turned with yearning.[86] The only alternative exegesis of the sentence, according to Basil, was to apply all of it to the Father, which would also refute the effort to base Trinitarian theology on prepositional usage. In this exegesis, as in other aspects of his book, Ambrose closely followed Basil's lead by applying Romans 11.36 to the Son and using it to answer the heretical interpretation of the prepositional phrases in 1 Corinthians 8.6.[87] Hilary seems to have gone further and to have applied Romans 11.36 to the Father and the Son, one in nature.[88] It remained for Augustine, in his *De Trinitate*, to extend the exegesis of this passage to Father, Son, and Spirit, and to make of it a witness to Trinitarian doctrine. Presumably from Hilary, with whose book on the Trinity he was acquainted, and perhaps from Ambrose or some other source as well, Augustine knew there were some who preferred to interpret this verse as pertaining only to the Father,[89] but his own preference was decidedly for the Trinitarian interpretation.[90] It was probably on the basis of the Augustinian exegesis of this verse that it would become, in the Middle Ages, the epistle lesson for the Feast of the Holy Trinity, so that a

[86] *De Sp. S.* 5.7, PG 32: 80A-81A; Pruche, pp. 272-276.15-51.

[87] Ambrose, *De Sp. S.* 2.9.89-93, PL 16: 762A-763A; CSEL 79: 121-123.

[88] Hilary, *De Trin.* 8.38, PL 10: 266A.

[89] Augustine, *De Trin.* 1.6.12, PL 42: 827; CCSL 50: 41-42.

[90] Augustine, *De Trin.* 5.8.9, PL 42: 837-838; CCSL 50: 216, where the passage is used to prove sentences that are closely parallel to the Athanasian Creed; Augustine, *De Trin.* 6.10.12, PL 42: 932; CCSL 50: 243.

Trinitarian interpretation of the three prepositional phrases became standard in Western preaching and theology.

Although the baptismal formula from Matthew 28.19-20 and the passages that used prepositions to speak about the Spirit and the Trinity were the most prominent in providing the exegetical basis for Basil's doctrine of the Holy Spirit, there are at least two other biblical arguments in the treatise that bear mention. The most important of all the other passages treated by Basil is 1 Corinthians 12.4-6, in which Spirit, Son, and Father are coordinated, and in that order. Paraphrasing this passage, Basil declared: "In every activity the Spirit is closely conjoined with, and inseparable from, the Father and the Son: while God's activities effect the diversities of actions, and those of the Lord the differences of administrations, it is the Holy Spirit who is present, by his own authority, managing the distribution of spiritual gifts according to the worth of each recipient."[91] The reversal here of the sequence of the persons as given in the baptismal formula and in the traditional doxologies was also not without reason, for it reflected the order in which believers received the blessings of the Trinity, beginning with the Spirit as the immediate source, then proceeding to the Son as the mediate source, and finally coming to the Father as the ultimate source. Although this passage had served others as proof that the distinctions among the hypostases of the Trinity were merely temporal,[92] Basil drew from it the conclusion that these distinctions were eternal and that the unity of the Godhead in the Trinity remained unimpaired. He likewise gave a Trinitarian exegesis to the words of 2 Thessalonians 3.5: "May the Lord direct your hearts to the love of God and to the steadfastness of Christ." The "Lord" spoken of here could only be the Holy Spirit, who, as Lord, guided the hearts of believers to the Father's love and to the Son in his trustworthiness.[93]

That identification of the Holy Spirit as "Lord" was due principally to the language of 2 Corinthians 3.17: "ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμά ἐστιν." In his *Contra Eunomium* Basil had made "πνεῦμα" a predicate and "κύριος" the subject, quoting this text as applying to the Second Person of the Trinity, who was "spiritual" by nature.[94] In this he was following a tradition represented by Athanasius, who had maintained that "it is the Son who is signified" in this and other passages;[95] Athanasius, in turn, had behind

[91] *De Sp. S.* 16.37, PG 32: 133B-C; Pruche, pp. 374-376.18-27.
[92] Ap. *Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 4.25, PG 26: 505C.
[93] *De Sp. S.* 21.52, PG 32: 164A-B; Pruche, p. 432.10-20.
[94] *C. Eun.* 3.3, PG 29: 661A.
[95] Athanasius, *C. Ar.* 1.4.11, PG 26: 36A.

him the widespread use, in the New Testament and in the early fathers, of "πνεῦμα" as a quasi-technical term for the divine nature of Christ.[96] But when that had been taken by Celsus to mean that "God thrust his own Spirit into a body and sent him down here," Origen had quoted 2 Corinthians 3.17 as a reference to the Holy Spirit.[97] Here in *De Spiritu Sancto* Basil reversed himself and argued that the passage proved that the Holy Spirit was "Lord," that is, divine in nature.[98] As the question of the status of the Holy Spirit in the Trinity became an issue of theological controversy, this application of the words "The Lord is the Spirit" to the Third Person grew more appealing. Hilary took them in that sense, making "Lord" a reference to the Godhead; the *De Spiritu Sancto* of Ambrose repeated the exegesis and the argumentation of the *De Spiritu Sancto* of Basil; and Augustine, after showing that "Dominus" could be used of the Father or of the Son, quoted 2 Corinthians 3.17 as proof that it could be used also of the Holy Spirit.[99]

It remains for us now to place Basil's exegetical proofs for his doctrine of the Holy Spirit into the general context of his theological method in this treatise. Although he did not begin the treatise with a statement of his methodological prolegomena, he did speak out explicitly on the question of method in the course of his argument. It is characteristic of his ability to "help undogmatic piety to attain greater clarity" and at the same time to "carry the speculative urge to the very limits of human knowledge"[100] that he repeatedly took the opportunity to disdain, in principle, the use of rational and philosophical method to achieve his goal, meanwhile accusing his opponents of having adopted an alien metaphysic to subvert the faith. Early in *De Spiritu Sancto* he attacked them for importing into "the simple and nontechnical doctrine of the Spirit" various "pettifogging rules based on vanity and empty delusion" derived from heathen philosophy.[101] He contrasted "the simplicity and unsophistication of the faith" for which he was contending with the "technical terminology" of his philosophically minded opponents.[102] They had, above all, introduced

[96] See the citations collected in J. H. Newman, *Select Treatises of S. Athanasius, Archbishop of Alexandria, in Controversy with the Arians*, 1 (Oxford 1842) 196-197, note d.

[97] Origen, *C. Cels.* 6.70, PG 11: 1405B; GCS 2: 139-141.

[98] *De Sp. S.* 21.52, PG 32: 164C-165A; Pruche, p. 434.33-41.

[99] Hilary, *De Trin.* 2.32, PL 10: 72B-73A; Ambrose, *De Sp. S.* 3.14.101-102, PL 16: 800C-801A; CSEL 79: 192-193; Augustine, *De Trin.* 2.10.19, PL 42: 857-858; CCSL 50: 105-106.

[100] Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 7.

[101] *De Sp. S.* 3.5, PG 32: 76C; Pruche, p. 266.33-37.

[102] *De Sp. S.* 6.13, PG 32: 88B; Pruche, p. 288.20-22.

into the discussion, "from the wisdom of the world," the notions of "subnumeration [ὑπαρίθμησις] and "connumeration [συναρίθμησις]," which, when applied to the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, corrupted the faith.[103] Hans Dehnhard has shown how dependent Basil was upon Plotinus for the language and even the thought of *De Spiritu Sancto*, and Professor Rist has given special attention to Basil's involvement with Neo-Platonic philosophy, including the thought of Plotinus, with implications also for this aspect of his theology.[104] But in the light of his persistent aspersions on philosophy it is amusing to discover that he was quite willing, when it suited his purposes, to draw support for the doctrine of the Holy Spirit from the Platonic doctrine of Ideas, since the Spirit was "the one who brings rational beings to their goal, perfecting their excellence."[105] But except for such "obiter dicta," Basil did not make a point of articulating a speculative or philosophical method of proof.

Instead, he seems to have defined a theological method in which there were three "principia cognoscendi": "the practice of the pious [ἡ τῶν εὐλαβῶν χρῆσις]," the changeless "tradition of the fathers [τῶν πατέρων ... ἡ παράδοσις]," and "the intention of Scripture [τὸ βούλημα τῆς Γραφῆς]."[106] Although his own treatment did not follow that order, we shall relate this examination of the third to each of the first two, that is, to "pious practice" and the experience of the devout, and to "the changeless tradition of the fathers" particularly in its unwritten liturgical form as "lex orandi."

There was, as Prestige has said, a "necessarily more subjective method of approaching the subject of [the] personality" of the Holy Spirit,[107] and Basil's treatise, for all its claims of scriptural objectivity, took this subjective dimension of its subject quite seriously. In fact, Basil interpreted the words of 1 Corinthians 2.11 to mean that "the supreme demonstrative proof [τὸ μέγιστον τεκμήριον]" of the relation of the Holy Spirit to the Father and the Son was the relation of "the spirit within us to each of us."[108] These words authorized an exploration of the human spirit as an analogy for the place of the divine Spirit in the Godhead. Not every such analogy was legitimate, however, for Basil attacked his opponents

[103] *De Sp. S.* 17.41-43, PG 32: 144B-148C; Pruche, pp. 392-400.

[104] H. Dehnhard, *Das Problem der Abhängigkeit des Basilius von Plotin: Quellenuntersuchungen zu seinen Schriften De Spiritu Sancto* (Berlin 1964); see pp. 190-220 above.

[105] *De Sp. S.* 26.61, PG 32: 180B-C; Pruche, p. 466.7-9.

[106] *De Sp. S.* 7.16, PG 32: 93B-96B; Pruche, pp. 298-300.

[107] Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*, p. 80.

[108] *De Sp. S.* 16.40, PG 32: 144A; Pruche, p. 390.43-48.

for affronting "the doctrines about the nature of God [τὰ τῆς θεολογίας δόγματα] by their use of human examples."[109] Obviously such strictures upon the use of analogy in theology did not apply in the case of the analogy of the human spirit and the divine Spirit, for this had been made a proper part of Christian thought about God by no less an authority than Scripture itself. The "shadowy description [σκιαγραφία]" provided by these illustrations was indispensable, provided that the reader did not forget the analogical character of such symbols.[110]

Moreover, because the analogy between the divine Spirit and the human spirit was, by scriptural authority, "the supreme demonstrative proof" of the deity of the Holy Spirit, consideration of the presence and the effect of the Creator Spirit in the spirits of creatures was a necessary part of the exegetical argument for the doctrine of the Spirit. An important aspect of this effect for Basil was the relation between the Holy Spirit and the creatures that were pure spirit, the angels.[111] He dismissed as a debater's ploy the argument, based on such passages as 1 Timothy 5.21, that because in some passages of Scripture the angels replaced the Holy Spirit alongside the Father and the Son, the Holy Spirit did not deserve to be addressed by doxology any more than the angels did.[112] On the contrary, the angels, too, stood in special need of the presence and power of the Holy Spirit; since, according to 1 Corinthians 12.3, it was only by the Spirit that men could acknowledge Christ as Lord, it was likewise by the same Spirit that the angels sang their doxology and without the Spirit their life would be "bereft of law, order, and direction [ἀνομοθέτητος, ἄτακτος, ἀόριστος]."[113] Thus the sanctifying power of the Holy Spirit, in angels and in men, was an important reason for identifying him as belonging to the Godhead: "the baptism of redemption, the working of miracles, the indwelling of the saints, the graces conferred on obedience" — all these were the consequence of his divine activity in the righteous.[114] Baptism was especially pertinent here because of the Trinitarian formula of Matthew 28.19.[115] Not only for Basil but for the Christian East in

[109] *De Sp. S.* 20.51, PG 32: 160D; Pruche, p. 426.4-5.

[110] *De Sp. S.* 14.31, PG 32: 121B-C; Pruche, p. 354.13-15.

[111] See the study of A. Heising, "Der Heilige Geist und die Heiligung der Engel in der Pneumatologie des Basilius von Caesarea," *ZKTh* 87 (1965) 257-308.

[112] *De Sp. S.* 13.29, PG 32: 117C-D; Pruche, p. 348.1-13.

[113] *De Sp. S.* 16.38, PG 32: 137B-C; Pruche, p. 382.57-77; see also *Adv. Eun.* 3.2, PG 29: 660A-B.

[114] *De Sp. S.* 24.55, PG 32: 172A; Pruche, p. 450.24-26.

[115] *De Sp. S.* 12.28, PG 32: 117B-C; Pruche, p. 346.28-40.

general, the most characteristic term for the change brought about in human nature by this activity of the Spirit was "deification [*θεὸν γενέσθαι*]."[116] It was consistent with this conception of the deifying and life-giving activity of the Spirit that Basil, on the basis of Psalm 103.30, ascribed the resurrection of the dead, as well as the gift of glory in eternal life, to the action of the Holy Spirit.[117] Because of the congruence between "theology" and "economy," the method of analogy was an essential part of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, where it took the special form of an examination of the experience and the "practice of the pious."

Yet the ultimate form of this experience came in the awareness of the transcendence and otherness of God, so that the very name "Spirit" called to mind One who was "by nature unreachable [*ἀπρόσιτον τῇ φύσει*],"[118] about whom it was most accurate to speak in *α*-privatives, in apophatic language and in the language of silence. The reality of God belonged to "that which is inaccessible [*τὰ ἀνέφικτα*]" and hence transcended all number; it belonged to "that which is ineffable [*τὰ ἄρρητα*]" and hence transcended all speech. Basil urged his opponents to emulate "the piety of the Hebrews," who did not pronounce the divine name, and to observe a reverent silence.[119] In another attack on the presumption and ambition of self-styled theologians, he urged that silence was preferable to speech in such a setting.[120] It is intriguing to consider the suggestion that in such references to silence in relation to the Holy Spirit we may discern the effects of Basil's experience as a monk, and that in this sense we might call his doctrine of the Holy Spirit a "monastic dogma."[121] But it is more germane to our purposes here to observe how Basil used the idea of the Holy Spirit as transcendent and "unapproachable in thought [*πρὸς θεωρίαν δυσέφικτον*]" to prove exegetically that the Holy Spirit was equal with the Father and the Son in the Godhead. By skilfully juxtaposing several passages from the closing discourses in the Gospel of John, he showed that the Father was unknowable to the world (John 17.25), that the Son was invisible to the world (John 14.19), and that the Holy Spirit was both unknowable and invisible to the world (John 14.17). Therefore the three hypostases shared in the divine transcendence and thus in the divine

[116] *De Sp. S.* 9.23, PG 32: 109C; Pruche, p. 328.25.

[117] *De Sp. S.* 19.49, PG 32: 157B; Pruche, p. 420.24-27; *De Sp. S.* 16.40, PG 32: 141A; Pruche, pp. 386-388.1-6.

[118] *De Sp. S.* 9.22, PG 32: 108C; Pruche, p. 324.29.

[119] *De Sp. S.* 18.44, PG 32: 149A; Pruche, p. 404.13-19.

[120] *De Sp. S.* 30.78, PG 32: 216A-B; Pruche, p. 526.1-3.

[121] See Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*, p. 160, who regards the suggestion as "unerlaubt."

nature. All of this was hidden from the world, but "known [θεωρητόν] only to the holy through the purity of heart."[122]

Such was the experience and "practice of the pious" in relation to the exegesis of Scripture on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. Yet it is clear from the context of Basil's reference to "the practice of the pious" that principally he had in mind devotional and liturgical practice, which came to be known in the West, thanks to Prosper of Aquitaine, as the "lex orandi." That was also the principal meaning of what Basil, in the same passage, identified as the changeless "tradition of the fathers." Both the exact content and the dogmatic implications of the liturgy had evoked the *De Spiritu Sancto* in the first place. Because of their preference for saying "μετά" for the Son and "σύν" for the Spirit rather than "διά" and "ἐν," Basil and his associates were attacked as "novelty-mongers, faddists, and phrase-coiners."[123] This was in part, as Gregory of Nazianzus also observed, because there was not, for the person of the Holy Spirit, a continuous and explicit tradition of liturgical observance to match that which the church had for the person of Christ.[124] Yet Basil continued undaunted in his claim that he was serving "that doctrine which through the tradition of the fathers has been preserved by an unbroken sequence of memory to our own day," as he called it in the final paragraph of *De Spiritu Sancto*.[125] With his opponents he shared the belief that by virtue of their sheer antiquity ancient teachings had a certain presumptive weight in their favor.[126] Therefore he wanted to be on the side of those who upheld the honor of antiquity against the novelty-mongers, and he laid claim to such antiquity for his liturgical usage.[127] He recognized, moreover, how the authority of tradition could prevail against novelty, even brilliant novelty; for Origen had been obliged by the weight of tradition to express himself on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in a way that contradicted his own private theories and preferences.[128] What Basil believed he was defending, and what he believed his opponents were attacking, was nothing less than "the apostolic tradition."[129]

The stubborn difficulty was, however, that the records of "the apostolic tradition" that had been preserved did not provide adequate documentary

[122] *De Sp. S.* 22.53, PG 32: 165C-168C; Pruche, pp. 440-442.
[123] Ap. *De Sp. S.* 6.13, PG 32: 88A; Pruche, p. 286.5-7.
[124] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 31.12, PG 36: 145B-C.
[125] *De Sp. S.* 30.79, PG 32: 217B; Pruche, p. 528.14-16.
[126] *De Sp. S.* 29.71, PG 32: 200C; Pruche, p. 502.21-23.
[127] *De Sp. S.* 7.16, PG 32: 93C-D; Pruche, p. 298.19-21.
[128] *De Sp. S.* 29.73, PG 32: 204A-C; Pruche, pp. 506-508.1-19.
[129] *De Sp. S.* 10.25, PG 32: 112C; Pruche, p. 334.9-12.

evidence in support of Basil's practice and Basil's doctrine. This, too, Basil was obliged to acknowledge, and therefore he had resort to the authority of a tradition that was "ἄγραφος," which meant "not written down in Scripture" and/or "not written down" at all. His opponents would not accept the authority of such a tradition, and they demanded proof based on what was "ἔγγραφος," which meant "written down" somewhere, and more specifically "written down in Scripture." Basil's statements in response to this challenge have called forth a substantial body of scholarly literature, dealing with the relation between Scripture and unwritten tradition, some of it shaped by controversies over that relation since the sixteenth century.[130] He did go so far as to declare that "most of the mysteries hold their place among us without written authority," and he recited specific instances of specific practices in the "mysteries" of the church that could not find support in Scripture or even in any other written source.[131] Despite the efforts to identify Basil with one or another of the views of Scripture and tradition that have dominated theological discussion since the Council of Trent, it does seem clear that his statements about unwritten "mysteries," which figured prominently in the debates at Trent in the form in which they had been transmitted by Gratian, referred specifically to items in the liturgy, to what "we have received transmitted to us 'in a mystery' by the tradition of the apostles," not to some quasi-Gnostic "second source" of revelation. "Mystical" meant "liturgical" in his language, and "the silent and mystical tradition" was the "lex orandi." He treated this "mystical" tradition as nothing other than the written and scriptural "apostolic tradition" continued beyond Scripture in the unwritten form of the liturgy. "I believe," he said, "that it is apostolic also to abide by the unwritten traditions." There could not be contradiction, but only continuity, between the two.[132] For the very fathers from whom the unwritten tradition of the liturgy had come had subjected themselves in turn to the written authority of Scripture, and Basil saw himself as following their precedent in his own exegesis.[133]

Both in principle and in practice, then, Basil's theological method in *De Spiritu Sancto* was primarily exegetical. The distinctive nature of the

[130] For a thorough discussion — with which, as is evident, I disagree sharply — and a bibliography, see E. Amand de Mendieta, *The "Unwritten" and "Secret" Apostolic Traditions in the Thought of St. Basil of Caesarea* (Edinburgh 1965).

[131] *De Sp. S.* 29.71, PG 32: 200B; Pruche, p. 500.3-6; *De Sp. S.* 27.66, PG 32: 188A-189A; Pruche, pp. 478-482.1-34.

[132] *De Sp. S.* 9.22, PG 32: 108A; Pruche, p. 322.1-4.

[133] *De Sp. S.* 7.16, PG 32: 96A; Pruche, p. 300.32-35.

scriptural evidence concerning the person of the Holy Spirit meant that his exegesis must also follow a distinctive path. The sacrament of baptism — and the formula of baptism "in the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit" (Matt. 28.19) — determined the "standard of teaching" (Rom. 6.17) in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit.[134] This standard of teaching was reinforced both by the "practice of the pious" and by the "tradition of the fathers," and to it a faithful theologian would conform his exegesis of the controverted texts of Scripture, also of the texts in which one or another preposition appeared to teach differently. Using this method, with all of its ambiguities by comparison with the exegetical methods that he and other theologians employed for other doctrines, Basil and his contemporaries established the doctrine of the person of the Holy Spirit as part of the "depositum fidei." It is probably safe to say that this represents his chief contribution to the history of Christian doctrine.

[134] *De Sp. S.* 10.26, PG 32: 113A; Pruche, p. 336.1-6.

9

L'idéal du monachisme basilien

Thomas Špidlík, SJ
Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies

A. Un problème en forme d'objection

Le point de départ de cette conférence est une accusation moderne contre un législateur dont l'autorité fut intouchable pendant de longs siècles; contre celui qui fut dans l'histoire de l'Église "lumière de piété et clairon de théologie," "empli de toute doctrine, non seulement de celle qui est terrestre et qui doit être foulée aux pieds, mais surtout d'une sagesse meilleure et supérieure," devenu ainsi "la lumière du monde."[1]

"L'état monastique est celui qui est pleinement conforme aux préceptes de saint Basile," écrivait au XIe siècle Nicon de la Montagne Noire.[2] Des études récentes justifient à leur manière cet éloge quand elles montrent l'influence profonde des Règles basiliennes sur le monachisme oriental et occidental.[3]

Quelle est donc la clef d'un succès qu'on est tenté d'appeler unique dans l'histoire de la spiritualité chrétienne? À ses moines Basile promet de réaliser par une vie commune bien ordonnée une vie *monotropos*, parfaitement centrée en Dieu, cet idéal pour lequel on se croyait obligé à une fuite du monde farouche.[4] En outre ses enseignements monastiques se dispen-

[1] *Canon de s. Basile, Ode* 8, PG 29: CCCXCV.

[2] *Pandectes* 4, ed. C. de Clercq, *Les textes juridiques dans les Pandectes de Nicon de la Montagne Noire* (Venezia 1942) p. 26.

[3] J. Gribomont, "Basilio," *DIP* 1 (1973) 1101-1109.

[4] *Apophthegmata*, "Arsène," PG 65: 92A; I. Hausherr, "L'hésychasme, étude de spiritualité," *OrChrP* 23 (1956) 16 ff., = *Études de spiritualité orientale* (Roma 1969) pp. 174 ff.

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 361-374.

saient de justificatifs et de preuves puisqu'ils étaient tous basés sur la "méditation des Écritures divinement inspirées."[5]

Mais en regard — chose étrange — une des premières études modernes sur "L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile" laisse après lecture une impression plutôt négative. L'auteur, E. Amand de Mendieta, ne voile pas sa pensée. "Basile," écrit-il, "est [un] moraliste chrétien profondément imprégné de sagesse hellénique."[6] Notons les deux expressions: moraliste chrétien, sagesse hellénique. Car l'auteur a soin d'en préciser lui-même la portée: "Le rude et austère ascète qu'est Basile, est un 'volontariste', un moraliste, un homme hanté par la perspective continuelle des commandements de Dieu qu'il doit personnellement accomplir, sans en omettre le moindre iota."[7] Pour lui la Bible est un "recueil de prescriptions et de défenses."[8]

Pourrions-nous trouver portrait plus défavorable: un malheureux "moraliste," qui se présente comme un chrétien authentique, mais qui est "profondément imprégné de saggese hellénique"? Le rigorisme excessif dont l'accuse Amand de Mendieta s'expliquerait "par la sympathie secrète qui le porte vers l'éthique rigide et quelque peu inhumaine du Portique. Comme Chrysippe, Basile est séduit par la beauté, la majesté des grands principes de l'éthique et il excelle à les organiser en un système fortement charpenté...," en bâtissant "une doctrine totalitaire et logiquement liée."[9]

La question risque de devenir grave. Si de telles accusations sont vraies, que faut-il alors penser du monachisme oriental, et même de l'occidental profondément imbibé de l'esprit basilien? Le souffle rigide de l'ancien totalitarisme légaliste ne se transmet-il pas ici sous le vêtement de la liberté évangélique?

B. La loi écrite et la loi des faits

Pour prendre une juste position dans ces accusations, arrêtons-nous pour commencer à ce terme devenu de nos jours tellement antipathique: moraliste. Amand de Mendieta en donne une bonne description: celui qui est séduit par la beauté, la majesté des grands principes et bâtit une doctrine totalitaire. De tels moralistes construisent d'abord un système logiquement lié et ensuite tout effort moral consiste à mettre en pratique les principes abstraits, jusqu'aux conséquences généralement cruelles. Ils

[5] *EGNaz.* [2] 3, PG 32: 228B; Courtonne, 1: 8.72-73.
[6] E. (D.) Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile* (Denée 1948) p. xi.
[7] Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, p. 265.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, pp. 171 sv.

méconnaissent la "loi des faits," le rythme de la réalité concrète. Et si leurs principes sont puisés dans un livre considéré infaillible, la route est ouverte vers une fanatisme que n'arrête aucun obstacle.

Ce que Basile enseigne sur la gravité de tous les péchés et sur la nécessité d'observer tous les commandements de Dieu sans exception, sert à Amand de Mendieta de preuve que l'évêque de Césarée n'est pas exempt d'un tel rigorisme excessif étayé sur des textes de l'Écriture divine interprétés avec une logique abstraite, cérébrale.[10]

À la tête d'une province ecclésiastique à une époque tourmentée, Basile lui-même pouvait difficilement conserver la rigidité de son système moral. Mais ceux qui plus tard se formèrent à la vie spirituelle dans son *Ascéticon* furent exposés au danger en question. Et chez tel ou tel réformateur prêchant le retour à l'authentique monachisme cénobitique dans l'esprit des *Règles* basiliennes, apparaît de temps à autre et assez nettement un trait de totalitarisme et même de fanatisme. Je pense, par exemple, à un cénobite de la Russie du moyen-âge qui m'est bien connu, Joseph de Volokolamsk.[11]

Ces réformateurs des siècles passés ont-ils bien compris le véritable esprit des *Règles* basiliennes? Et les critiques d'aujourd'hui qui accusent le grand patriarche des moines de moralisme farouche, ont-ils bien compris son attitude personnelle vis-à-vis de ses propres règles écrites? C'est ce que nous allons examiner.

Retournons à l'accusation faite: pour Basile la Bible n'est qu'un "recueil de prescriptions et de défenses"; est "moraliste" celui qui ne tient pas compte de la réalité concrète des "lois des faits." Il est hors de doute que pour lui les Écritures sont la voix de Dieu, à laquelle le chrétien doit se soumettre sans réserve. Mais est-ce la voix de Dieu unique et absolument primaire? La manière de formuler la question est nôtre, mais la question elle-même est posée quand Basile s'interroge sur l'origine et le sens des Écritures.

Au temps de Basile le problème de l'inspiration des Écritures était des plus vifs et demandait au chrétien lettré une réponse bien réfléchie. Les Livres sacrés sont écrits, comme les autres, par des auteurs humains. D'où vient leur sagesse et leur autorité? La réponse est simple: en ce qui concerne Moïse, les prophètes et les autres auteurs inspirés, intervient "une véhémente spiration de l'Esprit, qui leur révèle les choses cachées."[12]

[10] Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, pp. 169 sv.

[11] T. Špidlík, *Joseph de Volokolamsk, Un chapitre de la spiritualité russe* (Roma 1956).

[12] *HPs. 44*. 9, PG 29: 405C.

Sans l'Esprit, pas de vision bienheureuse dans les cieux, pas de sagesse sur la terre. La connaissance de la voix de Dieu est conditionnée par l'Esprit: "Si la nuit tu supprimes chez toi la lumière, les yeux sont aveugles, les puissances inertes, les valeurs indistinctes; l'or aussi bien que le fer est foulé aux pieds par ignorance." Il en est de même dans l'ordre de la vérité divine sans l'illumination de l'Esprit.[13] Les auteurs de l'Écriture sont des âmes porteuses de l'Esprit, illuminées par lui, "qui deviennent elles-mêmes spirituelles, pneumatiques, et font rayonner sur les autres la grâce qui leur a été donnée."[14]

Le fait de l'inspiration divine est donc résolument affirmé. Mais on note avec intérêt que le problème psychologique de l'inspiration ne retient guère Basile. Il n'y voit rien de spécial hors le retour à l'état primitif et naturel de l'homme. Moïse qui s'était adonné pendant quarante ans à la *θεωρία τῶν ὄντων*, "la contemplation naturelle,"[15] a en effet retrouvé cette sagesse primordiale qui était le privilège du premier homme sorti de la main du Créateur. Dans la vie paradisiaque la voix de Dieu se faisait entendre en toute chose et elle était écoutée. "À peine (l'âme d'Adam) lui fut-elle infusée... Dieu lui avait donné le privilège d'entendre de ses oreilles la voix divine elle-même."[16]

Pas de doute qu'Adam, exemple de l'homme parfait, n'était pas un "moraliste" et n'avait pas besoin des Écritures. Il saisissait la sagesse divine cachée au-dedans de la création et suivait, si nous voulons l'appeler ainsi, la "loi des faits," des événements. Malheureusement il s'est "assoupi" dans le péché et la création cessa d'être pour lui la voix de Dieu "par manque de réflexion" (*ἐξ ἀβουλίας*) et il commença à la considérer comme une chose indépendant de sa vraie signification.[17]

Nous, fils d'Adam, vivons dans un état déchu. Alors Dieu, dans sa miséricorde, nous donne les Écritures, desquelles l'homme "comme d'une pharmacie à la portée de tous, tirera le remède approprié à son mal."[18] La méditation des Écritures est donc "une méthode excellente pour s'initier à la perfection."[19]

Arrêtons-nous aux expressions: une pharmacie, le remède, s'initier à la perfection. Habituellement l'Écriture est appelée "nourriture,"[20] substantif

[13] *De Sp. S.* 16, PG 32, 137C-D; Pruche, p. 384.82 sv.
[14] *De Sp. S.* 9, PG 32: 109C; Pruche, p. 328.18-20.
[15] *Hex.* 1.1, PG 29: 5B; Giet, p. 90.2.
[16] *HMal.* [9], PG 31: 344C.
[17] Ibid., 344D.
[18] *EGNaz.* [2] 3, PG 32: 228C; Courtonne, 1: 8.72 sv.
[19] Ibid.
[20] H. de Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit* (Paris 1950) p. 355.

désignant une chose indispensable à la vie. Le terme "remède" qui lui est ici appliqué affaiblit ce sens, désignant une chose bonne pour guérir seulement et, dans le cas présent, pour vaincre l'"assoupissement," pour réapprendre à écouter la voix de Dieu dans l'univers. Si nous lisons le récit de la création par Moïse, le grand spectacle du cosmos se présente à nos yeux avec la même magnificence qu'il s'offrit jadis au regard du premier homme dans son innocence.

Origène est sur ce point très explicite: l'âme, l'Écriture et l'univers sont des livres qui doivent être lus ensemble et commentés l'un par l'autre.[21] Basile perçoit lui aussi cette liaison étroite: ceux qui ont l'habitude d'entendre la parole divine dans l'Écriture recommencent à comprendre la parole originelle, la nature visible,[22] et déchiffrent le sens de l'univers. "Ce monde, écrit-il, n'a pas été conçu au hasard ni en vain, mais à une fin utile, et pour répondre au plus grand besoin des êtres, s'il est vrai que le mode est l'école où s'instruisent les âmes raisonnables, le lieu où elles apprennent à connaître Dieu. En effet, il s'offre à notre esprit pour le guider, par les objets visibles et sensibles, jusqu'à la contemplation des invisibles, selon ce que dit l'Apôtre (Rom. 1.20)."[23]

Rien de plus suggestif que la comparaison choisie par Basile: il en est qui sont passionnés pour les représentations théâtrales impures, d'autres pour les courses de chevaux. Or, "nous que le Seigneur, le grand auteur et artisan des merveilles du monde invite au spectacle de ses propres œuvres, nous lasserons-nous de les contempler, hésiterons-nous à écouter les enseignements de l'Esprit?"[24]

Contempler la réalité du monde, c'est "écouter les enseignements de l'Esprit." N'est-ce pas ce que nous pourrions appeler en termes modernes: la "loi des faits," des événements?

C. La "morale du consentement"?

Celui qui écoute les *logoi* de l'Univers évite les dangers d'une morale "abstraite." Mais il tombe facilement dans une autre difficulté. Car suivre la "loi des faits," c'est être lié par les faits et par le déterminisme des lois qui dirigent les faits, c'est être prisonnier de l'ordre du cosmos où il n'y a plus de place pour la liberté. L'évolution de la morale stoïcienne montre

[21] De Lubac, *Histoire et Esprit*, pp. 346 sv.
[22] *Hex*. 5.6, PG 29: 108B; Giet, p. 305.3 sv.
[23] *Hex*. 1.6, PG 29: 16B-C; Giet, p. 110.15 sv.
[24] *Hex*. 4.1, PG 29: 117B.

clairement ce danger. Or les dépendances de Basile de cette morale sont, pour Amand de Mendieta, évidentes.

Pour le stoïcisme, la vertu consiste essentiellement dans l'adhésion à l'ordre du monde. La morale stoïcienne prend donc aspect et figure, écrit A. J. Festugière,[25] d'une "mystique du consentement...." La véritable source de la spiritualité d'Épictète jaillit de sa croyance à l'ordre du monde qui est la Providence. Les *Entretiens* sont remplis d'actes d'abandon et d'assentiment à cette "volonté divine," d'action de grâces à cette divinité.[26]

Basile parle-t-il autrement? Que l'obéissance totale et parfaite de l'univers entier à la volonté de Dieu serve d'exemple à l'homme, qui doit se soumettre librement à cette même volonté de Dieu qui soutient tout être. C'est là le thème principal des *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*. Certes nous ne devons pas nous laisser séduire par la simple ressemblance des textes. Le Dieu chrétien ne s'identifie pas avec la loi stoïcienne du monde. Et sur ce point Basile se distingue expressément des philosophes. La loi de l'univers n'est pas "dieu," mais un commandement de Dieu, sa parole créatrice qui "devint comme une loi de la nature et demeure en la terre."[27]

Mais quant à la conclusion pratique, y a-t-il une différence notable entre les deux concepts? Entre se soumettre à Dieu qui *est* la loi ou à Dieu qui *donne* la loi? Pour l'un et pour l'autre, ce qui est supérieur à l'homme c'est l'ordre cosmique. Et l'homme qui se soumet à l'ordre cosmique perd la conscience de sa liberté, qu'il le veuille ou ne le veuille pas. Les religions cosmiques conduisent au déterminisme fataliste. La morale du consentement à la loi universelle restreint le domaine de la liberté à ce qu'on a appelé la *libertas ad peccandum*. Dans cette morale (selon la pensée de N. Berdiaeff),[28] l'homme oscille entre ces deux possibilités: se soumettre sans résistance à ce qui est en principe déjà accompli, ou tâcher de devenir indépendant et créatif dans la résistance titanique à la loi universelle, dans le péché.

Les considérations cosmiques de Basile suggèrent avec force cette conception restreinte de la liberté humaine. Et, pourquoi ne pas le reconnaître sincèrement: l'ordre des monastères basiliens, basé sur l'obéissance parfaite aux Écritures, dictées par Dieu une fois pour toujours et

[25] A. J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 2. *Le Dieu cosmique* (Paris 1949) p. 325.

[26] A. Jagu, "Épictète," *DSp* 4 (1960) 825 sv.

[27] *Hex.* 5.1, PG 29: 96A; Giet, p. 278.7 sv. Cf. T. Špidlík, *La sophiologie de saint Basile* (Roma 1961) p. 10.

[28] P. Klein, *Die kreative Freiheit nach Nikolai Berdjajev in einer gefallenen Welt* (Regensburg 1976).

immuables, peut donner la même impression. Il n'y a rien de créatif dans cette vie: tout y est prédéterminé et réglé d'avance, l'homme appelé à y venir et à s'y soumettre. En face de son frère Grégoire de Nysse, le grand docteur de la liberté créative et mystique, Basile peut apparaître comme le Grand Inquisiteur de Dostoievsky,[29] qui concède à l'homme commun une liberté limitée mais lui promet en revanche un ordre bien réglé, où tout se passe *εὐσχημόνως καὶ κατὰ τάξιν*, décemment et dans l'ordre (1 Cor. 14.40).[30] Les déviationnistes et les contestataires seront exclus de la communauté des frères afin que ce peu de levain ne fasse fermenter toute la pâte (cf. Gal. 5.9).[31]

Toute morale fondée sur l'"ordre" affrontera le poids de cette difficulté, surtout si cet ordre est exprimé en lois générales sur la valeur éternelle des commandements. Que la morale prenne des allures religieuses, alors elle dégénère en pharisaïsme. Et si Basile n'avait pas mis au départ l'accent sur la charité de Dieu,[32] l'impression d'un pharisaïsme néotestamentaire serait inévitable, pense Amand de Mendieta.[33]

Mais si cette charité est elle-même conçue comme une "loi naturelle" des êtres, comme le premier "commandement,"[34] le danger est-il suffisamment évité? Pour moi, il ne sera jamais facile de répondre aux objections soulevées tant qu'on persistera à ne voir en Basile que le grand docteur pratique, le grand législateur de la vie cénobitique. L'un des fondements du monachisme est la ferme conviction que la *praxis* conduit à la *theoria*, à la contemplation. Si la première est la condition pour arriver à la seconde, la seconde donne son sens à la première. Pour être "pratique" au sens chrétien, Basile devait être aussi contemplatif. Quel est son enseignement sur la *theoria*?

D. Le souvenir continuel de Dieu

I. Hausherr compte Basile parmi les rares représentants de la spiritualité "primitive" pratique demeurés encore chez les Grecs du IVe siècle, en opposition à la spiritualité intellectuelle, contemplative.[35] Ce jugement, très répandu d'ailleurs, est souvent étendu à tout ceux qui, à travers les

[29] N. Berdiaeff, *L'esprit de Dostoievski* (Paris 1929) pp. 223 sv.; T. Špidlik, *I grandi mistici russi* (Roma 1977) pp. 336 sv.
[30] *EApokr. br.* 276, PG 31: 1280C.
[31] *EApokr. br.* 271, PG 31: 1280B.
[32] *EApokr. fus.* 2, PG 31: 908-916.
[33] Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, pp. 264 sv.
[34] *EApokr. fus.* 2, PG 31: 908.
[35] "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 123.

siècles, suivaient fidèlement les *Règles* basiliennes. La *theoria* fleurissait parmi les solitaires. Dans les monastères basiliens on cultivait la charité dans une vie partagée entre le travail et la récitation de l'Office divin. Au moine qui entre dans ce cadre de vie, il est prescrit d'"abonder dans l'œuvre de Dieu."[36]

Du reste le mot *theoria* trahit si manifestement son origine philosophique que cela lui a valu d'être banni du vocabulaire du législateur fondant toute la vie monastique uniquement sur les Écritures.[37] On n'a certainement pas tort d'opposer les deux mentalités grecque et juive, l'une "visuelle," qui désire voir Dieu, et l'autre "acoustique," qui écoute la voix de Dieu et par conséquent est portée non pas à la contemplation mais à l'observance des commandements.[38]

Mais jusqu'où faut-il pousser cette opposition ? Quand il s'agit de Dieu la vision matérielle est franchement exclue par les Pères grecs.[39] Voir Dieu "avec l'œil de l'esprit," formule platonicienne, n'est peut-être pas tellement éloigné de l'expression authentiquement biblique: se souvenir de Dieu.[40] Israël devait se souvenir de Dieu en tout temps et en tout lieu (Dt 4.9; 8.11; 9.7). Le péché, c'est l'oubli de Dieu malgré les nombreuses mises en garde adressées au peuple (Jg 8.34; Jr 2.13; Os 2.15). Le repentir, est la mémoire de Dieu (Ez 16.61 sv.; Ne 1.7 sv.).

L'appel au "souvenir continuel de Dieu" est aussi un des motifs constants de la spiritualité basilienne.[41] Malheureusement ce trait n'a pas encore été suffisamment mis en relief. Hausherr[42] classe la spiritualité du souvenir de Dieu parmi les formes de contemplation implicite. Serait-ce comme un surrogat pour ceux qui ne réussissent pas à être contemplatif au vrai sens du mot? Si la définition classique de la *theoria* est "voir Dieu en toute chose,"[43] "se souvenir continuellement de Dieu" comporterait-il des nuances très différentes? Comparons les deux formules.

Le mot *theoria* dérive de θεᾶν, voir. La *theoria* traduit le désir impatient des Grecs d'entrer en contact immédiat avec une chose, d'acquérir une

[36] *EApokr. br.* 202, PG 31: 1216; Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, p. 49.

[37] J. Lemaitre (= I. Hausherr), et al., "Contemplation chez les Grecs et autres orientaux chrétiens," *DSp* 2 (1953) 1762.

[38] T. Špidlík, *Grégoire de Nazianze, Introduction à sa spiritualité* (Roma 1971) pp. 1 sv.

[39] Hausherr, "Les grands courants," p. 126.

[40] J. Corbon, "Mémoire," in *Vocabulaire de théologie biblique*, ed. X. Léon-Dufour (Paris 1971) coll. 734-737; A. Solignac, "La mémoire dans l'Écriture," *DSp* 10 (1978) 992-994.

[41] Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, p. 45.

[42] Lemaître, "Contemplation," coll. 1858 sv.

[43] Calliste Cataphyghiotès, *De vita contemplativa* 2 et 19, PG 147: 836B et 859B; T. Špidlík, *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien, Manuel systématique* (Roma 1978) p. 311.

expérience directe, présente. Au contraire la foi et la piété des Juifs et des chrétiens sont fondées sur des événements historiques, qui demandent à être remémorés dans la prière et commémorés dans le culte. Le contact avec ce qui est absent connote une médiation: on se souvient par un moyen aidé à l'occasion par autre chose. On confesse implicitement qu'on n'a pas de vision directe. Israël se souvient de Dieu en mentionnant, rappelant, conservant et invoquant les grands faits de Dieu: la création, les alliances, tous les événements sauveurs.[44]

Les Pères du IVe siècle retournent consciemment à cette attitude biblique. La polémique contre les rationalistes eunominiens a poussé les Cappadociens à insister avec véhémence sur l'impossibilité d'une vision directe de Dieu, sur l'incompréhensibilité de son essence. Ni Abraham ni les apôtres ne purent jamais prétendre connaître vraiment Dieu en son essence, écrit Basile.[45] Ceux qui par une grâce toute spéciale en reçurent une conscience plus profonde, professèrent encore son incompréhensibilité,[46] car il dépasse l'intelligence de tout être créé.[47]

Cette position antirationaliste est devenue, chez Grégoire de Nysse, le fondement de la mystique extatique qui cherche Dieu au-delà des catégories de l'intelligence.[48] Et chez Basile? J'oserais dire ceci: le sens profond du mystère divin est devenu chez lui fondement d'une "super-morale," ou d'une morale "extatique" si nous préférons l'appeler ainsi, qui cherche Dieu au-delà des catégories de la loi. Ce n'est certainement pas dans le sens où l'évêque de Césarée voudrait négliger ou minimiser l'observance des commandements de Dieu. Je ne crois pas qu'il eut l'intention de surpasser le stade moral, au sens de Kierkegaard.[49] Certes il faut surpasser les règles morales, en ce sens que l'attention ne reste pas fixée sur la pure exécution ni même sur le seul ordre merveilleux qui est le résultat de la vie dans l'observance du commandement, mais elle doit se concentrer sur celui qui a donné le commandement. En bref: l'observance des commandements est inséparable du souvenir continuel de Dieu.

Et parce que pour Basile, parmi les commandements il faut ranger aussi les lois de l'univers, l'insertion de l'homme dans le cosmos suppose la perception continuelle de la Sagesse divine qui y parle. Une espèce de "sophiologie"? Nous croyons qu'on peut employer ce terme à propos de Basile.

[44] Ibid.
[45] *EAmph.* [234] 3, PG 32: 869C-872A; Courtonne, 3: 43.16.
[46] *Mor. PrF.* 3, PG 31: 684C.
[47] *C. Eun.* 1.14, PG 29: 544A.
[48] Lemaitre, "Contemplation," coll. 1830 sv.
[49] C. Fabro, "Introduzione," in S. Kierkegaard, *Opere* (Firenze 1972) p. XXX.

E. La sophiologie

La sophiologie des auteurs russes récents est en recherche de la vie divine et humaine dans la froideur des lois cosmiques. Selon P. Evdokimov, elle "voit le monde liturgiquement."[50] Théories nées devant l'insolubre problème que pose le déterminisme des sciences modernes qui annule les relations personnelles et opprime la liberté en exigeant une soumission impitoyable aux lois cosmiques. L'antique problème grec se répète dans le monde moderne.

Cet effort de voir le monde "liturgiquement,"[51] apparaît déjà chez Basile. Dans le cours d'eau et les mers, dans la multitude des animaux, se célèbre l'anamnèse de la parole créatrice de Dieu et "la Sagesse primordiale dont les fondements sont jetés dans la fabrication du monde"[52] reste vivante et cachée dans toutes les choses.[53] La fonction spéciale du monde est "de nous conduire à la connaissance de Dieu."[54] Car si "les cieux racontent la gloire de Dieu, et l'œuvre de ses mains le firmament l'annonce" (Ps 18.2), ce n'est pas, commente Basile, de soi-même, *αὐτομάτως*. Il faut que nous commencions au préalable par découvrir la *sophia* cachée dans les êtres, cette "sagesse qui se manifeste dans le monde des choses visibles, à laquelle il ne manque qu'une voix pour publier qu'elle a été créée par Dieu; une telle sagesse ne convient pas par elle-même (*αὐτομάτως*) aux choses créées."[55]

Le problème pratique de la vie spirituelle consiste donc à apprendre à écouter la *sophia* qui "parle sans avoir de voix."[56] De même que chez les docteurs en contemplation on distingue plusieurs espèces de vision, dans le vocabulaire "acoustique" on relève des degrés analogues pour l'"audition."

Du point de vue des contemplatifs il y a trois degrés: (1) voir avec les sens, saisir la "surface" des choses; (2) voir avec la raison spéculative et connaître le logos aristotélicien l'essence rationnelle des choses; (3) voir avec l'intelligence spirituelle, saisir le *logos theoteles*, le sens spirituel de ce qui existe, "voir Dieu en toute chose."[57]

[50] P. Evdokimov, *La femme et le salut du monde* (Tournai/Paris 1958) p. 65.
[51] Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, p. 23.
[52] *HProv.* [12] 3, PG 31: 392A.
[53] Špidlík, *La sophiologie*, p. 27.
[54] *HProv.* [12] 3, PG 31: 392A.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Špidlík, *La spiritualité*, pp. 314 sv.

Quand il s'agit de percevoir la voix de Dieu, les termes basiliens supposent ces mêmes trois niveaux d'écoute: (1) les créatures irraisonnables écoutent la voix de Dieu inconsciemment; (2) l'homme est appelé à saisir cette même voix "en vertu," en comprenant le commandement; (3) enfin cette voix divine est reçue "en magnificence" comme la parole de la Providence.

C'est dans ce sens que Basile interprète le verset du Psaume 28.4: si c'est "en vertu," la voix de Dieu ne se fait pas entendre dans l'âme faible ou paresseuse, mais dans l'âme qui exécute le bien avec force et courage, dans l'âme qui dit avec sincérité: "Je puis tout en celui qui me rend fort" (Phil. 4.14).[58] La voix de Dieu est en outre saisie "en magnificence." "La magnificence est une vertu remarquablement grande. Nous donnons le nom de magnifique à celui qui fait de grandes choses et qui les accomplit d'une manière éminente. Par conséquent, s'il y a une âme libre de tout sentiment charnel, recevant la grandeur et la dignité qui lui conviennent à cause de la conscience, parce qu'elle a reçu ce que Dieu lui a donné, la voix de Dieu s'accomplit en elle. Ceux qui ont sur Dieu de grandes pensées, qui contemplent d'une manière élevée les raisons de la création (*τοὺς περὶ κτίσεως λόγους*), qui peuvent en quelque manière comprendre la bonté de la Providence de Dieu ... en ceux-là habite la voix de Dieu."[59]

Ainsi, soit avec "les raisons de la création" soit avec "la compréhension de la bonté de la Providence" on se trouve déjà transféré dans le vocabulaire des contemplatifs.[60] Les deux terminologies fusionnent. Si les termes "visuels" sont mieux définis, le langage "acoustique" présente aussi ses avantages. Écouter, accueillir et comprendre les paroles, c'est établir un dialogue entre les deux interlocuteurs. Dans le cas présent, ce dialogue entre Dieu et l'homme constitue l'essence de la prière.

En outre la "sophiologie" basilienne comporte un autre avantage. Il y a un principe incontestable que tous les contemplatifs chrétiens admettent: *πρᾶξις γὰρ θεωρίας ἀνάβασις*, c'est par la pratique des commandements qu'on entre dans la contemplation de Dieu.[61] Si la justesse de l'axiome ne prête pas à contestation, existe le danger de l'interpréter trop en catégories de temps: avant et après, accéder à la vie contemplative après s'être exercé aux vertus dans la vie commune.[62]

[58] *HPs. 28a.* 4, PG 29: 292C-D.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Lemaitre, "Contemplation," coll. 1818 sv.
[61] Špidlik, *Grégoire de Nazianze*, pp. 117 sv.
[62] Grégoire de Nazianze, *Or.* 38.12, PG 36: 342B-C.

Celui qui "écoute et exécute" les commandements divins expérimente certainement un progrès dans leur compréhension, mais il ne sera jamais tenté d'envisager une succession: exécuter avant, comprendre après. La compréhension se fera dans l'exécution. Le souvenir de Dieu ne signifiera pas pour lui se détacher de son œuvre, soustraire son attention et interrompre son travail pour prier, mais prier en travaillant. Pour user de termes modernes, il sera "contemplatif dans l'action."

F. Les effets du souvenir de Dieu

Le souvenir évoque le passé et par là prolonge l'efficacité du passé dans le présent. Rendre présent le mystère divin par le moyen d'une anamnèse appartient à l'essence de la liturgie. Nous n'avons pas à entrer ici dans les problèmes qui entourent cette question, cependant nous soulignerons deux points: l'anamnèse liturgique valorise l'esprit humain et en même temps les signes du monde matériel qui servent d'appui au souvenir.

Citons, dans ce contexte, ces lignes de Basile: "Nous ne fournirons au péché aucune occasion, nous ne laisserons à l'ennemi aucune prise sur nos cœurs si par un continuel souvenir nous conservons en nous-mêmes la présence de Dieu" (*ἔνοικον ἔχοντες ἑαυτῶν τὸν θεόν*).[63] Les anciens ne minimisaient pas la valeur de ce qu'on appelle la *praesentia intentionalis*, par la pensée. Les contemplatifs louent souvent ce grand privilège de l'intelligence: pouvoir devenir, telle une fontaine pure, reflet du ciel, de Dieu.[64]

Pour atteindre sûrement ce but, la mystique évagrienne suppose que l'intelligence humaine retourne vers sa propre nature, qu'elle devient "nue" de toutes les impressions sensibles et de tous les concepts partiels.[65] Quant à la mentalité du peuple, elle suit une méthode opposée. Elle se sert des "souvenirs" matériels pour tourner souvent sa pensée vers quelqu'un ou un objet. On appelle "souvenirs" des objets de rien mais auxquels est attachée la mémoire d'une personne, d'un voyage.... C'est par ce souvenir que la chose est valorisée.

Le monde entier dans sa multiplicité, dans son rythme et dans son ordre merveilleux, n'a d'autre but, enseigne Basile, que d'être un "souvenir" de nos contacts avec Dieu. Si l'esprit humain a été créé pour se souvenir de

[63] *Hex.* 3.10, PG 29: 77C; Giet, p. 242.16 sv.
[64] Grégoire de Nazianze, *Or.* 28.17, PG 36: 48C.
[65] I. Hausherr, "Ignorance infinie," *OrChrP* 2 (1936) 351-362 = *Études*, pp. 38-49.

Dieu, les choses matérielles ont, à leur tour, été destinées à évoquer ce souvenir. Telle est leur vraie nature.[66]

"Et telle était la situation dans le Paradis. Car Adam y vivait dans les hauteurs, par la pensée cela s'entend et non quant au lieu..., et regardait le ciel."[67] Par le souvenir de Dieu nous parvenons nous aussi à cette "contemplation de la beauté," et nous y demeurons dans la "jouissance des intelligibles," dans l'"intimité avec Dieu."[68]

L'obéissance parfaite et en tout aux commandements divins est quelquefois difficile, alors l'homme a part à la mort du Christ, symbolisée par l'eau baptismale, purificatrice. Mais cette eau est unie à l'Esprit Saint.[69] Et "c'est l'Esprit Saint qui opère le rétablissement dans le paradis, la montée dans le royaume des cieux, le retour dans l'adoption filiale. C'est lui qui donne la confiance de donner à Dieu le nom de 'Père'...."[70]

G. Conclusion

Résumons ces considérations par une réponse aux trois questions suivantes:

Basile est-il un moraliste? Sans doute, en ce sens qu'il insiste avec force sur l'observance des commandements divins. Mais il n'est pas un moraliste abstrait, théorique; il a soin de bien mettre en évidence l'union entre la loi écrite et la réalité concrète de l'univers.

Basile est-il conscient qu'une insistance impitoyable sur le bon ordre met en danger la liberté humaine, la réduit à une "morale de consentement"? D'une part, le problème ne se pose pas à lui explicitement comme une question à discuter. De l'autre, il est bien conscient que l'observance des lois et des préceptes ne peut pas être un but dernier pour l'homme, qui est appelé à connaître Dieu. La morale est donc pour lui une condition et un moyen efficace conduisant au souvenir continuel de Dieu, de la Providence, et, par conséquent, au dialogue avec le Père en l'Esprit qui restaure l'adoption filiale.

Basile est-il contemplatif? Nous n'hésitons pas à le classer parmi les grands maîtres de la contemplation chrétienne. Il enseigne à "contempler dans l'action" en faisant tout pour la gloire de Dieu.

[66] Špidlík, *La spiritualité*, pp. 317 sv.
[67] *HMal.* [9] 7, PG 31: 344C.
[68] *HMal.* [9] 6, PG 31: 344B-C.
[69] *De Sp. S.* 15, PG 32: 129D; Pruche, pp. 56 sv.
[70] Ibid.

"Car le souvenir de Dieu peut être appelé gloire de Dieu, une fois qu'il est imprimé, scellé pour ainsi dire, dans la partie principale de l'âme et qu'il ne peut s'en détacher. Selon l'exhortation de l'Apôtre, l'homme diligent sera capable de faire tout ce qu'il fait pour la gloire de Dieu; qu'il agisse, qu'il parle ou qu'il pense, il obtiendra toujours la force de louer Dieu."[71]

[71] *HPs. 33.* 1, PG 29: 363C.

10

St. Basil's Social Activity: Principles and Praxis

Ioannes Karayannopoulos
University of Thessaloniki

The year 369 was not an easy one for the people of Cappadocia and especially for the inhabitants of Caesarea. Famine resulting from the poor harvest had struck the land, and the people suffered the consequences. The shortage in food supplies and other goods drove prices sky-high, and the black market flourished.[1] These misfortunes gave Basil, a presbyter in the church of Caesarea at that time, the opportunity to demonstrate a most admirable social and spiritual behavior: he gathered around him "all those who were struck by this calamity and collecting all kinds of food, fed them and tried to keep them alive."[2] At the same time, in imitation of Christ, he also cared for the salvation of the souls of those he protected.[3]

[1] Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 541C: "*Λιμὸς ἦν, καὶ τῶν πώποτε μνημονευομένων ὁ χαλεπώτατος · ἔκαμνε δὲ ἡ πόλις, ἐπικουρία δ' ἦν οὐδαμόθεν, οὐδέ τι φάρμακον τῆς κακώσεως.*" Cf. ibid., 544A: "*τηροῦσι γὰρ τοὺς καιρούς, καὶ καταπραγματεύονται τῆς ἐνδείας, καὶ γεωργοῦσι τὰς συμφοράς.*" Cf. S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociales de saint Basile* (Paris 1941) pp. 417 ff.; F. X. Murphy, "Moral and Ascetical Doctrine in St Basil," *SP* 14 (1976) 323 f. Cf. L. Vischer, *Basilius der Große* (Basel 1953) pp. 163 f. Cf. K. Bonis, *Βασίλειος Καισαρείας ὁ Μέγας* (329/30-1 *Ἰανουαρίου* 379). *Βίος καὶ ἔργα, συγγράμματα καὶ διδασκαλία* (Athens 1975) pp. 51 f.

[2] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 544C. Cf. ibid., 577C. To this activity of Basil we can perhaps attribute the origins of the city of the poor, the Basiliad, as it was called. Cf. Giet, *Les idées*, pp. 419 ff.; D. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J. 1968) pp. 154 ff. Cf. also Vischer, *Basilius*, pp. 140 ff.; Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, pp. 64 f.

[3] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 544D-545A: "*τὴν τοῦ Χριστοῦ διακονίαν μιμούμενος ... ἐθεράπευε μὲν τὰ σώματα τῶν δεομένων, ἐθεράπευε δὲ τὰς ψυχάς.*"

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 375-391.

This social activity of Basil has its roots in his deeper convictions and principles regarding the mission and work of the clergy, especially those in leadership. These principles are expressed in an oration he delivered that same year at the funeral of the bishop of Neocaesarea, Musonios. In this oration he outlines epigrammatically all the qualities a bishop must possess. He must be, according to Basil, "*κορυφαῖος τοῦ ἱεροῦ συνεδρίου*" (first in his diocese), "*ἐξηγητὴς τῶν φυσικῶν λόγων*" (good theologian), a father to the young and a colleague to those of the same age, leader among leaders, protector of the people, supplier to those in need.[4] Again, in another funeral oration that he delivered in 368, or at the beginning of 369, for the bishop of Ankara, Athanasios, he praises the deceased for having been the pedestal upon which the truth rested, and goes on to lament: to whom shall we entrust from now on the care of the ecclesiastical matters? who is going to share our calamities with us? who shall be delighted in our joy?[5] Thus, the real ecclesiastical leader ought to be, according to Basil, above all, the herald and the interpreter of the Christian dogma, as well as the good manager of his flock, whose sorrows, anguish and cares he makes his own and tries to comfort and set in order.

It is clear that the first of the above requirements was dictated by the theological and ecclesiastical realities of the time; the years of Basil were the period during which the word of the Gospel was set straight and, therefore, a period full of struggle against the doctrines of heresy.[6] The other requirements were dictated by the social conditions that existed then and still exist, since Christians, as well as the rest of their contemporary society, were, and still are, anything but a society of angels. Therefore, it is only natural that the ecclesiastical leaders would be called upon to assume responsibilities beyond those directly related to their priestly functions. And indeed, as L. Harmand has observed, very early the Church and her leaders were compelled to undertake the role of the mediator and the defender of the city or their region, in all of those matters which the

[4] *ENeoc. ec.* [28] 2, Courtonne, 1: 68.23-28: "*Ἐκκλησία δὲ μέμυκε καὶ σκυθρωπάζουσι πανηγύρεις καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν σύνδριον τὸν κορυφαῖον ἐπιποθεῖ, λόγοι δὲ μυστικοὶ τὸν ἐξηγητὴν ἀναμένουσιν οἱ παῖδες τὸν πατέρα, οἱ πρεσβῦται τὸν ἡλικιώτην, οἱ ἐν τέλει τὸν ἔξαρχον, ὁ δῆμος τὸν προστάτην, οἱ βίου δεόμενοι τὸν τροφέα.*"

[5] *EAnc.* [29], Courtonne, 1: 71.22-25: "*Πρός τινα λοιπὸν τὰς φροντίδας τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ὑπερθώμεθα; Τίνα κοινωνὸν τῶν λυπηρῶν λάβωμεν; Τίνα μερίτην τῆς εὐφροσύνης;*"

[6] See G. Konidaris, *Ὁ μέγας Βασίλειος πρότυπον οἰκουμενικοῦ ἐκκλησιαστικοῦ ἡγέτου* (Athens 1970) pp. 16 ff., 28 ff.; Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, pp. 55 f.

bouleutai and other prominent citizens could not successfully bring to an end, or even attempt to undertake.[7]

All that Basil perceives and declares to be the duties of a bishop, while himself a presbyter, he tries to put to work and make a reality when he himself becomes a bishop. It is then that he fully assumes the role of the caretaker, protector, mediator and defender of his diocese and his flock. "When I am addressing you, keep in mind that through my voice speaks my whole country," he writes in 373 to the Magister Sophronius,[8] and the same year, addressing Praefectus Praetorio Modestus, he emphasizes the fact that "he turns to him full of agony for the needs and the misfortunes of the whole of his country."[9]

Beyond that, he never stops admonishing and reprimanding those of his fellow citizens who did not practice the social commands of charity, philanthropy, Christian love and who, instead of helping the brethren in need, limit themselves in the selfish enjoyment of their riches. It is necessary to give liberally in order to support those in need, he declares,[10] and in another place he emphasizes that the duty of every Christian, and much more of every monk, is to care for the sick, help comfort the needy and support the ptochotropheia and other philanthropic institutions.[11] He warns all that wealth to many people is only a way to satisfy their lustful desires,[12] and in that case, he declares emphatically, those who possess it are contemptible and pitiful because they use it in an improper way.[13]

Basil, therefore, appears to be, according to what we have seen so far, an ecclesiastical leader who wants to fulfill in every sense those objectives that he sets as the sole purpose and duty of the dignity of the bishop.

Basil tried in every way to make the principles that we have mentioned above work, by addressing, pleading and even demanding from high officials and other powerful men of his time their intervention, in order to comfort or restore the damage done to those who had requested his help and intervention after they had lost every hope of salvation from elsewhere.

[7] See L. Harmand, *Le patronat sur les collectivités publiques* (Paris 1957) p. 433.

[8] *ESophr.* [96], Courtonne, 1: 209.37-39.

[9] *EMod.* [104], Courtonne, 2: 5.5-6: "ὑπὲρ πατρίδος πάσης ἀγωνιῶντι."

[10] *HPs. 14a.* 6, PG 29: 261C: "ἀναγκαῖον τὸ εὐμετάδοτον εἰς ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ ἐνδέοντος."

[11] **SDisc.* 1, PG 31: 649B.

[12] *HPs. 45.* 1, PG 29: 417A: "χρήματα ἤδη τισὶν ὑπηρεσία πρὸς ἀκολασίαν ἐγένετο."

[13] *HInv.* [11] 5, PG 31: 384C: "εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀδικίαν ὁ πλοῦτος, ἐλεεινὸς ὁ πλουτῶν."

The circle of those who received Basil's letters was very wide and included high standing and powerful people. He corresponded with *praefecti praetorio*,[14] commanders of the army,[15] former *hypatoi*,[16] *magistri*,[17] governors of provinces,[18] *comites*,[19] high officials of the imperial treasury,[20] other important officials of the financial[21] or the civil service,[22] chief doctors,[23] principals of cities[24] and *patriciae* of the royal court.[25] The circle of affairs and matters over which he corresponded with these people is also very wide. We see him defend the bouleutai of the city,[26] defend the right of the city or the province,[27] fight for his clergymen,[28] ecclesiastical property,[29] the people of his province,[30] and mediate many other administrative matters.[31]

It is precisely the variety of the subjects that are touched in his letters and the obvious ease with which he corresponded with people of high offices that has created the following question in the minds of the historians: what was it that enabled the bishop of the far-off Caesarea not only to address with such liberty the nobles he conversed with, but even to impose his views and gain their sympathetic ear for his wide-ranging requests? What was it that gave not only the potential, but also the right to this bishop of the Cappadocian town to intervene with obvious success, as it is made clear from the multitude of his letters of mediation?

The first thought that would cross the mind of the historian confronted with these questions would perhaps be that all of his social activity was dictated to him by the conventional obligations and duties as a bishop. However, as has already been observed, such duties were not legally

[14] *EMod.* [104; 110; 111; 279; 280; 281].
[15] *EVict.* [152].
[16] *EVict.* [153].
[17] *ESophr.* [177; 180; 192; 272]; *EHim.* [274].
[18] *EHel.* [94]; *EAndr.* [112]; *EAntip.* [137]; *EAntip.* [186].
[19] *EHell.* [109]; *EIov. com.* [163]; *EMagn.* [175]; *ETer.* [214].
[20] *EArc. com.* [15]; *ECom.* [303].
[21] *ECens.* [284; 299; 312; 313]: *χηνσίτορες*. *ENum.* [142], *ENum. al.* [143]: *νουμεράριοι ἐπάρχων*. *ETract.* [144]: *τρατευκτὴς ἐπάρχου*. *EComm.* [286]: *κομενταρήσιος*.
[22] *EAburg.* [33; 75; 147; 178; 196; 304].
[23] *EEust. arch.* [151]; *EMel.* arch. [193].
[24] *EPrinc.* [311].
[25] *ECaes. ptc.* [93].
[26] E.g., *EPraes.* [84].
[27] *EArc. com.* [15]; *EIur.* [85]; *EPraes.* [86]; *EEx.* [88]; *EMod.* [110].
[28] *EMod.* [104]; *EDem.* [225]; *ECens.* [284].
[29] *EPatr. ec.* [285].
[30] *EHel.* [94]; *EAmph.* [150].
[31] *ELeont. sph.* [21]; *EEus.* [237].

anticipated from a bishop.[32] Only the jurisdiction of *audientia episcopalis* gave, although indirectly, the moral justification to the bishops to intervene in other more general problems of litigants, except for those problems for which they took their cases to *audientia*.[33]

The fact that the government gave to the church the means to pursue humanitarian works, as well as the tax exemptions and other privileges granted to the clergy in order to help the work of the church in that direction, gave the bishops the moral obligation to take initiative and engage in social activities of that nature.[34] It must, however, be observed, that these government measures, although meant to attract the interest and activity of the bishops to the social problems, did not legally give them the right to undertake such initiative and even less to demand the officials respond to those initiatives. Therefore, every action taken by the bishops in that direction and especially every vigorous and successful one, cannot be simply attributed to their position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It is, therefore, necessary to search elsewhere for the reasons that could satisfactorily explain the many self-confident and effective actions of Basil.

Historians have looked into the social background of Basil in their search for the real reason of the success of his social activities. They have supported the opinion that what helped Basil transform his principles into action and decisively contributed to the success of his attempt was his family's authority and connections that reenforced his personal authority on which depended the final success of the hierarch's actions.[35]

The historians, therefore, who have worked on Basil, have accepted that he belonged to a family of wealthy landowners. With this in mind they have explained the way that his activities were manifested; "His self-confident attitude was based on his past, the past of a great family and a region full of old tradition, that has now acceded from end-to-end to the Christian way of life," writes H. von Campenhausen.[36] This position, that Basil was the offspring of wealthy landowners, is also accepted by G.

[32] See J. Gaudemet, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 1958) p. 350; B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeshichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* (Frankfurt 1961) p. 32.

[33] See Gaudemet, *Église*, pp. 230 f. Cf. Vischer, *Basilius*, pp. 145 ff.

[34] See J. Karayannopoulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (München 1958) pp. 202 f., 208, and 216 f. with the related sources; Gaudemet, *Église*, pp. 152 f., 172 f., 311 f.

[35] Cf. here the comparison of the attributes of the bishop and ruler by Jerome, *Ep.* 60.14.3, CSEL 54: 567.17-568.5.

[36] *Die griechischen Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart 1956) p. 87.

Krüger,[37] A. Jülicher,[38] L. Vischer,[39] W. M. Ramsay, who emphatically says, "The typical figures exemplifying the influence of those great landed families on Christian organisation are Basil and Gregory of Nazianzen, who show the effect which the possession of money with the possibility of education at one of the great universities produced in a remote part of Cappadocia,"[40] and others, all of them based however, as well as those who followed them, on Maran, according to the assumption of B. Treucker, without having personally worked on the sources.[41] E. Kirsten went one step further saying that Basil came from a family that was not only rich but also noble and thus gave a new explanation to the activity of the hierarch,[42] without reference, however, to sources that would support his point of view.

The views of E. Kirsten were repeated by B. Treucker in a more intense and systematic way, however. According to his views, Basil did not simply belong to a well-off family of landowners, or even to a noble family, but was the offspring of a senatorial family.[43] To prove his point, B. Treucker gave special emphasis to the fact, already noticed by E. Kirsten,[44] that the studies and the career of Basil, who started as a teacher of rhetoric and eventually became a bishop, were not unusual for the sons of senators,[45] and cited, among others, the example of Ambrosius and of the bishop of Auxerre, Germanus.[46]

[37] "Basilius von Caesarea," *REPThK* 2 (1897) 436 f.

[38] "Basileios (no. 15)," *RECA* 3 (1897) 52 f.

[39] *Basilius*, p. 17.

[40] "A Noble Anatolian Family of the Fourth Century," *CR* 33 (1919) 1 ff. Ramsay and especially E. Ivanka, *Hellenisches und christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienne 1948), developed the hypothesis that the Cappadocian Fathers were direct descendents of an Iranian-Persian "country aristocracy." Concerning this point I think that Th. A. Kopeček, "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," *CH* 42 (1973) 453-466, is quite right in writing, p. 464: "the contention that the family of Basil and Gregory of Nyssa emerged from an Iranian-Persian social milieu cannot be sustained." I owe the reference to this article to my distinguished friend and St. John Chrysostom's researcher, Dr. F. Angleton.

[41] *Studien*, p. 7: "Alle späteren Autoren scheinen aus Maran geschöpft zu haben, ohne sich noch einmal die Mühe zu machen, die Quellen vorzulegen und so vielleicht zu neuen Gesichtspunkten zu kommen."

[42] Cf. "Cappadocia," *RAC* 2 (1954) 886. On p. 887 he considers noble birth as a sociological prerequisite of the episcopal prestige in the 4th century: "das Magnatentum als soziologische Voraussetzung der bischöflichen Geltung im 4. Jh."

[43] *Studien*, pp. 9 f.

[44] "Cappadocia," p. 886.

[45] Treucker, *Studien*, p. 9. Cf. ibid., p. 17: "Das standesgemäße des Rhetorenberufes für den Senator ist so wohlbekannt...."

[46] Treucker, *Studien*, p. 17 (= Paulinus Notarius, *Vita S. Ambrosii*, 5 ff., PL 14: 28A ff.); K. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Darmstadt 1970) p. 177, no. 178 (= Germanus).

The syllogism of B. Treucker is correct, but does not exclude the possibility of other answers to the problem. It is true that the sons of senators could follow such a career, but this does not mean however that only the sons of senators studied rhetoric and with these studies as a base rose quickly to the higher ecclesiastical and political offices. We know of many orators who have risen to power and fame although they did not belong to the higher class.[47] Ausonius, an orator who rose to the offices of *hypatus* and eparch, was just a humble grammarian and his social and professional rise started only when he was named tutor to the son of Valentinian I.[48] Besides that, we know that the sons of senators studied, of course, rhetoric, they did not, however, all become professional orators, either because they did not have to work or simply because they considered the profession of an orator not lucrative enough.[49] We must, therefore, draw a line between the classical paideia and education that the rich gave their children, and the study of rhetoric by those who learned it in order to become professional teachers.

There is also another point worth noticing. The argumentation of B. Treucker is based on Western sources and on studies in the conditions and ways of Western social life.[50] In the West, however, the barbaric invasions continually limited the opportunities for education. Eventually only the clergy and the rich could benefit from it, the former in order to be able to carry out, even fundamentally, their mission, the latter for reasons of social prestige. In the East, on the contrary, the ancient classical tradition had not been interrupted. The grammarians, orators, and even the household educated slaves taught, some better and others not so well, the ancient letters. The circle that included those who benefited from classical education, even if it did not comprise the majority of the population of the empire, was widespread and encompassed people from wider social strata than it did in the West. In the East, therefore, it was not necessary for someone to be the child of a senator or another high official in order to get a classical education and become a grammarian or even an orator. Classical paideia in Byzantium was not thought to be, and certainly was not just for the fortunate few,[51] but was attainable, in its first steps

[47] See P. Petit, *Les Étudiants de Libanius* (Paris 1957) pp. 158 f.

[48] Cf. S. Dill, *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire* (1899; reimpr. New York 1958) p. 158.

[49] See Petit, *Étudiants*, pp. 96 f. Cf. A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien* (Paris 1972) p. 434.

[50] Treucker bases his work concerning this point on that of Dill and Stroheker. Cf. also the remarks of S. Giet, "Basile, était-il sénateur?" *RHE* 40 (1965) 431, and those of Kopeček, "The Social Class," p. 465.

[51] As it has almost become once again in our days after the exclusion of classical studies from the high-school program.

anyway, by all those who thirsted for it. The work "how can one profit from Greek paideia," whether written by Basil for his nephews[52] or not, as Father J. Gribomont and recently Prof. Bonis pointed out, was anyway meant for all young men who studied and learned Greek letters.[53]

It is also characteristic that in the West the staff of the secretaries of the courts of the rulers was composed, until even the thirteenth century, of clergymen.[54] In the East however, clerics were never appointed to such positions simply because they were clerics. We must also be aware of something else. The high officials who headed the civil services in the East did not come, and this was the rule, from the higher classes but from the lower for the following reason: the emperor, in his struggle against the great landlords, had to rely on the people and officials that came from the people. Finally, it must be noticed that while the social position of the senators in the West — and especially in Gauls — has been examined to a great extent,[55] we have no such research on their counterparts in the East. However, to simply assume that conclusions valid for the West could also apply for the East — and this is what is usually done, I am afraid, by the medievalists and historians of late antiquity — is not correct. We must emphasize once more that the two segments of the old Roman Empire, the West and the East, under the influence of different external factors and their different linguistic and cultural bases, followed completely different paths that ended in deep differences, not only cultural but also political, economic and social.

To return to the East, however, we must keep in mind that there, although the senators were usually great landlords, not all the landlords were senators. The landlords of Pontus and Cappadocia, for example, to whom the family of Basil belonged, were of course members of the bouleuterion of the towns near their lands, but not necessarily members of the senate of Constantinople.[56]

[52] As he himself says (*Ad adolesc.*, Boulenger, p. 41.8-12), except if it is only an expression of rhetoric. Recently Bonis has proved beyond doubt that his address to the young was not written for the hierarch's nephews (*Βασίλειος*, pp. 96 ff.). Cf. P. K. Chrestou, *Ὁ Μέγας Βασίλειος* (Thessaloniki 1978) pp. 186 ff.

[53] Cf. F. Boulenger, *Saint Basile, Aux jeunes gens* (Paris 1935) p. 25: "Il n'est pas interdit de conjecturer que ces pages, écrites pour l'instruction de quelques jeunes gens de la famille, ont été par la suite revues pour être mises à la portée de toute la jeunesse."

[54] Cf. S. Duškova, "Rudigerus notarius," *Folia Diplomatica* 1 (1971) 63.

[55] Cf. recently Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel*.

[56] See P. Allard, *S. Basile* (Paris 1929) pp. 1 f. and especially Kopeček, "The Social Class," p. 466. Kopeček examines in this exhaustive study all the theories concerning the Cappadocian Fathers and naturally Basil himself. In spite of all that, I think that Basil did not necessarily belong to a family of bouleutae, because his father was an orator and

Finally, we must not overlook the fact that Basil originally started out to become an orator and not a bishop. The fact that he rejected oratory to become a bishop must not be thought of as a step motivated by the desire for a higher and more influential social position, but as a result of a personal religious crisis. Basil left the secular profession and a career of worldly wisdom to live an ascetic life and thus receive the wonderful light of the Gospels' truth: "'When I finally woke up as from a deep sleep, I saw the wonderful light of Gospel's truth and realized how useless the wisdom of the transitory archons of this world is. Then I cried bitterly for my pitiful way of life and prayed to find my way towards an understanding of the pious doctrines. Before everything else I longed to change my ways that had been perverted on account of my long association with the wicked. Reading the Gospel and realizing that the basic prerequisites for human completion are the renunciation of one's fortune, the giving to the poor, and also the retiring from all worldly cares and affections, I searched to find someone else who felt the way I did, so that together we could overcome the adversities of human life. And I found many in Alexandria and the rest of Egypt, and others in Palestine and Coele-Syria, and Mesopotamia."[57]

In the case of Basil therefore, we do not have the normal and programmed career of the type orator-bishop, but we have a sudden change as a result of an unexpected religious crisis.

I hope it is now clear that there is no reason to assert the assumption that Basil was of senatorial descent.[58] More than that, we could go one step further and ask if the hypothesis of his high social origin is even necessary to explain his outspokenness, as well as his successful imposition and influence upon high standing and powerful people, who were so very far away from Basil, and whose positions and offices were such that they would allow them to neglect, without fear, the requests of a humble bishop, even if he were the son of "senators." After all, Basil had rejected wealth, honors, and all other worldly glories. Thus, even if his former family's position and his education enabled him to write and talk to influential people, they had no reason whatsoever to be impressed since

orators as is well known, were regarded as equal to the bouleutae without having, however, to carry out the real functions of bouleutae. Cf. *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.1 (a. 321/4); 13.3.3 (a. 333); *Cod. Iust.* 10.53.6; *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.6 (a. 364); 13.3.7 (a. 369); *Cod Iust.* 10.53.8; *Cod. Theod.* 13.3.16 (a. 414); *Cod. Iust.* 10.53.11; 10.53.2.

[57] *EEust.* [223] 2, Courtonne, 3: 3-23.

[58] Giet, "Basile," p. 444.

Basil no longer had behind him the support of the family wealth and authority.

What was it then that impressed them and made them yield, and accept, and recognize the humble and sickly bishop of Caesarea of Cappadocia?

The answer, of course, can be but one: it was the consistency of his character and the total and complete acceptance and adoption of the Christian principles which he professed and preached. "What have I to lose," he told the Praefectus Praetorio Modestus who was threatening him, "my life? But I will then go sooner to my God. My fortune? But I have only the tunic I wear. My residence? But man is a wanderer and his residence can be anywhere."[59]

These principles that Basil synoptically but so clearly states to Modestus are precisely those that he preaches and tries to make his flock conscious of. In his homilies he constantly emphasizes that none of man's possessions is his own. Tell me, he asks, what is really yours? Where did you get everything that you possess? Did you not come naked to this world?[60] Furthermore, he proclaims that man is simply the steward of God and ought to give to those who are in need and suffer, whatever exceeds what is absolutely necessary for his own sustenance.[61] He also emphasizes that all men are equal and that their concern should be to limit the inequality that prevails in the world. As he writes, we must recognize natural equality and consider as our equals even those who seem to be somehow inferior.[62]

These principles of Basil, however, as have been stated in brief, bring up another issue. How did Basil, the zealot Christian, the hierarch who was ready to sacrifice himself for his flock, confront the two enormous social problems: one contemporary — the problem of slavery — and the other the eternal problem of humanity, the question of social justice in its most common manifestation — the contrast between great wealth and

[59] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 560B-C: "*μὴ δέ τι πάθω ; ... δημεύσει μὲν οὐχ ἁλωτός, ὁ μηδὲν ἔχων, πλὴν εἰ τούτων χρήσεις τῶν τρυχίνων μουραχίων. ... Ἐξορίαν δὲ οὐ γινώσκω, ὁ μηδενὶ τόπῳ περίγραπτος. ... Ὁ δὲ θάνατος εὐεργέτης. Καὶ γὰρ θᾶττον πέμψει με πρὸς Θεόν, ᾧ ζῶ....*" Cf. Socrates, *Hist. eccl.* 4.26, PG 67: 533A; Sozomen, *Hist. eccl.* 6.16, GCS 1: 257.1-17. Cf. Giet, *Les idées*, pp. 358 ff.; Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, pp. 22 ff.

[60] *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276B-C: "*Ποῖα, εἰπέ μοι, σαυτοῦ ; πόθεν λαβὼν εἰς τὸν βίον εἰσήνεγκας ; ... Οὐχὶ γυμνὸς ἐξέπεσες τῆς γαστρός ; ... Τὰ δὲ παρόντα σοι πόθεν ;*"

[61] *Reg. mov.* 48.1, PG 31: 768C-D: "*Ὅτι πᾶν ὅπερ ἂν ἔχῃ τις πλέον τοῦ ἐπιδεομένου τῶν πρὸς τὸ ζῆν ἀναγκαίων, ὀφειλέτης ἐστὶν ἐκεῖνον εὐεργετῆσαι, κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ Κυρίου τοῦ καὶ δεδωκότος ἃ ἔχομεν.*" Cf. *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276B-C.

[62] *EApokr. br.* 216, PG 31: 1225B: "*τὴν δὲ ἰσοτιμίαν τῆς φύσεως γνωρίζειν, καὶ ἀγαπᾶν τὸ ἰσότιμον πρὸς τοὺς ἐλαττοῦσθαι δοκοῦντας ἔν τισιν.*" Cf. *HFam.* [8] 6, PG 31: 320B-D.

extreme poverty? For in the final analysis, the way that one would confront these two evils is actually the basic criterion that tests the behavior and sincerity of a man who proclaims that "he is gravely concerned for all his country."[63]

Let us first see how he confronts the problem of slavery. One who studies Basil will notice with surprise that this huge phenomenon, that so obviously goes against fundamental Christian principles, slips into the work of Basil almost without being noticed. Why has this happened? Basil, as well as almost all Christian thought on the matter of slavery, is under the influence of Paul: "you must submit to the authorities."[64] However, besides that, he also develops other views and thoughts. He first accepts, following the Stoics[65] and as the other fathers of his time also do,[66] that the institution of slavery is an anomaly in the natural order of things. In human society, he emphasizes, no one is a slave out of his own nature[67] and adds that slavery, in most cases, constitutes a deviation from the natural state of man,[68] although he accepts that at least sometimes divine providence allows slavery so that the "worst" can be educated; according to the wise and mysterious providence the bad children were condemned to serve the wiser and better ones.[69] Consolation for slaves

[63] See above, n. 9.

[64] Rom. 13.1. Cf. Ephes. 6.5: "*χρὴ τοὺς δούλους ὑπακούειν.*" Cf. *Reg. mor.* 75.1, PG 31: 856B and 79.1, PG 31: 860A. Cf. A. Hadjinicolaou-Marava, *Recherches sur la vie des esclaves dans le Monde Byzantin* (Athens 1950) pp. 13 ff.

[65] For the influence of the Stoic views on natural equality on the subject of slavery see J. Gaudemet, *Institutions de l'antiquité* (Paris 1967) p. 546. The influence of Stoic philosophy passed into the laws. Cf. *Inst.* 1.2.2: "iure enim naturali ab initio omnes homines liberi nascebantur." Cf. J. Karayannopoulos, *'Ιστορία Βυζαντινοῦ Κράτους*, 1 (Thessalonike 1978) 716 f.

[66] See Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 14.26, PG 35: 892B: "*Ἀλλ' σὺ βλέπε μοι τὴν πρώτην ἰσονομίαν, μὴ τὴν τελευταίαν διαίρεσιν· μὴ τὸν τοῦ κρατήσαντος νόμον, ἀλλὰ τὸν τοῦ κτίσαντος.*" Ibid., 14.25, PG 35: 892A: "*... ἀλλ' ὁ πλάσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὸν ἄνθρωπον, ἐλεύθερον ἀφῆκε καὶ αὐτεξούσιον....*" John Chrysostom, *Hom. 40 ad Cor. I*, PG 61: 354: "*Οὐδὲ γὰρ χρείας ἕνεκεν τὸ τῶν δούλων ἐπεισήχθη γένος, ἐπεὶ μετὰ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ ἐπλάσθη ἂν καὶ δοῦλος, ἀλλ' ἁμαρτίας ἐστὶ τὸ ἐπιτίμιον, καὶ τῆς παρακοῆς ἡ κόλασις. Ὁ δὲ Χριστὸς παραγενόμενος, καὶ τοῦτο ἔλυσεν· Ἐν γὰρ Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ οὐκ ἔστι δοῦλος οὐδὲ ἐλεύθερος.*" Cf. Gregory of Nazianzus, *Poem.* 26, PG 37: 853.27 f.: "*εἷς χοῦς πάντες, ἑνὸς πλάστου γένος. Ἡ δὲ τυραννὶς εἰς δύο τὰ θνητῶν ἔσχισεν, οὐχὶ φύσις.*" Cf. P. Allard, *Les esclaves chrétiens* (Paris 1910) pp. 211 f. Cf. John Chrysostom, *In Ep. ad Ephes. Hom. 22.* 2, PG 62: 157: "*ἡ πλεονεξία τὴν δουλείαν ἔτεκεν...*"; Giet, *Les idées*, pp. 84-85. Cf. Hadjinicolaou-Marava, *Recherches*, pp. 14 ff.

[67] *De Sp. S.* 20.51, PG 32: 160D. Cf. ibid.: "*παρὰ μὲν ἀνθρώποις τῇ φύσει δοῦλος οὐδείς.*"

[68] *De Sp. S.* 20.51, PG 32: 160D-161A: "*"Η γὰρ καταδυναστευθέντες ὑπὸ ζυγὸν δουλείας* (scil. *ἄνθρωποι*) *ἤχθησαν ... ἢ διὰ πενίαν κατεδουλώθησαν.*"

[69] *De Sp. S.* 20.51, PG 32: 161A: "*... ἢ κατά τινα σοφὴν καὶ ἀπόρρητον οἰκονομίαν οἱ χείρους τῶν παίδων ἐκ τῆς τῶν πατέρων φωνῆς τοῖς φρονιμωτέροις καὶ βελτίοσι δουλεύειν κατεδικάσθησαν.*"

comes out of the fact that all men are equal in the presence of God, and they all are His servants, even if one is called lord and the other slave,[70] as well as the fact that the slave's yoke makes the one who suffers and endures it without anger worthy of the kingdom of heaven.[71] That is why Basil recommends the expulsion of run-away slaves who seek refuge in monasteries,[72] and that is why he emphasizes that slaves are compelled to obey their masters except in cases in which their obedience would result in insulting divine commands.[73]

Basil's position is, therefore, clear: he is not for slavery, but does not think that it is worth the trouble to do anything about abolishing it. He has more important things to worry about. This problem does not seem to exist for him and occupies a very small place in his thinking.[74]

The same contemptuous attitude characterizes Basil's outlook towards property and wealth in general: perfect human society I consider to be the one in which there is no private property, he says in one of his works, although the authenticity of that particular work is questioned.[75] He does not even hesitate to characterize the owning of private property as an act of cruelty,[76] and even worse, as a robbery against others: if we call thief him who strips off his fellow man, how else can we name those who do not clothe the naked, although they can? The bread you possess in excess does not belong to you but to the hungry; the clothes you keep in your closets belong only to the naked; the shoes that rot in your cupboards belong to the barefooted; the money you have stored in your cellars belongs to your brother who is in need. Know that you have wronged all those you could have helped.[77]

Since wealth belongs to no one, it is a good worthy of no special attention, or rather, wealth is not at all a "good" by itself. Its only

[70] *De Sp. S.* 20.51, PG 32: 161B: "... *κἂν ὁ μὲν δεσπότης, ὁ δὲ οἰκέτης λέγηται, ἀλλ' οὖν πάντες καὶ κατὰ τὴν πρός ἀλλήλους ὁμοτιμίαν, καὶ ὡς κτήματα τοῦ πεποιηκότος ἡμᾶς, ὁμόδουλοι.*"

[71] *EApokr. fus.* 11, PG 31: 948A: "... *εὐαρέστως τῷ Κυρίῳ κατορθούμενος βασιλείας οὐρανῶν ἄξιον συνίστησι.*"

[72] *EApokr. fus.* 11, PG 31: 948A.

[73] *Reg. mor.* 75.1, PG 31: 856A: "*Ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς δούλους ὑπακούειν τοῖς κατὰ σάρκα κυρίοις εἰς δόξαν Θεοῦ μετὰ πάσης εὐνοίας ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐντολὴ Θεοῦ οὐ λύηται.*"

[74] Cf. Giet, *Les idées*, p. 86: "... on chercherait vainement, dans toute son œuvre, une condamnation de l'esclavage." See also ibid., p. 88. Cf. Vischer, *Basilius*, pp. 162 ff.

[75] ***Const.* 18.1, PG 31: 1381C. For the authenticity of this work see recently Bonis, *Βασίλειος*, p. 89.

[76] *HFam.* [8] 8, PG 31: 325A: "*Μὴ φανῶμεν οἱ λογικοὶ τῶν ἀλόγων ὠμότεροι. ... ἡμεῖς δὲ ἐγκολπιζόμεθα τὰ κοινά, τὰ τῶν πολλῶν μόνοι ἔχομεν.*" Cf. *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276B: "*τοιοῦτοί εἰσι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι. Τὰ γὰρ κοινὰ προκατασχόντες, ἴδια ποιοῦνται διὰ τὴν πρόληψιν.*"

[77] *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276C-277A. Cf. Giet, *Les idées*, p. 97.

usefulness comes from the fact that good use of it can bring relief to those who have it.[78] Thus, if wealth is not managed well, it is wasted and becomes "a tool of injustice" and he who manages it in this way should be blamed.[79] On the other hand, wealth, or rather the lack of it, is beneficial to the poor, just because the lack of it gives them the opportunity to exercise themselves in obedience and also conform to the commandments of the Lord and receive in due time as a result their proper and just rewards.[80] Beyond that, however, Basil does not do anything to soften the inequality. He does not attempt to provoke state intervention, does not proceed to take measures on behalf of the church against those who so grossly violate the principles of the Christian behavior.[81]

Thus, a great contradiction appears between the Christian principles that Basil professes and his attitude towards the two major problems we have mentioned. How can we explain this contradiction?

There is a point in the argumentation of Basil that could, perhaps, give us an answer. The hierarch constantly emphasizes that our life on earth is only temporary and we must prepare ourselves for that which lies beyond: our city is in heaven, he tells us, repeating Paul.[82] All the rest — titles, high offices and authority — are temporary and transitory. Where are the high officials, the generals, the satraps, the tyrants?[83] Because, in spite of our wishes, our life is nothing but a continuous road that leads from the day of our birth to the "end which our Lord has determined."[84]

[78] *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276C: "... *ἵνα καὶ σὺ χρηστότητος καὶ πιστῆς οἰκονομίας μισθὸν ὑποδέξῃ.*" Cf. *HInv.* [11] 5, PG 31: 384C: "*εἰ δὲ ὑπηρεσία πρὸς ἀρετὴν* (scil. *ὁ πλοῦτος*), *οὐκ ἔχει χώραν ἡ βασκανία, κοινῆς τῆς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ὠφελείας ἅπασι προκειμένης.*" Cf. *HFam.* [8] 8-9, PG 31: 325A-328C.

[79] *HInv.* [11] 5, PG 31: 384C: "*Εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐφόδιον πρὸς ἀδικίαν ὁ πλοῦτος, ἐλεεινὸς ὁ πλουτῶν.*" Cf. *HDiv.* [7] 7, PG 31: 300A: "*Ὅρα δὴ οὖν μή, μετὰ μυρίων πόνων τὸν πλοῦτον ἀθροίσας, ὕλην ἁμαρτημάτων ἑτέροις παρασκευάσῃς, εἶτα εὑρεθῇς διπλᾶ τιμωρούμενος, ὧν τε αὐτὸς ἠδίκησας, καὶ ὧν ἕτερον ἐφωδίασας.*" Cf. ibid. 4, PG 31: 292B: "*Οὐκ ἠλέησας, οὐκ ἐλεηθήσῃ· οὐκ ἤνοιξας τὴν οἰκίαν, ἀποπεμφθήσῃ τῆς βασιλείας· οὐκ ἔδωκας τὸν ἄρτον, οὐ λήψῃ τὴν αἰώνιον ζωήν.*"

[80] *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276C: "*κἀκεῖνος* (scil. the poor) *τοῖς μεγάλοις ἄθλοις τῆς ὑπομονῆς τιμηθῇ.*"

[81] Cf. Vischer, *Basilius*, p. 165.

[82] Philem. 3.20. Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 8.3, PG 31: 940C: "*Ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολίτευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει.*"

[83] *HAtt.* [3] 5, PG 31: 209D. Cf. *HDiv.* [7] 4, PG 31: 289C: "*Ποῦ τοίνυν ἡ λαμπρὰ τῶν ἔργων κατασκευή; ποῦ δὲ ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ τούτων μεγαλουργίᾳ ζηλούμενος; Οὐ ταῦτα μὲν συγκέχυται καὶ ἠφάνισται, ὥσπερ τὰ κατὰ παιδιὰν ἐν ταῖς ψάμμοις ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων φιλοτεχνούμενα, ὁ δὲ τῷ ᾅδῃ κεῖται, ἐπὶ τῇ σπουδῇ τῶν ματαίων μεταμελόμενος.*"

[84] *HMund.* [21] 2, PG 31: 544C: "*Ἢ οὐχὶ καὶ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ συνεχής τις ὁδὸς ὑφηπλῶσθαι ἡ παροῦσα ζωή, καὶ πορεία διειλημμένη ταῖς ἡλικίαις καθάπερ σταθμοῖς. ... Τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας*

For this reason, when he addresses the young, he says that Christians do not assign any importance to the present life and neither consider nor call "good" whatever is useful only in this world. Thus, noble birth, beauty, worldly honors are not worth pursuing or even wishing for. Christians go one step further hoping and trying to gain everlasting life.[85] But the road that leads to this life is full of struggle, and pain, and wounds, all of which the true Christian should boldly tolerate if he is to win the wreath of victory.[86] For the hope and purpose of every Christian is, of course, the enjoyment of the eternal life into which he will walk after death, and which will reward him with the "God given glory" and the "eternal rest with angels" from the "sorrows and pains of this world."[87]

With these presuppositions in mind, it is clear that the world and all of its goods are not an end in themselves, but something that man has to go through on his way to the other real life, if, of course, he proves himself worthy during the stage of his earthly existence. Basil, therefore, having this conception of the world, does not consider it his duty to try to change it. The order that prevails in the world is given from above and must, according to Basil, be accepted precisely because it is God-given.[88] The Christian should be interested in political authority and how it is exercised only if this authority interferes with the spiritual relations of men: "We recognize in you the right to demand our obedience in secular matters, because the laws of nature as well as the laws of the state that governs us regard you as the proper authority. The soul of man, however, which has

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ὁδούς, ὅσαι πρὸς πόλιν ἐκ πόλεως ἄγουσιν, ἔστιν ἐκκλῖναι, καὶ μὴ ὁδεῦσαι τὸν μὴ βουλόμενον· αὕτη δέ, κἂν ἡμεῖς ἀναβάλλεσθαι βουληθῶμεν τὸν δρόμον, περιλαβοῦσα πρὸς βίαν, ἐπὶ τὸ τεταγμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ Δεσπότου πέρας ἕλκει τοὺς ἐπ' αὐτῆς."

[85] *Ad adolesc.* 2, PG 31: 565B-C, Boulenger, p. 42.1-13: "*Ἡμεῖς, ὦ παῖδες, οὐδὲν εἶναι χρῆμα παντάπασι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον βίον τοῦτον ὑπολαμβάνομεν, οὔτ' ἀγαθόν τι νομίζομεν ὅλως, οὔτ' ὀνομάζομεν, ὃ τὴν συντέλειαν ἡμῖν ἄχρι τούτου παρέχεται. Οὐκοῦν οὐ προγόνων περιφάνειαν, οὐκ ἰσχὴν σώματος, οὐ κάλλος, οὐ μέγεθος, οὐ τὰς παρὰ πάντων ἀνθρώπων τιμάς, οὐ βασιλείαν αὐτήν, οὐχ ὅ, τι ἂν εἴποι τις τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων, μέγα, ἀλλ' οὐδ' εὐχῆς ἄξιον κρίνομεν, ἢ τοὺς ἔχοντας ἀποβλέπομεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ μακρότερον πρόιμεν ταῖς ἐλπίσι, καὶ πρὸς ἑτέρου βίου παρασκευὴν ἅπαντα πράττομεν. Ἃ μὲν οὖν ἂν συντελῇ πρὸς τοῦτον ἡμῖν, ἀγαπᾶν τε καὶ διώκειν παντὶ σθένει χρῆναί φαμεν, τὰ δ' οὐκ ἐξικνούμενα πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ὡς οὐδενὸς ἄξια παρορᾶν.*" Cf. D. Tsamis, *Ἡ Πρωτολογία τοῦ Μεγάλου Βασιλείου* (Thessaloniki 1970) pp. 79-80.

[86] *HGrat.* [4] 3, PG 31: 224B: "... *τὸν ἀγωνιστὴν τὸν καλόν, ἅπαξ ἐπὶ τὸ τῆς εὐσεβείας στάδιον ἀποδύντα, φέρειν χρῆναι γενναίως τὰς πληγὰς τῶν ἀντιπάλων ἐλπίδι τῆς δόξης τῆς ἀπὸ τῶν στεφάνων.*"

[87] **SInst.* [5], PG 31: 624B: "*Καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ θανάτου μὲν πρὸς αἰώνιον ὁδεύσεις ζωήν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς παρὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀτιμίας ἐπὶ τὴν δόξαν τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ θλίψεων καὶ κολάσεων ἐπὶ τὰς αἰωνίους ἀναπαύσεις τὰς σὺν ἀγγέλοις.*" Cf. *HGrat.* [4] 2, PG 31: 224A.

[88] Following Paul, he writes to archon Sophronius (*ESophr.* [76], Courtonne, 1: 179.27-28): "*διὰ τὴν παρὰ Θεοῦ δεδομένην σοι δύναμιν.*"

divine origin, must obey other laws, among which first is the law of God."[89] This requisit Basil also extends to the administration of the Church, which he demands to be excluded from state controls and autocephalus: "The emperor must let the Church administrate its own matters."[90] These cases, however, are the only ones that can demand and divert the attention of Christians to worldly affairs.

The answer to the question that we have asked before — how can we reconcile the stand that this zealot and beyond any doubt sincere Christian took against the two major problems of his time, the problem of slavery and that of the enormous social injustice between the very rich and the very poor — can and must be therefore found in the Christian ascetic principles with which Basil views the world and everything in it. The dreams — I would say the "presence" — of that eternal life guides the thoughts and convictions of Basil, and determines his stand in those two great social problems. Thus, if slavery and social injustice offer ways and opportunities for the salvation of man, then, although they are deviations from the natural order of things, they must be acceptable and the wise leader must not eliminate the above ways and opportunities but exploit them usefully for the people, in emphasizing to the wealthy that their wealth is only a medium for testing them,[91] and in advising the slaves and the poor that they are the instruments and means of divine wisdom and love and that they should use their misfortunes in the best way possible in order to attain divine rewards.[92]

The conclusion of all that has already been said is clear. Neither the position of Basil as a bishop nor his social background are enough to explain his outspokenness as well as the ability to impose his views on the powerful of his time. Moreover, an important role was certainly played

[89] *EHarm.* [276], Courtonne, 3: 148.6-11: "... *τὴν μὲν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὑπακοὴν ἀξιοῦμέν σε ἀπαιτεῖν · ὑπεύθυνος γάρ ἐστιν εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῷ νόμῳ τῆς φύσεως καὶ τῷ πολιτικῷ τούτῳ καθ' ὃν οἰκονομούμεθα. Τὴν μέντοι ψυχήν, ὡς ἐκ θειοτέρων ἔχων ἧκεν, ἄλλῳ νομίζειν ὑποκεῖσθαι προσῆκον καὶ Θεῷ ὀφείλεσθαι παρ' αὐτῆς χρέα τὰ πάντων χρεῶν πρεσβύτατα.*" Cf. *Reg. mor.* 79.1, PG 31: 860B: "... *δεῖ ἐξουσίαις ὑπερεχούσαις ὑποτάσσεσθαι ἐν αἷς ἂν ἐντολὴ Θεοῦ μὴ ἐμποδίζηται.*"

[90] *EHel.* [94], Courtonne, 1: 205.23-25. Cf. also for the courts *EComm.* [286], Courtonne, 3: 157.7-10: "... *τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἁμαρτανόμενα ὑφ' ἡμῶν προσήκει τῆς πρεπούσης τυγχάνειν διορθώσεως, δικαστὰς δὲ περὶ τούτων μὴ παρενοχλεῖσθαι.*"

[91] *HDestr.* [6] 1, PG 31: 261A: "*καὶ πολλάκις αὗται αἱ εὐθηνίαι τοῦ βίου ἀντὶ πειρατηρίου γίνονται τοῖς πολλοῖς.*"

[92] *HDestr.* [6] 1, PG 31: 261A: "... *αἱ θλίψεις βασανίζουσι τὰς καρδίας, ὥσπερ χρυσὸν ἐν καμίνῳ, διὰ τῆς ὑπομονῆς τὸ δοκίμιον αὐτῶν ἀπελέγχουσαι.*" *HMund.* [21] 11, PG 31: 561C. *HFam.* [8] 5, PG 31: 316B: "... *ἔστιν ὅτε καὶ κατὰ πεῖραν ταῖς ψυχαῖς αἱ τοιαῦται τοῦ βίου δυσκληρίαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις προσάγονται, ἵν' ἐπὶ τῆς δυσκολίας ἀπελεγχθῶσιν οἱ δόκιμοι.*"

by his education, but essentially it was his faith and commitment to the ascetic Christian principles which inspired him with the certainty that ephemeral worldly systems and orders are vain and which supplied him with the frankness and boldness that prevailed and dominated his life. These are the reasons that make Basil bypass without much attention the fundamental problems that are created from the conflict between the forces of evil and the Christian principle of equality and justice. But this, as we have already mentioned, comes as a result of the inclusion of the problem in a more general framework, since Basil views temporal life from the point of redemption and man's journey towards life everlasting.

According to these views one must pay attention to these problems, only when these phenomena become problems, when and if they block one's way towards salvation. If they do not hinder one's way to everlasting life, no matter how difficult, they should be welcomed, especially those which give a better guarantee of future rewards. Such are the humble positions of the slaves, the poor and the less important brothers who will be first in heaven.

There is a point, however, which must be emphasized: Basil did not preach as a champion and defender of the ruling class and the prevailing social system, nor did he act as an advocate of the establishment. He certainly did not offer the people the opium that would put them to sleep and make them stop fighting social injustice. Basil does not see injustice and inequality as the natural state of things and does not accept them. He only tolerates them as a place and means of contest, just as the cross-country runner does not try to make his path smoother but leaps over all obstacles; just like the runners in the curve of the track: those in the inside lanes would have to run a shorter distance, those in the outside, longer. The main objective is, however, to reach the desirable finish line, the objective, for which they will submit themselves to all the pains and hardships of the contest.[93]

Those who have studied Basil have tried to show how near to us remains the personality of that bodily sick zealot Christian whose spiritual presence links the 1600 years which separate us from the time of his death, and to show how great his contribution is to the eternal struggle for the humanization of mankind. They never stop praising the many sides of his multifarious activities. projecting thus his personality and work into

[93] *HFam.* [8].5, PG 31: 317C: "*Κυβερνήτην μὲν γὰρ ὁ χειμών, καὶ τὸν ἀθλητὴν τὸ στάδιον, τὸν στρατηγὸν ἡ παράταξις, τὸν μεγαλόψυχον ἡ συμφορά, τὸν χριστιανὸν δὲ πειρασμὸς δοκιμάζει καὶ βασανίζει.*"

our time and problems, and emphasizing all of his points that are in agreement with today's views while apologizing for or explaining those which are not.[94]

It is usually overlooked, however, that the tragedy of man is not due to his refusal to recognize the accepted moral values coming thus in opposition to his environment, but is due rather to the daily conflicts of duties in which he entangles himself involuntarily and which, most of the time, end up destroying his every attempt and initiative, and cast the shadow of doubt on his very principles, especially if he wants to be unbending and unyielding.

If there is, therefore, one point in the actions of Basil, that ought to be honored, in my opinion, it is the success of the bishop of a far-off Cappadocian town, who having despised wealth, family career and social honors, embraced principles of a transient nature, not to entangle himself in sterile theoretical debates, not to simply preach the law of love for his fellow man and try to reprimand whatever is against it, but in order to apply and make everyone conscious of the fact that Christ is love and that when this axion is applied, the solving of the problem is neither dependent nor related to its theoretical foundation but comes out of the very life which is perfect only when it is possessed and saturated by love.[95]

Thus viewed and considered does Basil's contribution appear in its full greatness and quality: it is a contribution of measure and modus of living which enables us, even in today's world, to live and to exercise influence in a beneficial way without forsaking or betraying our principles.

[94] See Giet, *Les idées*, pp. 97 f., 100 ff. about wealth. Ibid., p. 96 n. 5 for former literature. Ibid., pp. 92 f. about slavery. Cf. Vischer, *Basilius*, p. 167; J. Gribomont, "Les Règles morales de S[t] Basile et le Nouveau Testament," *SP* 2 (1957) 417 f.

[95] Convictions like those of Basil certainly resound, since they agree so much with his principles, with the words of the spurious *Const.* where the monastic society is praised as a living example of philadelphy. See, e.g., ***Const.* 18.2, PG 31: 1381D-1382A: "*Ἄνθρωποι ἐκ διαφόρων γενῶν καὶ χωρῶν κινηθέντες εἰς τοσαυτὴν ἀκρίβειαν ταυτότητος συνηρμόσθησαν, ὥστε μίαν ψυχὴν ἐν πολλοῖς σώμασι θεωρεῖσθαι, καὶ τὰ πολλὰ σώματα μιᾶς γνώμης ὄργανα δείκνυσθαι. Ὁ ἀσθενῶν τὸ σῶμα πολλοὺς ἔχει ... συγκάμνοντας · ὁ νοσῶν καὶ καταπίπτων τῇ ψυχῇ πολλοὺς ἔχει τοὺς ἰωμένους καὶ συνδιανιστῶντας αὐτόν. Ἀλλήλων ἰσόδουλοι, ἀλλήλων κύριοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ ἀμάχῳ ἐλευθερίᾳ τὴν ἀκριβεστέραν δουλείαν ἀλλήλοις ἀντεπιδείκνυνται, ἣν οὐκ ἀνάγκη περιστάσεως πρὸς βίαν ἐπήγαγε, πολλὴν φέρουσα τοῖς ἁλοῦσι τὴν ἀθυμίαν, ἀλλὰ γνώμης τὸ αὐθαίρετον μετ' εὐφροσύνης ἐδημιούργησεν · ἀγάπης τοὺς ἐλευθέρους ὑποτασσούσης ἀλλήλοις, καὶ τῷ αὐθαιρέτῳ τὸ ἐλεύθερον φυλαττούσης.*" Cf. ibid. 1384C: "*Οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἀγγέλοις ἔρις, οὐ φιλονεικία, οὐκ ἀμφισβήτησις · ἕκαστος τὰ πάντων ἔχει, καὶ πάντες ὁλόκληρα παρ' ἑαυτοῖς τὰ καλὰ ταμιεύονται. Οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ὕλη ἐμπερίγραπτος ὁ τῶν ἀγγέλων πλοῦτος, δεομένη τομῆς, ἡνίκα ἂν αὐτὴν πλείοσιν ἐπινέμεσθαι δέῃ · ἀλλ' ἄυλος ἡ κτῆσις καὶ διανοίας ὁ πλοῦτος.*" Cf. ibid. 1385A: "*Τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ κεφάλαιον τῆς τοῦ Σωτῆρος κατὰ σάρκα οἰκονομίας, ἵνα τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν πρὸς ἑαυτήν τε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν συναγάγῃ, καὶ τὴν πονηρὰν κατατομὴν ἐξελών, τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀνακαλέσηται ἕνωσιν.* Cf. at last ibid. 1385C: "*Ἀγάπη συνδεῖ τὰ ἄνω · ἀγάπη καὶ τούτους πρὸς ἀλλήλους συνήρμοσεν.*"

11

San Basilio y la esclavitud: teoría y praxis

Ramón Teja
University of Santander

El debatido tema de la influencia de la doctrina y la praxis de la Iglesia sobre la condición social y económica de los esclavos y sobre la evolución de la institución de la esclavitud, en especial a partir de Constantino, ha dado lugar a numerosísimos estudios por parte de historiadores de la antiguedad y romanistas. Las opiniones están todavía lejos de haber alcanzado un acuerdo en la mayor parte de los puntos. Nuestro intento no es, ni hacer una historia de la cuestión, ni una puesta al día del tema.[1] Creemos, por el contrario, que se necesitan aún muchos estudios parciales que hagan avanzar la investigación antes de poder llegar a una síntesis que sitúe el tema sobre bases nuevas. De acuerdo con este planteamiento creemos que resulta útil el análisis del pensamiento y la actitud ante el fenómeno esclavista de una de las personalidades eclesiásticas de la

[1] Las divergencia entre los autores modernos se deben fundamentalmente a posturas ideológicas y a diferencias en la concepción de la historia según la mayor o menor importancia que se atribuye al factor ideológico, y en especial al jurídico, en el proceso histórico. La bibliografía anterior a los años treinta fué recogida de un modo exhaustivo por Ch. Verlinden, "L'esclavage dans le monde ibérique médiéval," *AHDE* (1934) 17-18. Una buena síntesis reciente puede verse en W. L. Westerman, *The Slave Systems of Greek and Roman Antiquity* (Philadelphia 1955) pp. 149-159. La reciente obra de H. Langenfeld, *Christianisierungspolitik und Sklavengesetzgebung der römischen Kaiser von Konstantin bis Theodosius II* (Bonn 1977) se fija casi exclusivamente en los aspectos jurídicos.

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 393-403.

antiguedad que más se preocuparon por los problemas sociales y políticos de su tiempo, como fué Basilio de Cesarea.[2]

La primera impresión que se desprende de la lectura de las obras de Basilio, especialmente de aquellas que reflejan el ambiente social en que se movía de un modo más directo, las cartas y los sermones, es que los esclavos constituían una realidad viva y actuante en la Capadocia de la segunda mitad del siglo IV. En las descripciones de la forma de vida que llevaban los ricos de su época aparece casi siempre como uno de los elementos más característicos el gran número de esclavos que tenían a su servicio. Así, por ejemplo, cuando habla de *οἰκετῶν πλῆθος ἀριθμὸν ὑπερβαῖνον*;[3] o de *τῶν ἄλλων οἰκετῶν ἄριθμος ἄπειρος*;[4] o bien de *ἑσμὸς τῶν ἐφεπομένων μυρίος*.[5] Con todo la posesión de esclavos no estaba limitada exclusivamente a las personas más ricas; también personas de escasos medios económicos poseían uno o varios esclavos. Así, por ejemplo, en *EAux.* [36] y *ESynt.* [37] Basilio da cuenta de que el diácono Doroteo, que estaba sumido en la pobreza, poseía un número indeterminado de esclavos (*ἀνδραπόδοι*), la mayor parte de los cuales le habían sido entregados por los padres de Basilio como pago por los servicios prestados por la madre de Doroteo como nodriza del proprio Basilio. Igualmente en la *EEg.* [309] en que solicita exención de impuestos en favor de un amigo que se ha hundido en la miseria da como prueba de una total falta de medios económicos el que ahora apenas tiene de que comer y que "del gran número de esclavos (*ἀνδραπόδοι*) que antes poseía, ahora no tiene ninguno."[6]

[2] Sobre la obra y el pensamiento social de S. Basilio, cf. S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociales de saint Basile* (Paris 1941); B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* (Bonn 1961); J. Bernardi, *La prédication des Pères Cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire* (Paris 1968); Y. Courtonne, *Un témoin du IVe siècle oriental. Saint Basile et son temps d'après sa correspondance* (Paris 1973).

[3] PG 31: 208D.

[4] PG 31: 285A.

[5] PG 29: 97D. El término utilizado en los dos primeros pasajes *οἰκετῶν* ofrece pocas dudas de que hace referencia a esclavos: es, por ej., el mismo término con que designa Gregorio de Nacianzo a los esclavos a quienes concede la manumisión en su testamento: *τοὺς οὖν οἰκέτας, οὓς ἐλευθέρωσα* (PG 37: 392A). Lo mismo creemos que se puede decir del más genérico *ἐφεπομένων*: Basilio está describiendo la amplia servidumbre de que disponen estos ricos para atender a todas sus necesidades, las más de ellas superfluas; cf. R. Teja, *Organización económica y social de Capadocia en el siglo IV* (Salamanca 1974).

[6] Estos hechos concuerdan con lo que sabemos del resto del Imperio: como señala A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire, 284-602* (Oxford 1964) p. 851, "slaves were regarded almost as an essential of life by persons of relatively modest means"; cf. Agustín, *Sermo* 356.6.

Al igual que sobre su abundancia, tampoco falta en Basilio información sobre el trato que los esclavos acostumbraban a recibir. Hay que resaltar, en primer lugar, que todos los suplicios típicos a que los esclavos eran sometidos en el mundo greco-romano parece que continuaban siendo, por lo menos, un hecho algo normal o no desconocido. Así parece desprenderse de un pasaje de un sermón en que invita al esclavo a contentarse con su suerte en base al raciocinio de que hay otros que están en peores condiciones que él: "da gracias, le dice, de que sirves a uno solo, de que no estás atado al molino, de que no eres golpeado; y ni a éste le faltan motivos de gratitud, pues ni lleva grilletes, ni está atado al potro."[7] En otro momento se pregunta, poniéndose en la situación de esclavo: "¿Acaso tengo que dar gracias a Dios por todo? ¿Tengo que dar gracias cuando soy torturado, azotado, extendido en la rueda del suplicio, cuando me sacan los ojos? ¿Tengo que dar gracias a Dios cuando soy golpeado vergonzosamente por aquel a quien odio? ¿Helado de frio, muerto de hambre, atado al potro...?"[8] Aunque estos pasajes tienen un marcado acento retórico, el hecho de que correspondan a un sermón, parece demostrar que, si no eran algo habitual, al menos no eran desconocidos de los oyentes entre los que parece se encontraban esclavos y que éstos podían ser sometidos a estos suplicios. En cualquier caso la brutalidad en el trato no se empleaba sólo con los esclavos, sino que era un fenómeno propio de la época y de lo que es fiel reflejo la inhumanidad de las penas que el derecho del siglo IV establece.[9] De este hecho es buena muestra la *EAmph.* [188], una de las llamadas canónicas, cuyo objetivo es responder a diversas cuestiones dogmáticas y disciplinarias que Anfiloquio de Iconio le había planteado. En el can. 8 responde al problema del discernimiento entre acto voluntario y acto involuntario en base a la enumeración de una larga casuística. Entre los casos que enumera está el de la muerte a consecuencia de los castigos infligidos: "involuntario es también, ciertamente, el acto del hombre que queriendo castigar a otro le golpea con un látigo o con varas y muere a causa de los golpes." Aunque Basilio no alude exclusivamente a esclavos, es claro que éste debía ser el caso más frecuente como lo demuestra, por lo demás, la legislación tanto civil como eclesiástica.[10] Otro hecho que debía de ser relativamente frecuente es el e

[7] PG 31: 252B.

[8] Ibid., 220C.

[9] Esto ha sido bien resaltado por A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien* (París 1972) p. 454. De la dureza de las leyes con que se castigaban las ofensas de los esclavos a sus dueños da cuenta Basilio en las *EHes.* [72] y *ECall.* [73], cf. infra.

[10] Constantino había establecido, a este respecto, una legislación que se prestaba más aún que la norma que Basilio propone a fáciles subterfugios: si el esclavo moría "después

la violación de las esclavas por parte del dueño: a ello alude también Basilio en otro de los cánones cuando establece que la esclava que ha sido violentada por su propio dueño no debe ser considerada culpable, en base al principio de que los actos deshonestos que han sido cometidos bajo presión no deben ser objeto de acusación.[11]

Una consecuencia lógica de las difíciles condiciones en que se desenvolvía la vida de muchos esclavos debía ser la fuga y el abandono de la casa del dueño. Del hecho da testimonio Basilio cuando habla de los esclavos que huyen de sus dueños cuando éstos le golpean.[12] Así mismo es significativo que Basilio tenga que ocuparse del tema en sus reglas monásticas cuando establece, siguiendo la doctrina paulina, que aquellos esclavos que huyen a refugiarse a los monasterios deben ser devueltos a sus dueños.[13] La aplicación de esta doctrina por parte de Basilio parece encontrar su configuración en la *EPhil.* [323] en que parece darse a entender que, gracias a su mediación, ciertas personas, seguramente esclavos, habían vuelto a casa de su dueño, un tal Filagrio Arceno.[14]

Una vez expuestas las condiciones en que se desenvolvía la vida de algunos esclavos en la Capadocia que conoció Basilio, se impone el estudio de la postura de éste ante el fenómeno esclavista. El primer aspecto que hay que resaltar es que Basilio, lejos de rechazar la institución

de" haber recibido malos tratos, el dueño no era culpable; pero lo era si moría "a consecuencia" de estos malos tratos (*Cod. Iust.* 9.14.1). También el Concilio de Elvira (can. 5) trata de dar solución a una casuística semejante: plantea solución al caso de la mujer que azota llevada de la ira a su esclava de modo que esta muere entre dolores dentro del tercer día. La solución no puede ser más peregrina: "como no se sabe si la muerte sobrevino casual o intencionadamente," establece penitencias para un caso y para otro. Del texto se deduce claramente también que si la muerte sobreviene pasados tres días, no hay culpabilidad alguna. ¿Sería un criterio temporal de este tipo lo que supone la destinción entre "después de" y "a consecuencia de" de la constitución de Constantino? Si se tiene en cuenta la presencia de Osio de Córdoba en el Concilio de Elvira y la marcada influencia de este obispo en la legislación de Constantino, ello podría ser muy verosímil.

[11] *EAmph.* [199], can. 49.

[12] PG 31: 184A.

[13] PG 31: 948A.

[14] Un fenómeno paralelo al de la huída debió de ser el de las rebeliones como se desprende de un pasaje de Gregorio de Nisa en que señala como un hecho normal el que los esclavos se rebelen contra sus dueños (PG 46: 65C). No tenemos, sin embargo, noticias de rebeliones masivas para las cuales, sin duda, no se daban condiciones apropiadas. Una posible salida debió ser el unirse a las partidas de bandoleros que en algunas zonas de Capadocia y regiones limítrofes debieron de abundar en ciertas épocas, cf. Teja, *Organización*, pp. 139-140, o bien unirse a los grupos de bárbaros invasores, R. Teja, "Invasiones de godos en Asia Menor antes y después de Adrianopolis (375-382)," *Hispania Antiqua* 1 (1971) 169-177. Es bien conocida, por otra parte, la dureza de la legislación civil para con los esclavos fugitivos.

de la esclavitud, parece admitirla como un hecho establecido. Realmente, sólo conocemos un pasaje en que Basilio se plantea de un modo teórico el fenómeno de la esclavitud. Su pensamiento es, a este respecto, mucho más conformista que el de los otros dos grandes padres capadocios, Gregorio de Nisa y Gregorio Nacianceno. La postura de éstos últimos refleja que para algunas de las mentes cristianas más clarividentes de la época la aceptación de la esclavitud suponía una clara contradicción con algunos principios del cristianismo.[15] Así, p. ejemplo, Gregorio Nacianceno señala que la división de los hombres en libres y esclavos obedece a una vieja tiranía (*τυραννὶς ἀρχαίη*) y a una ley condenable (*νόμος ἀλιτρός*).[16] Sin embargo, no va más allá de esta simple constatación. Más radical es la postura de Gregorio de Nisa. Para el hermano de Basilio la posesión de esclavos va en contra de las leyes naturales y divinas pues representa someter a servidumbre a seres humanos cuya naturaleza es libre y dueña de sí misma (*ἐλευθέρα καὶ ἀυτεξούσιος*) y legislar en contra de Dios trastocando la ley natural (*τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ φύσει νόμον*). Completa Gregorio su razonamiento señalando que es incongruente pretender comprar con óbolos y estateras — alusión a la compra y venta de esclavos — lo que es imagen de Dios y hecho a su semejanza.[17] Sin embargo, ninguno de los dos va más allá de los planteamientos teóricos: Gregorio Nacianceno poseía esclavos que conservó de por vida y a los que no manumitió sino en su testamento.[18] De Gregorio de Nisa no nos consta positivamente que poseyese esclavos, aunque lo creemos muy probable, pero en cualquier caso ninguno de los dos defendieron una doctrina abolicionista.[19]

La postura de Basilio es algo diversa. A diferencia de su hermano y de su amigo que señalan lo injusto y antinatural de la esclavitud, si bien en un plano puramente teórico, Basilio parece dejar de lado el problema, al tiempo que intenta una justificación: para él, simplemente, la división de los hombres en libres y esclavos responde a los designios inescrutables de Dios.[20] Esta postura de Basilio se encuadra en una doble coordenada. Por un lado, se inserta plenamente en lo que fué la actitud predominante de la

[15] El hecho ya había sido constatado desde antiguo: así Lactancio, *Div. Inst.* 5.15 tiene que defender ya el cristianismo de los ataques de los paganos por este motivo.

[16] PG 37: 976, vv. 79-82.

[17] PG 44: 664C-665B.

[18] PG 37: 392C.

[19] Sumamente significativa es a este respecto una frase de Gregorio Nacianceno en que con motivo de la ordenación como obispo de un esclavo (cf. infra, n. 24) se dirige a la dueña de éste manifestándo que "no es de nuestro agrado el lesionar los justos derechos de los dueños" (*δεσποτῶν ἐπιείκειαν*) (*Ep.* 79.9).

[20] PG 29: 336C.

Iglesia: aceptar la esclavitud como un hecho que no se cuestiona pues el hacerlo hubiera supuesto trastocar los fundamentos en que se basaba la sociedad de la época, lo que hizo que el cristianismo no fuese un movimiento abolicionista.[21] Pero por otro lado, la teoría de Basilio parece anticiparse a una justificación de la esclavitud cuyo principal expositor fue S. Agustín y que tendrá trascendentales consecuencias. S. Agustín explica la esclavitud como una consecuencia del pecado: *prima ergo servitutis causa peccatum est*; por lo tanto, la sumisión de un hombre a otro no adviene sino por juicio de Dios (*Deo iudicante*). Agustín encuentra así una nueva justificación para conservar el orden establecido, la misma que aduce Basilio, pero más desarrollada teóricamente. Como señala J. Modrzejewski parafraseando los argumentos de S. Agustiín "si dans la nature, où Dieu avait primitivement créé l'homme, personne n'était esclave ni de l'homme ni du péché, cette même servitude, rançon du péché (*poenalis*), trouve sa place dans la loi qui commande de conserver l'ordre naturel et interdit de le troubler (*naturalem ordinem conservari iubet perturbari vetat*)." Esta sería la razón por la que S. Pablo ordenaba la sumisión de los esclavos a sus dueños.[22] Las consecuencias de esta teoría agustiniana tuvieron un alcanze trascendental, pues como ha puesto bien de relieve el mismo Modrzejeski, influyó directamente en el Código de Justiniano y de este modo la tesis del origen natural de la esclavitud, que había sido ya rechazada por los juristas romanos del siglo III, encontró un nuevo acomodo en el derecho romano.[23] Vemos, pues, cómo por obra del pensamiento cristiano, los juristas de Constantinopla volvieron a encontrar el camino indicado por Aristóteles mil años antes. El influjo ulterior de esta nueva justificación de la esclavitud como institución de derecho natural fue enorme dado que fue aplicado en la edad media a la servidumbre y sirvió para justificar las desigualdades de la sociedad medieval.

Los planteamientos teóricos de Basilio ante la esclavitud no difierieron, pues, de un modo fundamental de los predominantes en la Iglesia de su época. Resta por ver la mentalidad y la actitud "social" del gran obispo de

[21] El hecho fue ya cumplidamente demostrado por J. J. Koopmans, *De servitute christiana* (Amsterdam 1920) y hoy no es cuestionado; cf. et. J. Imbert, "Réflexions sur le christianisme et l'esclavage en droit romain," *RIDA* 2 (1949) 465; Westerman, *The Slave System*, pp. 149 ss.; J. Gaudemet, *L'Église dans l'Empire romain (IVe-Ve siècles)* (Paris 1958) p. 565.

[22] Agustín, *De Civ. Dei*, 19.15; J. Modrzejewski, "*Aut fiunt aut nascunt*: Les schémas des sources de l'esclavage dans la théorie grecque et dans le droit romain," in *Actes du Colloque 1973 sur l'esclavage* (Paris 1976) p. 363.

[23] Ibid., pp. 364 ss.; cf. *Inst. Iust.* 1.2.2.

Cesarea con los esclavos. Al igual que sobre el aspecto anterior, sólo disponemos de un texto que nos refleje la mentalidad de Basilio a este respecto, pero es sumamente representativo. Se trata de su *EEus*. [239] donde relata que los arrianos habían consagrado a dos esclavos como obispos de Nisa y de Doara. Basilio califica el hecho con los términos más duros. Empieza por calificarlo como una prueba del decaimiento profundo de la iglesia: "es sobre hombres miserables (*δυστήνους*), esclavos hijos de esclavos (*οἰκοτρίβων οἰκότριβας*) sobre quienes ha recaído ahora el nombre de obispo." Seguidamente, refiriéndose al obispo que había sido puesto en Nisa en sustitución de su hermano Gregorio, dice: "Son éstos quienes acaban de expulsar de Nisa a mi hermano, para poner en su lugar a un hombre, o más bien a un esclavo (*ἀνδράποδον*) que no vale unos cuantos óbolos." Por último, respecto al obispo nombrado para Doara se expresa en estos términos: "A la aldea de Doara han enviado a un hombre funesto, un esclavo doméstico del horfanato (*ὀρανῶν οἰκέτην*) que había huído de sus dueños." Aunque la indignación de Basilio es perfectamente explicable porque el hecho significaba el triunfo del partido arriano en estas iglesias y porque una de las víctimas era su propio hermano, no por ello deja de reflejar el propio desprecio que Basilio sentía en su fuero interno por los esclavos.[24] Desprecio que podemos calificar sin ambages

[24] El texto parece dar a entender que la ordenación sagrada de los esclavos fué una práctica exclusiva de los arrianos; pero otros textos de la época y de la misma Capadocia reflejan que no era así. La *Ep.* 79 de Gregorio Nacianceno, aunque oscura en algunos puntos resulta a este respecto reveladora: otro obispo, al que Gregorio califica como el "viejo obispo," y él mismo habían consagrado obispo a un esclavo de una cristiana, de nombre Simplicia, sin el consentimiento de ésta. Parece que la consagración fué hecha a petición de la población del lugar, pero, una vez fallecido el "viejo obispo" y a instancias del pueblo mismo, amedrentado por Simplicia, ésta reclama al esclavo amenazando con llevar el caso a los tribunales civiles. Gregorio da a entender que la ordenación era legal de acuerdo con las leyes eclesiásticas, aunque ilegal de acuerdo con las civiles y pide a Simplicia que acepte el veredicto de los tribunales eclesiásticos. No sabemos cuál era la legislación de la iglesia oriental a este respecto; posiblemente no existía aún una legislación uniforme. De todos modos esta carta de Gregorio y el hecho de que Basilio al condenar las ordenaciones de Nisa y Doara no aduzca impedimentos legales parece demostrar que, al menos en Capadocia, no había en esta época impedimentos legales. En Occidente la prohibición parece implícita ya en el Concilio de Elvira, can. 80 que prohibe la ordenación de libertos cuyos patrones son paganos. En la legislación civil, hasta Arcadio no aparece ninguna disposición prohibiendo de modo expreso la ordenación de esclavos (*Cod. Theod.* 9.45.3 [a. 398]), si bien, como hemos visto, la carta de Gregorio da a entender que existía legislación anterior en este sentido. En cualquier caso la ley civil y eclesiástica tendieron a unificarse en el sentido de prohibir la ordenación no sólo de los clérigos, sino de toda persona que tenía algún lazo de dependencia respecto a otra, si previamente no se había roto esta dependencia: la legislación a este respecto en el siglo v es abundante, cf. E. J. Jonkers, "Das Verhalten der alten Kirche hinsichtlich der Ernennung zum Priester von Sklaven, Freigelassenen und Curiales," *Mnemosyne* 10 (1942) 286-302; Langenfeld,

como un desprecio de clase y que tiene su plena explicación en el origen social aristocrático del propio Basilio y que sin duda era compartido por otros muchos miembros de la jerarquía eclesiástica de la época.[25]

Esta mentalidad de Basilio respecto a los esclavos, típica de un rico propietario romano, no debió ser óbice para que la enorme acción social que el gran obispo de Cesarea llevó a cabo en beneficio de todos los grupos sociales, en especial los más oprimidos, se desarrollase también en favor de los esclavos. Resulta, sin embargo, a primera vista extraño la escasa actividad de Basilio en favor de los esclavos que nos ha quedado documentada. En su predicación, sólo hemos podido constatar los escasos pasajes que hemos citado al comienzo, por otra parte muy impersonales y con gran carga retórica, en que deja evidencia de los malos tratos a que podían ser sometidos los esclavos. En su correspondencia, tan rica en intervenciones a favor de personas de toda condición social, solo hay una que haga referencia a esclavos. Se trata de las *EHes.* [72] y *ECall.* [73]. En la primera se dirige a Hesiquio solicitando que intervenga ante Calístenes quien había sido ofendido por los esclavos de un cierto Eustaquio y pretendía imponerles un duro castigo. En la segunda escribe al mismo Calístenes solicitándole que deponga su ira y afán de venganza y que le deje actuar a él como árbitro del asunto. Diversos pasajes de la carta dan a entender que la intervención que Basilio solicita para sí es como juez en el asunto a fin de que éste sea derimido de acuerdo con la legislación eclesiástica y trata de convencer a Calístenes de que ésta surtirá los mismos efectos que la civil: "De cualquier modo, incluso si tú has jurado vengarte de ellos de acuerdo con las leyes, la pena que nosotros imponemos no es un castigo menos eficaz, al igual que la ley divina no es menos digna que las que se observan en el mundo. De este modo, ellos podrán ser castigados aquí de acuerdo con nuestras leyes, leyes en las que tú mismo tienes puesta la esperanza de tu salvación, y tú podrás al mismo tiempo verte liberado de la obligación de cumplir con tu juramento y ellos recibirán un castigo proporcional a su falta." Creemos que esta carta es un claro documento de la actuación de Basilio como juez eclesiástico, de acuerdo con los privilegios que Constantino había concedido a los

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Christianisierungspolitik, pp. 11 ss.; Gaudemet, *L'Église*, pp. 136 ss.; Jones, *Later Roman Empire*, p. 920; Imbert, "Réflexions," pp. 461 ss.

[25] Es indudable que a las razones de índole práctica que provocaron esta legislación se unieron otras de índole mental y social que quedan bien reflejadas en la carta de Basilio y que recoge posteriormente el papa León Magno cuando establece la prohibición de la ordenación de esclavos a fin de que el ministerio sagrado no se vea mancillado *talis consortii vilitate* (*Ep.* 4.1).

obispos.[26] Por otra parte, la carta muestra claramente también la aceptación por Basilio de la dureza en el castigo de los esclavos ya que con su actuación pretende únicamente que ésta sea suavizada.

No deja, pues, de ser significativo que Basilio desplegase una actividad tan escasa, tanto desde el plano teórico como práctico, en favor de los esclavos. Creemos que la explicación no hay que verla en la mentalidad aristocrática de Basilio, sino en las condiciones sociales y materiales en que se desenvolvía la vida de los esclavos con quienes con más frecuencia tenía que tratar el obispo de Cesarea. Estos esclavos debían de ser, fundamentalmente, esclavos domésticos, dedicados a servir en las casas de los ricos aristócratas de Cesarea. En cuanto tales, si nos atenemos a las descripciones de Basilio y de los restantes Padres Capadocios, se trataba de esclavos de confianza con oficios altamente especializados, bien orientados al servicio doméstico, bien a la administración de la hacienda y la casa de sus señores como notarios, contables, etc.[27] La vida de la mayor parte de estos esclavos se desarrollaba en estrecho contacto con el dueño, se generaban estrechas afectividades entre ellos y era frecuente incluso que participasen en la herencia de sus señores.[28]

Es claro, pues, que estos esclavos vivían en unas condiciones envidiables en comparación con la masa de la población a quienes Basilio califica como "pobres" y que era hacia quienes se orientaron principalmente sus preocupaciones sociales y a los que alude una y otra vez en su predicación recabando para ellos la caridad de los "ricos." Se trataba fundamentalmente de los desheredados de las ciudades y en especial de los de la capital, Cesarea, cuya vida dependía en la mayor parte de los casos de la remuneración de trabajos eventuales o de la "everguesía" de los poderosos. Por el contrario, los pequeños propietarios campesinos, o los que trabajaban la tierra bajo la dependencia de los grandes posesores, tenían su subsistencia asegurada, aunque fuere a costa de unas mínimas

[26] Sobre el origen y desarrollo de la *audientia episcopalis*, cf. Gaudemet, *L'Église*, pp. 230 ss. Otra actuación de Basilio como juez, en este caso chocando con la intervención de las autoridades civiles, aparece en la *EComm.* [286] con motivo del robo de la iglesia de vestidos destinados a los pobres; sobre este caso, cf. Giet, *Les idées*, pp. 393-394.

[27] Cf. Teja, *Organización*, pp. 126 ss. Uno de estos esclavos era Teodosio, notario de Gregorio Nacianceno a quien éste concede la libertad en su testamento (PG 37: 392C). Este empleo restringido de los esclavos es el que está subyacente en S. Juan Crisóstomo cuando, pese a ser uno de los Padres que más propugnó la manumisión de los esclavos como obra de caridad, reconoce como legítimo que cada dueño pueda poseer un esclavo (PG 61: 353).

[28] De ello da testimonio Basilio en PG 31: 304A-B. Un buen ejemplo es el de Gregorio Nacianceno quien al manumitir en su testamento a algunos de sus esclavos les hace también herederos de parte de sus bienes (PG 37: 389-396).

exigencias. En las mismas condiciones estaba sin duda la mayor parte de los esclavos dedicados al trabajo de la tierra. Este hecho, así como el que el público a quien iba dirigida la predicación de Basilio fuese principalmente el de Cesarea, creemos que explica adecuadamente la ausencia de preocupación por la situación social de los esclavos.[29] En una época como ésta, en que los lazos de dependencia personal jugaban un papel social de primera importancia, era preferible el patrocinio de un poderoso, a una pobreza con la aureola de libertad. Esta protección la tenían asegurada los esclavos pues sus condiciones de vida dependían fundamentalmente del poder económico y social de sus dueños. Por el contrario, los pobres tenían que buscarla en la caridad de los ricos o de la Iglesia. Estas circunstancias explican suficientemente la escasa preocupación social por los esclavos, no sólo por parte de Basilio, sino por toda la Iglesia en general al final del mundo antiguo y después en la época medieval.

Tras estas consideraciones parece claro que tanto la posición teórica como la actitud práctica de Basilio frente a la esclavitud cuadra perfectamente con lo que fue la tónica predominante en la teoría y la praxis de la Iglesia de su época. Unicamente se hecha de menos que el obispo de Cesarea no recomiende nunca la liberación de los esclavos como acción acorde con la caridad cristiana. Esta fue una de las constantes en la doctrina de la Iglesia respecto a los esclavos ya desde los primeros siglos y en especial en el contemporáneo de Basilio S. Juan Crisóstomo. Es bien sabido, por otra parte, que el Estado romano facilitó esta práctica al conceder Constantino a la Iglesia el privilegio de la *manumissio in ecclesia*,[30] práctica que, por otra parte, parece atestiguar en Capadocia

[29] Esta visión de la realidad social en la obra de Basilio creemos que es característica de toda la literatura patrística de la antiguedad tardía: el viejo antagonismo ciudadano no ciudadano y libre-esclavo, es reemplazado a partir del siglo III por el antagonismo pobre-rico cuya expresión jurídica es la oposición *honestiores-humiliores*; cf. R. Teja, "*Honestiores* y *humiliores* en el Bajo Imperio: hacia la configuración en clases sociales de una división jurídica," *Actas del coloquio 1977. Estructuras sociales durante la antiguedad, Memorias de Historia Antigua 1977*, 1 (Oviedo 1978) 115-118; E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e-7e siècles* (Paris 1977) pp. 9 ss. Sobre la oposición entre ricos y pobres como dos realidades diferentes y hetereogeneas según se trate de la ciudad y el campo en la sociedad checa medieval, cf. Fr. Graus, "Au bas Moyen Âge: pauvres des villes et pauvres des campagnes," *Annales E.S.C.* (1961) 1053-1061.

[30] *Cod Theod.* 4.7.1 (a. 316) y *Cod. Iust.* 1.13.2 (a. 323). Sobre los orígines de esta práctica, cf. R. Danieli, "Sull'origine della *manumissio in ecclesia*," in *Studi economici giuridici di Cagliari* (1928) pp. 263-269; C. G. Mor, "La *manumission in ecclesia*," *RSDI* 1 (1928) 80-150; J. Gaudemet, "La législation religieuse de Constantin," *RHEF* 33 (1947) 38-41; E. J. Jonkers, "De l'influence du Christianisme sur la législation relative à l'esclavage dans l'antiquité," *Mnemosyne* 3 (1934) 265.

Gregorio de Nisa.[31] No encontramos ninguna explicación a esta aparente despreocupación por Basilio en recomendar esta obra piadosa a no ser la simple casuística de no haber conservado los textos en que pudo haberla promovido. Pero esta explicación, en una obra tan amplia como la que se nos ha conservado del obispo de Cesarea resulta difícilmente aceptable.

[31] PG 46: 657C-D; cf. Teja, *Organización*, pp. 130-131.

12

A Note on Basil's Letters of Recommendation

Barnim Treucker
Paderborn

There is quite a galaxy of high-ranking officials, both civil and military, invoked by Basil on behalf of petitioners. The list of addressees is headed by Modestus, *praefectus praetorio Orientis*, to be followed by Sophronius, *magister officiorum*; Aburgius, a high court official at any rate[1] who probably became *praefectus praetorio* in 378; Martinianus, *vicarius Africae* in 358 and possibly, too, in 378 *praefectus urbis Romae* ; Arcadius, *comes rerum privatarum*; Traianus, *comes rei militaris* in the Orient; and Arinthaeus, *magister peditum*. Besides these there are several *praesides*, such as Antipater, *praeses* of Cappadocia, and Andronicus, *praeses* of Armenia.

The topics touched upon in these letters are of an equally wide variety. There are intercessions in matters of property and inheritance or on behalf of calumniated or summoned persons — relatives, friends, priests as well as some ex-*praesides* of Cappadocia who, after having been recalled, are to be prosecuted. Levies — for instance, of horses or of iron — are asked to be reduced to the benefit of those liable to furnish them. Old immunities from taxation are requested to remain valid in spite of new census registrations. A *principalis* is introduced as being necessary to work for his city and therefore to be released from the duties of *peraequatio*. The successful return home of a delegation of *curiales* is expected from the

[1] Aburgius' function cannot be defined with certainty; see B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* (Frankfurt 1961) p. 47 f., and *PLRE*, s.v. "Aburgius."

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 405-410. © P.I.M.S.

official giving audience to them. Basil rises to the peak of his activities in pleading for the whole of his native country, Cappadocia, which is about to be partitioned into two provinces by order of the Emperor, some of the *curiales* of Caesarea, by the way, having to move to a village destined to become a city.

Testimonials or introductions, indeed, proved indispensable to anyone paying visit to an official of some importance.[2] Those coming to a certain official (Basil asserts in *EDiv.* [316]) have no need of support by letters in view of his virtue. (Of course, the very letter testifies to the contrary.) A tractator of the prefect is approached as follows:[3] "You are surely acquainted with this man through your interview with him in the city, but nevertheless we are introducing and commending him to you also by letter."

Sometimes Basil came to look with suspicion on the number of letters directed to one and the same official. "Under compulsion," he writes in *ESynt.* [37], "and when I cannot endure the annoyance of insistent petitioners, I am obliged to speak my mind; but nevertheless I do write because I can devise no way of relief other than to give them the letters when they demand them of me. ... For I admit that I have many friends and relatives in my country, and that I myself have been appointed to the position of a father by reason of this station to which the Lord has appointed me."[4]

The sample of letters drawn upon so far will have illustrated the importance of gaining the support of high-ranking suffragatores[5] and Basil's lucky hand in doing so. Further details as to how these connections were established and maintained may emerge from closer examining Basil's epistolary proceedings.

EIul. [107], *EHell.* [109], taken together with *EMod.* [110], show contacts with a great man, this time the greatest of them all, Modestus, tightening gradually. Admittedly Basil never before had written to the prefect about private matters such as, at present, a quarrel about an inheritance, for "men of high station are easily incensed over such matters." He therefore asked of the *comes* Helladius, "enjoying untold

[2] For what follows I frankly draw from observations set forth in my Frankfurt thesis of 1961, cited above.

[3] *ETract.* [144].

[4] Cf. *ELeont.* [35], *EMod.* [279].

[5] On this technical term see A. H. M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire 284-602* (Oxford 1964) p. 391.

freedom of speech with the prefect," to co-operate with the messenger sent to Modestus. This restrained attitude is maintained up to *EMod.* [110] written to have the levy of iron on the miners of the Taurus reduced. "Now," to quote Basil, "two things — my having received permission from your incomparable Magnanimity to write, and likewise the need of those who are in distress — have constrained me to be bold." Obviously Modestus came to recognize that a man of Basil's position had to rise to the expectations of his clients and he consented to comply with his rôle of suffragator.

In favour of a summoned friend Basil argues with Modestus:[6] "If the man has done no wrong, he may be saved through the influence of the truth itself, but if he has indeed sinned, his sin may be forgiven him through us who make supplication." Compare *ECens.* [313] written to a censitor: nothing but Basil's friendship is put forward to allow for a reduction of the census. It becomes evident that sometimes letters devoid of any positive argument were calculated to achieve their aims by sheer authority of the *προστάτης*.

Not rarely does Basil avoid on purpose being outspoken, especially about matters of judicial concern, reserving the essentials to be broached either to the bearer of the letter or to himself, as in *EAntip.* [137], written on behalf of Palladia, a relative of Basil, to the *praeses* Antipater: "So, since some trouble has been stirred up concerning her house, we ask your Magnanimity to postpone your inquiry a little while, and to await our presence, not that justice may be foiled (for I should prefer to die ten thousand times than to ask such a favour of a judge who is a lover of the laws and of justice), but that you may learn from me by word of mouth those things which it does not become me to write."

Another promising way of *προστασία* was to bypass ostentatiously an official while contacting his superior. Basil complains of the illegal requisition of a priest's property with a chief of tax collectors and at the same time informs him that he has made the matter known to the *praeses*.[7]

Basil did not shrink from enlisting the support of more than one suffragator. Bishop Amphilochius of Iconium is asked (to continue with Basil's own words) "to send me a reminder as to what dignity we should now use our influence to obtain, that we may begin to ask each of our friends in power for this favour, either gratis or for a small honorarium,

[6] *EMod.* [111].

[7] *EPraes.* [86], *EPresb.* [87].

according as the Lord may prosper us.'[8] Presumably a *curialis* was to profit by the coveted *codicillaria dignitas* (not all dignities conferring the same degree of fiscal immunity, hence Basil's hesitance). The most outstanding example of combined suffragium are *EMart.* [74], *EAburg.* [75], and *ESophr.* [76], directed against the partition of Cappadocia and appealing to Martinianus, Aburgius, and Sophronius on the basis of their being fellow Cappadocians. Martinianus, passing the whole of his career in the empire of the West, is expected at least to write to the eastern court while Aburgius and Sophronius had access to the Emperor Valens. There are other instances of parallel recommendations to Aburgius and Sophronius.[9] They show Basil relying at any given occasion on what may be called a Cappadocian pressure group which, moreover, could be extended to become empire-wide.

Basil's self-esteem as a *προστάτης*, on the other hand, is revealed in the concluding passage of *EAndr.* [112] written to the *praeses* Andronicus: "Although he had letters from many who were interceding for him, he considered the one from us to be more valuable than them all, having learned, I know not where, that a word from us was of weight with your Perfection." Recommending a citizen of Tyana to Modestus Basil emphasizes that the petitioner had travelled to Caesarea expressly to secure a letter from Basil.[10]

In *ECont.* [318] all the favourite motives of recommendation recur condensed into one short passage appropriate to conclude this section of my essay. The petitioner is introduced as coming from Cappadocia, the official's native country, as being in need of help and as someone recommended by Basil. The Lord will reward any good deed. Civic patriotism,[11] philanthropy, the prestige of the *προστάτης*, and Christian ethics come up side by side.

The well-to-do families of Graeco-Roman antiquity could boast of a long and noble tradition of philanthropy towards their fellow citizens; this humanitarian patronage formed part of Basil's background.[12] Likewise, former centuries were not at all unfamiliar with that patronage of men in

[8] *EAmph.* [190].
[9] *ESophr.* [32], *EAburg.* [33], *ESophr.* [177], *EAburg.* [178].
[10] *EMod.* [279].
[11] See on that topic the instructive paper of Th. A. Kopeček, "The Cappadocian Fathers and Civic Patriotism," *CH* 43 (1974) 293-303.
[12] Cf. Treucker, *Politische*, p. 30.

public position for friendship's sake.[13] Not only the bulk of letters concerned (and the amount of time involved), but also Basil's striving, ever recurrent, to short-circuit the proper administrative channels is shown as befitting that very epoch of bureaucratic compulsion. Again and again the elaborate regulations devised to ensure administrative authority and to control social permeability were thwarted by any aspirant for office, petitioner, or accused person potent or cunning enough to win "the voice of someone in the inner circle of the court who could press his claims, and it did not matter much what office the suffragator held, or indeed if he had any office at all, so long as he had access to the Emperor."[14] If he "did not personally know a great man who would press his claims, he tried to get an introduction to one"[15] provided that the writer of the incumbent letters were a man of influence himself.[16]

Basil's family belonged to that stratum of provincial landowners from whom not only the *curiales* in the cities but even new members of the senatorial order were chosen. They were men of substance, influence, and culture.[17] Basil as an *homme de lettres* could not but satisfy any standard of his social equals, not forgetting his being familiar with all the intricacies of bureaucracy. On the other hand, the growing position and prestige of the episcopacy is demonstrated by up to then mainly *curiales* standing as candidates for the episcopal elections, but precisely in Basil's time even senators now and then consenting to be consecrated.[18] Basil, then, was rightly expected to play his role in the game of *suffragium*.

[13] See Plutarch as commented upon by J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) p. 192 f.

[14] Jones, *The Later*, p. 392.

[15] Ibid.

[16] On Libanius' patronage as evidenced by his correspondence the detailed observations of Liebeschuetz, *Antioch*, pp. 192-197, amount to much the same as those of mine regarding Basil.

[17] Cf. Jones, *The Later*, pp. 362 f., 546.

[18] Cf. Jones, ibid., pp. 151, 923 ff. To have applied the fundamental statements of Jones to the Cappadocian evidence is the merit of Th. A. Kopeček, "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," *CH* 42 (1973) 453-466. By the way, my former assertion of Basil's social influence only to be adequately accounted for by ascribing the clarissimate to his family, has proved unnecessary in the course of subsequent research. There was, indeed, more than just one social position suitable to aristocratic landowners and, albeit to a varying degree, allowing of influence (see above, n. 17). On the other hand, my notion of the Basil family as complacent provincial *possessores* not bent on a career in the imperial service (*Politische*, p. 11) is revived in the most recent statement on this topic, P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto 1979) p. 38 n. 4. Fedwick's subtle approach, for the present to be judged from the work just cited, p. 104 n. 9, is likely to settle, when fully developed in a forthcoming life of Basil, a protracted debate on Basil's social background and its impact upon his activities.

Despite the fact that Basil's social impact is treated in a major contribution to this Symposium I nevertheless think his social activities in the field of *προστασία* and *suffragium*, albeit ephemeral in retrospect, to be vital to an all-embracing evaluation of Basil the man in his times. The weight he himself gave to the matter is best betrayed by that astonishing percentage of recommendations preserved in his correspondence.

13

Statt einer Zusammenfassung

Die Theologie des Basileios im Kontext der Reichskirche am Beispiel seines Charismaverständnisses

A Martin Ritter
University of Marburg

Unter den Hauptvorträgen des Symposiums war ursprünglich auch ein Referat vorgesehen mit dem Thema "Basil's theology within the context of the imperial church," das dann aus Gründen, über die hier nicht zu reden ist, nicht zustande kam. In meinen Augen handelt es sich dabei weniger um ein Spezialthema unter vielen anderen als vielmehr um einen Aspekt, der bei jeder geschichtlichen Beschäftigung mit Basileios im Auge behalten werden will. Auch wer "nur" an philologisch-textgeschichtlichen Problemen interessiert oder aber geistesgeschichtlichen Zusammenhängen auf der Spur ist, tut gut daran, sich die kirchliche Wirklichkeit des 4. Jahrhunderts, und das heißt eben: den "reichskirchlichen" Kontext dieses Mannes, wenigstens in Umrissen zu verdeutlichen. Erst recht ist von kirchen- und theologiegeschichtlichen Untersuchungen zu Basileios vom heutigen Stand kirchenhistorischer Grundsatz- und Methodendiskussion her zu fordern, daß sie sich nicht damit begnügen, etwa theologische Gedanken nachzuzeichnen, ohne die theologische Arbeit ausreichend vorzuführen, d.h. ohne nach der Interrelation von Theorie und Praxis, ohne nach den Motivationen zu fragen. Es mag sein, daß sich hier wie in anderen Fällen gesicherte Forschungsergebnisse in dieser Richtung im einzelnen nur schwer gewinnen lassen. Aber es müssen wenigstens Verstehensbemühungen der angedeuteten Art unternommen werden, der Versuch, den geschichtlichen "Raum" des untersuchten

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Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 411-436.

Theologen bzw. der untersuchten Theologie erkennbar in das Gesamtbild einzuzeichnen.

Ich verzichte im folgenden wohlweislich darauf, nun im einzelnen nachzuprüfen, wieweit die hier abgedruckten Vorträge diesem Maßstab entsprechen; wie ich auch nicht beabsichtige, in diesem Schlußbeitrag so etwas wie eine Zusammenfassung des Symposiums zu bieten. Für das letztere ist es wohl noch zu früh; auch ist es von einem einzelnen schwerlich zu leisten. Das erstere kann getrost dem Leser überlassen bleiben, vorausgesetzt, er stimmt mit mir im Methodischen wenigstens grundsätzlich überein. Wohl aber soll an einigen der im voraufgehenden behandelten Themen eben rasch der Zusammenhang mit dem "reichskirchlichen" Hintergrund des Lebens und Wirkens Basileios' des Großen angedeutet werden, ehe ich an einem eigenen Beitrag[1] exemplifiziere, wie die Behandlung eines "theologiegeschichtlichen" Problems im "kirchengeschichtlichen" Kontext aussehen könnte.

Daß die Biographie des Basileios[2] nicht etwa losgelöst vom allgemeinen kirchen- und weltgeschichtlichen Hintergrund betrachtet werden kann, liegt auf der Hand. Aber auch Einzelfragen wie die, warum uns von Basileios wie von den übrigen "großen Kappadoziern" nur verhältnismäßig wenig Predigten überliefert sind,[3] lassen sich wenn überhaupt, dann wohl nur unter Berücksichtigung der konkreten geschichtlichen Situation beantworten. Vielleicht handelte es sich dabei (auch) um etwas spezifisch "Kappadozisches" und hängt es (auch) damit zusammen, daß nach dem öfter zitierten Wort Th. Mommsens die einst hettitische, dann persische Provinz Kappadozien "im Anfang der Kaiserzeit schwerlich mehr griechisch (war) als Brandenburg und Pommern unter Friedrich dem Großen französisch gewesen sind";[4] wie umgekehrt der große Prediger J. Chrysostomos ohne den griechisch-großstädtischen Hintergrund kaum denkbar gewesen sein dürfte. Oder um ein anderes Detailproblem zu nennen: daß Basileios erstaunlicherweise gerade in seinen allerletzten Lebensjahren nach Ausweis seiner *Hexaëmeronpredigten* (gehalten wahrscheinlich in der Fastenzeit 378) apologetische Aktivitäten entfaltete[5] und sich schroffer als je gegen jede friedliche Koexistenz mit

[1] Er geht zurück auf eine in Toronto vorgetragene Communication und auf ein Master Theme, gehalten auf der Eighth International Conference on Patristic Studies, Oxford, 3-8 September 1979.

[2] S.o. S. 21 ff.

[3] S.o. S. 27 ff.

[4] Th. Mommsen, *Römische Geschichte* 5, Kap. 8, Abs. "Kappadokien"; zit. bei H. von Campenhausen *Griechische Kirchenväter* (Stuttgart 1977) S. 87.

[5] S.o. S. 30 ff.

heidnischer Philosophie und Wissenschaft aussprach,[6] läßt sich mit Sicherheit nicht rein "immanent," sondern nur als Reaktion auf Herausforderungen seiner engeren oder weiteren Umwelt, wenn nicht auf vermeintliche oder wirkliche Gefährdungen seiner Gemeinde erklären. Denn im allgemeinen bestand im 4. Jahrhundert die Hauptopposition nicht so sehr zwischen Heidentum und Christentum als zwischen Orthodoxie und Häresie innerhalb des einen wie des anderen![7]

Daß Basileios der Frühzeit der Reichskirche angehört, die nicht zufällig zugleich das "goldene Zeitalter der patristischen Literatur" (J. Quasten) war, ist für die handschriftliche Überlieferung seines Schrifttums[8] ebenso in Rechnung zu stellen wie für seine Rezeption der rhetorischen[9] und der philosophischen Tradition der Antike[10] und erst recht natürlich für seinen Umgang mit der Häresie.[11] Aber auch so "spirituelle" Dinge wie der "geistliche Sinn" der Schrift, die exegetische Basis für die Pneumatologie des Basileios,[12] können schwerlich ohne jeden Bezug auf den "real-" und nicht nur "geistesgeschichtlichen" Kontext erörtert werden, zumal die These im Raum steht, die Dogmatisierung der Gottheit Christi wie diejenige des Hl. Geistes im 4. Jahrhundert sei u.a. mit dem "Absolutheitsanspruch" des "reichskatholischen" Christentums in Verbindung zu sehen, mit dem Bestreben, "die Besonderheit der religiösen Gruppe, in der man lebt, als eine absolute zu formulieren."[13] Ich halte diese These zwar für falsch bzw. für bisher noch nicht annähernd genügend begründet. Aber der Ansatz, die Fragestellung, die nicht nur den anthropologischen und soteriologischen Wurzeln und Antrieben, sondern auch der Bedeutung gesellschaftlicher Komponenten im Prozeß der Dogmenbildung nachgehen möchte, scheint mir sinnvoll und fruchtbar zu sein.

Der "reichskirchliche" Kontext ist schließlich bei Themen wie der "sozialen Aktivität" des Basileios und seines "Umgangs mit den (staatlichen) Autoritäten im Lichte seines sozialen und christlichen Hintergrun-

[6] Vgl. dazu jetzt vor allem E. Amand de Mendieta, "The Official Attitude of Basil of Caesarea as a Christian Bishop Towards Greek Philosophy and Science," in *The Orthodox Churches and the West*, ed. D. Baker (Oxford 1976) S. 25-49.

[7] Vgl. G. Dagron, "L'empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme: Le témoignage de Thémistios," *TM* 3 (1968) 1-242.

[8] S.o. S. 49 ff.

[9] S.o. S. 221 ff.

[10] S.o. S. 137 ff.

[11] S.o. S. 67 ff.

[12] S.o. S. 337 ff.

[13] W. D. Hauschild, *Gottes Geist und der Mensch. Studien zur frühchristlichen Pneumatologie* (München 1972) S. 290 f.

des"[14] Gegenstand der Fragestellung selbst. Freilich kommt es hierbei auf Zusammenschau an und bleibt in Geltung: "Wer ihn kennenlernen will, muß Basileios ... zuerst als Mönch erkennen."[15] D.h. es ist in diesem Falle in vollem Umfang auch das asketische Schrifttum in die Überlegungen einzubeziehen. Andernfalls entsteht leicht ein zu harmonistisches Bild, in dem so irritierende, um nicht zu sagen: "revolutionäre" Sachverhalte wie der, daß Basileios Privateigentum — in christlicher Perspektive: nicht nur für den "Mönch," sondern für den Christen schlechthin — als ein Greuel erschien, daß ihm der, der auf seine vermeintlichen Eigentumsrechte pochte, als "Räuber" galt und ihm demzufolge eine "kommunistische" Eigentumsordnung als ein Ideal vorschwebte,[16] keinen Platz haben.

Doch nun zu meinen eigenen Thema, dem Charismaverständnis des Basileios. Zu seiner Erläuterung folgende Zwischenüberlegung.

I

Zu den bemerkenswertesten, um nicht zu sagen aufregendsten, Erscheinungen der jüngsten Kirchengeschichte seit der Zeit des zweiten Weltkrieges gehört in meinen Augen der "renouveau charismatique dans les Églises chrétiennes"; so der Titel eines im vorvorigen Jahr in *Science et Esprit* (Montréal) erschienenen Aufsatzes.[17] Gemeint sind damit jene neuen Erfahrungen der befreienden Gegenwart des Hl. Geistes, wie sie vor allem in der Entstehung der Pfingstkirchen (Pentecostals) und der zahllosen charismatischen Gruppen innerhalb wie außerhalb der etablierten Kirchen (mit Ausnahme der orthodoxen, wenn ich recht informiert bin)[18] ihren institutionellen Niederschlag gefunden haben. Ihnen allen ist

[14] S.o. S. 375 ff.

[15] Von Campenhausen, *Griechische Kirchenväter*, S. 89.

[16] Vgl. u.a. *HDestr.* [6] 7, PG 31: 276B-277B, und unten S. 429 mit Anm. 85.

[17] J. M. Dufort, "L'émergence du renouveau charismatique dans les églises chrétiennes," *Science et Esprit* 30 (1978) 143-167. Die Literatur über die charismatische Bewegung der Gegenwart ist Legion. Ich begnüge mich mit folgenden Hinweisen: G. Leich in A. M. Ritter und G. Leich, *Wer ist die Kirche?* (Göttingen 1968) S. 168 ff., 278 f. (Lit.); H. Meyer u.a., "Wiederentdeckung des Heiligen Geistes. Der Heilige Geist in der charismatischen Erfahrung und theologischen Reflexion," *Ökumenische Perspektiven* 6 (1974); die Jahrgänge 1977 der Zeitschriften *Concilium* 13 (1977); *One in Christ* 13 (1977); *Listening. Current Studies in Dialogue* 12 (1977), die überwiegend dem Charismenthema gewidmet sind.

[18] Sollte dies etwa damit zusammenhängen, daß die orthodoxen Kirchen des Ostens in Frömmigkeit und Theologie "von jeher den Gefahren des Intellektualismus, der rechtlichen Verbildung und kirchlichen Verengung sehr viel weniger ausgesetzt gewesen" sind als die abendländischen (so Meyer, "Wiederentdeckung," S. 9)? Oder wie S. Bulgakow sagen konnte: "Die dritte Person der Heiligen Dreieinigkeit ist in der Orthodoxie so intim,

— unerachtet ihres sehr unterschiedlichen Charakters im einzelnen — dies gemeinsam, daß die Fülle der neutestamentlichen Charismen einschließlich der Prophetie, der Glossolalie und der Krankenheilung neu entdeckt und so der teilweise weit fortgeschrittenen Erschlaffung und Entmutigung in den großen Kirchen ein Suchen nach neuer Kraft, Freude und Zukunftsoptimismus entgegengestellt wird, "ein Verlangen, wieder als ganze Menschen" aus Leib, Seele und Geist "vor Gott zu stehen ... und Gottes Liebe nicht bloß als Glaubenssatz anzunehmen."[19]

Als eine charismatische Erneuerungsbewegung kann mit vollem Recht auch bereits das frühchristliche Mönchtum angesprochen werden! Man hat es zwar oft genug anders gesehen und beurteilt, nämlich in erster Linie als Protest, und zwar als Protest gegen den mit der "Konstantinischen Wende" eingeleiteten Zerfall, die "Verweltlichung" echten Christentums. Das ist es in irgendeiner Weise sicherlich auch gewesen. Insofern kann die enorme Ausbreitung und Institutionalisierung der Askese in der Gestalt des Mönchtums[20] gerade im Jahrhundert Konstantins unmöglich als ein Zufall betrachtet werden. Dennoch ist das eigentlich Gemeinte und Erstrebte bei den Vätern des frühchristlichen Mönchtums viel positiver gefaßt. Es geht weniger um Protest als um Erneuerung. Und sosehr diese Erneuerung beim einzelnen, der von der Frage umgetrieben wird, wie er "gerettet" werden (πῶς σωθῶ) und die Versuchungen überwinden könne,[21] beginnt, so wenig endet sich auch bei ihm. Am nachdrücklichsten und

tief und lebendig erkannt, daß diese geradezu ... die Religion des Heiligen Geistes ist. ... Sie ist der Heilige Geist selber, der in der Kirche lebt" (*Le ciel sur la terre*, Sonderheft "Ostkirche" der Zeitschrift *Una Sancta* [1927] S. 48 f.; zit. nach F. Heiler, *Die Ostkirchen* [München 1971] S. 119)?

[19] M. Parmentier, "Die Gaben des Geistes in der frühen Kirche," *IKZ* 68 (1978) 211-229 (hier: S. 229). P.s Hauptthese lautet, daß die längst vor der "Konstantinischen Wende" einsetzende "Entcharismatisierung" der Kirche "das notwendige Resultat" der schon in neutestamentliche Zeit zurückreichenden "Enteschatologisierung" im Sinne des Zurücktretens der Naherwartung sei, so wie umgekehrt die Geistesgaben oft genug wiederentdeckt worden seien, wann immer enthusiastische Gruppen oder Einzelpersonen das Weltende ankündigten oder, allgemeiner gesprochen, wie sich der Geist auch heute "vor allem in Krisensituationen und -gebieten" offenbare (a.a.O., S. 227 f.). Daran ist gewiß etwas Wahres. Zu kritisieren ist jedoch: 1. daß P. "charismatisch" einfach mit "paranormal" gleichsetzt, was einem "enthusiastischen" Mißverständnis des Charismatischen entspricht; 2. daß er aus seiner historischen Analyse das frühchristliche Mönchtum fast völlig ausgeklammert hat.

[20] Ich setze dabei mit der überwiegenden Mehrzahl der Forscher voraus, daß wir von Mönchtum im eigentlichen Sinne erst da reden können, wo sich Asketen außerhalb der christlichen Gemeinde auf Dauer ihre religiöse Sonderwelt schufen. Dies war allem Anschein nach ein Entwicklungsprozeß mit fließenden Grenzen, der jedoch etwa um die Mitte des 3. Jahrhunderts eingesetzt haben muß.

[21] Vgl. nur Antonios, *Apophth* 1, PG 65: 76A-B.

konsequentesten ist dies, wenn ich recht sehe — unter östlichen Theologen des Mönchtums zumindest — von J. Chrysostomos[22] und, wovon im folgenden noch näher die Rede sein wird, von Basileios dem Großen zur Geltung gebracht worden. Aber auch von Antonios dem Eremiten, für den im übrigen — wie für das Anachoretentum überhaupt — "ein letztlich individualistisches Verständnis des mönchischen *ἀγών*" charakteristisch ist,[23] hat man das schöne Wort überliefert: "Vom Nächsten gehen [für uns] Leben und Tod aus. Gewinnen wir nämlich den Bruder, so gewinnen wir Gott. Geben wir dagegen dem Bruder Ärgernis, so versündigen wir uns gegen Christus."[24] Zu den grundlegenden Erfahrungen der ersten Mönchsgenerationen gehört schließlich, woran uns jüngst wieder H. Chadwick in seinem Priszillianbuch[25] und H. Dörries in seiner posthum veröffentlichten "Theologie des Makarios/Symeon"[26] erinnert haben, das Wiederaufleben der urchristlichen Charismen, und das heißt, wenn wir noch einen Augenblick den *Apophthegmata Patrum* folgen dürfen, vor allem der Gabe des inspirierten *λόγος* (also der charismatischen Schriftauslegung),[27] ferner des Charismas der *διάκρισις* = "discretio,"[28] der "Prophetie,"[29] der "gratia ministerii," wie sie an einer Stelle der *Vitae Patrum* genannt wird,[30] aber auch visionärer Fähigkeiten[31] samt der Gabe der Krankenheilung[32] und der Dämonenaus-

[22] Vgl. dazu A. M. Ritter, *Charisma im Verständnis des I. Chrysostomos und seiner Zeit* (Göttingen 1972) S. 90 ff. (mit weit. Lit.).

[23] F. von Lilienfeld, "Basilius der Große und die Mönchsväter der Wüste," *ZDMG* 2 (1969) 418-435 (hier: S. 424).

[24] Antonios, *Apophth.* 9, PG 65: 77B.

[25] H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila. The Occult and the Charismatic in the Early Church* (Oxford 1976).

[26] H. Dörries, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon* (Göttingen 1978).

[27] Vgl. besonders Antonios, *Apophth.* 26, PG 65: 84C; Ammonas, *Apophth.* 11, 124A; Poimen, *Apophth.* 183, 365D-368A; *Vitae Patrum* 7.41.2, PL 73: 1056D-1057A; 5.15.72, 966A-B; dazu H. Dörries, "Die Bibel im ältesten Mönchtum," in idem, *Wort und Stunde*, 1 (Göttingen 1966) 251-276.

[28] Vgl. besonders Antonios, *Apophth.* 8, PG 65: 77B; Agathon, *Apophth.* 5, 109C; Poimen, *Apophth.* 170, 364A-B; Rhomaios, *Apophth.* 1, 385C-389A; Synkletika, *Apophth.* 17, 428A; *Vitae Patrum* 3.26, PL 73: 754B-755D; 3.182, 799B-C; 5.10.85, 928A-C; 5.10.91, 928D-929A.

[29] Hier dürften sich Einzelbelege überhaupt erübrigen, angesichts der "typischen Situation, die sich in den *Apophthegmata Patrum* ständig wiederholt: der Mönchsgreis wird gebeten: *εἰπέ μοι ῥῆμα*, d.h. man bittet ihm um ein geistgetragenes Wort, das Kraft hat, das eigene Leben so umzugestalten, wie es das seine bezeugt," was zeigt, daß "die Mitwelt in den Mönchen der Wüste die Propheten der eigenen Zeit sah" (F. von Lilienfeld, "Basilius," S. 422 f.).

[30] *Vitae Patrum* 5.13.12, PL 73: 945D-946A.

[31] Vgl. Antonios, *Apophth.* 12, PG 65: 77C-D; Ephraem, *Apophth.* 1.2, 168B-C; Zenon, *Apophth.* 5, 177A-B; Zacharias, *Apophth.* 4, 180B-C; Joh. Kolobos, *Apophth.* 14, 208C-D;

treibung.[33] Denn wie es in einem dem Abbas Paulos zugeschriebenen Ausspruch heißt: "Wenn einer die Herzensreinheit (καθαρότης) erlangt hat, dann ist ihm alles untertan, wie dem Adam im Paradiese, bevor er das Gebot übertrat."[34] Kein Zweifel also, daß wir allen Grund haben, im frühen Mönchtum einen Vorläufer der heutigen Charismatischen Bewegung zu sehen. Wie fügt sich dazu das Zeugnis des Basileios?

II

Bevor ich darauf unmittelbar eingehe, seien mir zwei Vorbemerkungen gestattet. Die eine, kürzere, betrifft die Quellenbasis, auf der sich meine Darlegungen bewegen; die andere, notgedrungen etwas weiter ausholende, eine neuerdings wieder umstrittene Frage der Chronologie.

Ad 1. Wie man in der Forschung längst gesehen hat und wie auch in der neuesten mir bekannt gewordenen Buchveröffentlichung zu Basileios, Paul J. Fedwicks Abhandlung über *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea*[35] schön und zutreffend zugleich zum Ausdruck gebracht wird,[36] ist für des Basileios Auffassung vom Mönchtum in seinem Verhältnis zur Kirche kennzeichnend, daß seine eigentlichen Mönchsregeln, diejenigen, die er selbst als ὅροι bezeichnet und verstanden hat, nichts anderes sind als ein Abriß der *vita christiana* nach dem Neuen Testament, daß in ihnen jedes eigentlich "monastische" Vokabular ebenso bewußt vermieden ist wie die Idee der *consilia evangelica*. Nirgendwo ist bei Basileios jedenfalls die Rede von einer Masse von Durchschnittschristen, welche dispensiert wäre von der Pflicht zu völligem Gebotsgehorsam, und, im Kontrast dazu, von einer Elite von "Vollkommenen," welcher es frei stünde, sich "Räte" auszusuchen, die für sie von Wichtigkeit sind und fortan verbindlich sein sollen. Vielmehr geht es überall um ein Christentum, das im Einklang steht mit sich selbst. M.a.W. ist Basileios seinem innersten Wesen nach als mönchischer Reformator

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Über Abbas Paulos den Einfältigen, 381C-385B; *Vitae Patrum* 3.36, PL 73: 762C-D; 6.1.9, 13, 994B; 995A-B.

[32] Vgl. Longinos, *Apophth.* 3, PG 65: 256D-257A; *Vitae Patrum* 5.17.25, PL 73: 977D-978A.

[33] Vgl. Besarion, *Apophth.* 5, PG 65: 141A-B; Daniel, *Apophth.* 3, 153C-156A; Elias, *Apophth.* 7, 184D-185A; Theodor Pherm., *Apophth.* 27, 193C-D; Makarios, *Apophth.* 13, 268C-269A; Xanthias, *Apophth.* 2, 313B; Sisoes, *Apophth.* 12, 296A; *Vitae Patrum* 5.17.21, 977B.

[34] PG 65: 381A.

[35] Erschienen als Band 45 der "Studies and Texts," Toronto 1979.

[36] Vgl. besonders S. 12 ff.; 23 ff. sowie den Appendix C, S. 161 ff.

der Kirche zu verstehen![37] Das aber hat für uns u.a. zur Konsequenz, daß wir uns im folgenden nicht einfach auf das basilianische *Corpus asceticum* zurückziehen können, sondern sein gesamtes Schrifttum im Auge zu behalten haben, unbeschadet aller Unterschiedlichkeit der Sprach- und Argumentationsebene(n), auf die wir darin treffen, unbeschadet auch aller — m.E. noch immer nicht wirklich gelösten — Interpretationsprobleme, die sich daraus ergeben.[38]

Ad 2. Was das *Corpus asceticum* anlangt, das natürlich für unsere Fragestellung besondere Bedeutung behält, so fehlen, wie es scheint, alle konkreten Anhaltspunkte für eine präzise "absolute Chronologie." Wohl aber legt sich eine "relative Chronologie" nahe, und zwar in der Abfolge: *Moralia* (mit dem dazugehörigen *Mor. PrI*) — *Kleines Asketikon* — *Großes Asketikon* — *Hypotyposis*. So jedenfalls hat es J. Gribomont in seiner *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de s. Basile*[39] entwickelt, hat er es seither in einer Fülle von Einzelstudien untermauert und damit weitgehende Zustimmung gefunden.[40] Indessen macht es das Erscheinen des bereits erwähnten Buches von P. J. Fedwick m.E. erforderlich, das Problem erneut zu diskutieren. Denn darin wird eine von Gribomont abweichende Datierung der *Ascetica* des Basileios vertreten.[41] Und wie sich zeigt, ist dies von erheblichen Konsequenzen für die Interpretation.

[37] So u.a. auch bereits L. Vischer in seiner Baseler Dissertation von 1953, *Basilius der Große. Untersuchungen zu einem Kirchenvater des vierten Jahrhunderts*, S. 167 u.ö.

[38] Vgl. dazu einstweilen besonders J. Gribomont, "Le renoncement au monde dans l'idéal ascétique de saint Basile," *Irénikon* 31 (1958) 282-307, 460-475.

[39] Louvain 1953.

[40] Als Ausnahme ist mir lediglich ein Aufsatz von L. Lèbe, "S. Basile et ses Règles morales," *RBen* 75 (1965) 193-200 (vgl. auch derselbe, "S. Basile. Note à propos des Règles monastiques," *RBen* 76 [1966] 116 ff.) bekannt. Darin wird die These verfochten, daß nicht nur *De fide*, sondern auch *De iudicio Dei* aus der Zeit des Episkopats des Basileios stammt, womit weiterhin entschieden wäre, daß die *Moralia* nicht dessen Frühzeit angehören. Hauptbegründung: ein junger Mann und noch dazu ein Laie hätte es niemals wagen können, mit der Kirche seiner Zeit dermaßen ins Gericht zu gehen und ihr einen Spiegel vorzuhalten, wie es in *De iudicio* und den *Moralia* geschieht. Als wäre es seine eigene Autorität, die Basileios ins Feld führt, und nicht diejenige des in der Schrift geoffenbarten Gotteswillens, welcher alle ohne Ausnahme unterworfen sind! Auch sonst erweist sich der Verfasser als mit Quellen und neuerer Forschung nur mäßig vertraut. Z.B. ist ihm, 9 Jahre nach Erscheinen, ein so grundlegendes Werk wie H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto, Der Beitrag des Basilius zum Abschluß des trinitarischen Dogmas* (Göttingen 1956) offenbar noch unbekannt. Andernfalls hätte er kaum ohne weitere Erklärung *Mor PrF* nach *De Spiritu Sancto* ansetzen können (S. 195 f.; vgl. dagegen Dörries a.a.O., S. 14 ff.). So wird man sich bei seiner Kritik an der nach P. Maran (PG 29: XXVIII s.) neuerdings vor allem von J. Gribomont vertretenen Frühdatierung der *Moralia* samt dem *Mor. PrI* nicht weiter aufzuhalten haben.

[41] Vgl. besonders im Appendix A die S. 149 ff. sowie etwa noch S. 12 mit Anm. 62; S. 98 und 139.

Dies ist auch der Grund, weshalb wir hier an dieser Kontroverse zumindest nicht einfach vorübergehen können.

Fedwick möchte bei der Analyse der basilianischen *Ascetica* folgende Chronologie zugrunde gelegt wissen: (1) *Kleines Asketikon* — aus der Zeit zwischen 365 und 369; (2) *Großes Asketikon* — um 370 bis 376; (3) *Moralia* — begonnen um 360 und in ihre endgültige Gestalt gebracht, in der sie nun auch durch zwei Prologe, *Mor. PrI* und *Mor. PrF* eingeleitet werden, im Jahre 376, demselben Jahr, dem (4) die *Hypotyposis* entstammt, also die von Basileios selbst veranstaltete und für pontische Mönchsgemeinschaften bestimmte asketische Sammlung, bestehend aus den *Moralia* (einschließlich der genannten beiden Prologe) und dem 55 "ausführliche" und 287 "kurze" Regeln (samt den jeweiligen Proömien) umfassenden *Großen Asketikon*. Im Grunde geht also der Streit "nur" um die Datierung der *Moralia*. Allein, wenn sie, wie Fedwick meint, weit mehr sind als eine Bibelstellensammlung, nämlich ein Werk von ungewöhnlicher theologischer Tiefe und gedanklicher Reife,[42] dann hängt von ihrer Einordnung in das Ganze basilianischen Schrifttums in der Tat Entscheidendes ab und ist Beharrlichkeit hier durchaus am Platze.

Des näheren stellt sich Fedwick, wie wir hörten, die Genese der *Moralia*, die für ihn in ihrer uns bekannten Gestalt eindeutig kein Frühwerk des Basileios sind und nicht, wie üblich, aus der Situation der frühen 60er Jahre des 4. Jahrhunderts heraus gedeutet werden dürfen, als einen über anderthalb Jahrzehnte währenden Wachstumsprozeß vor, analog der Entwicklung der verschiedenen Sammlungen von *Erotapokriseis* zunächst zum "Kleinen" und schließlich zum "Großen Asketikon" und beginnend mit einem von Basileios und Gregor von Nazianz während ihrer συνάσκησις in Annesoi (um 361) gemeinsam verfaßten ersten Entwurf, von dem sich aber keinerlei Kopie erhalten habe. Das ist von ihm deutlich als Kompromiß, als Zugeständnis gemeint. Doch dient das Zugeständnis m.E. eher der Beschwichtigung und liegt eher auf verbaler Ebene. Denn was die Sache angeht, so besteht für ihn kein Zweifel, daß es sich bei den *Moralia* ihrem wesentlichen Bestande nach um ein Produkt der letzten Lebensjahre des Basileios handelt. Das gilt nicht nur von den "Regeln" selbst, die in ihrer Mehrzahl an geistig-geistlichem Gehalt nur mit *De Spiritu Sancto*, nicht aber mit *Contra Eunomium* verglichen werden können,[43] sondern es gilt auch von den beiden Prologen. Das

[42] Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 151 ("tremendous theological insight and maturity of thought").

[43] Ibid., S. 151 f.

jedoch erscheint mir als im Blick auf *Mor. PrF* so gut wie ausgeschlossen, im Blick auf *Mor. PrI* einigermaßen schwierig und im Blick auf die "Regeln" zwar möglich, aber nicht eben naheliegend oder gar erforderlich. Wie die *EAnt. ec.* [140] und *EMagn.* [175] lehren, hat es Basileios nach Ausbruch des Pneumatomachenstreits abgelehnt, ein eigenes Bekenntnis niederzuschreiben und stattdessen einfach auf das Nicaenum verwiesen,[44] obwohl dieses über die neue Streitfrage nichts aussagte und also ergänzungsbedürftig war. *Mor. PrF* aber enthält ein, wenn auch ganz mit biblischen Wendungen und Begriffen formuliertes Bekenntnis.[45] Aus diesem wie aus anderen Gründen kann ich es mir daher am ehesten mit H. Dörries als "nicht allzu spät nach *Adv. Eunomium*" abgefaßt vorstellen.[46] Und was den *Mor. PrI* anlangt, so präsentiert er sich ja deutlich genug als Äußerung eines Mannes, der, nach behüteter Kindheit in einem christlichen Elternhaus, als junger Mensch mit der Welt und den weltlichen Geschäften und Künsten so weit Bekanntschaft geschlossen habe, daß es ihm nicht an Vergleichsmöglichkeiten fehle, und der nun fassungslos feststellen müsse, daß nirgendwo auf Erden so viel Uneinigkeit herrsche wie ausgerechnet in der "Kirche Gottes, für die Christus starb und über die er den Hl. Geist so reichlich ausgoß." Wenn jemals, dann erfülle sich "jetzt, da die Anhomoier emporgekommen" seien (*νῦν ... τῶν Ἀνομοίων ἐπιθυέντων* [= Part. Aor. 2 des Mediums oder Passivs]), was da geschrieben stehe (Acta 20.30): "Aus eurer Mitte werden Männer aufstehen, die da Verkehrtes reden, um die Jünger hinter sich herzuziehen."[47] Das führt am ehesten auf die Jahre zwischen 357 und 361[48] oder kurz danach. Und wenn ich nichts übersehen habe, dann deutet im Prolog selbst nichts darauf hin, als liege zwischen Berichts- und

[44] Vgl. außer *EAnt. ec.* [140] 2 etwa noch *ETars. pb.* [113], *ETars.* [114], *EEust.* [125].

[45] PG 31: 685A-C.

[46] Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto*, S. 18.

[47] PG 31: 653A-B.

[48] 357 war sowohl das Jahr, in dem Basileios von seiner "geistlichen Bildungsreise" nach Syrien, Mesopotamien, Palästina und Ägypten in die Kappadozische Heimat zurückkehrte, als auch Beginn jener verhältnismäßig kurzen Ära, in der Aëtios, das erste bedeutende Schulhaupt der Anhomoier oder Neuarianer, vom Hof begünstigt, als gesuchter theologischer Lehrer und Disputator in der Öffentlichkeit hervortrat. Schon drei Jahre später wurde er angesichts des allgemeinen Erschreckens über seine Lehren wieder fallengelassen (Exkommunikation durch das Konzil von Konstantinopel 360, freilich bei gleichzeitiger Erhebung seines Schülers Eunomios zu beschöflichen Würden!), so daß es zur Separation der Neuarianer von der "homöischen" Reichskirche kam, die nie mehr, auch nicht unter Kaiser Valens, rückgängig zu machen war. Damit hatte die kirchenpolitische Entwicklung der "Anhomoier" bereits um 361 ihren Zenit überschritten; was blieb, war ein sehr nachhaltiger theologischer Einfluß (Eunomios).

Abfassungszeit eine längere Spanne. Bleiben noch die "Regeln," die *'Ηθικά* selbst. Auch ich liebe sie sehr und halte sie für ein unbezweifelbares Werk der Reife, gebe aber zu bedenken, daß Basileios Anfang der 60er Jahre auch nicht gerade mehr ein Jüngling war, sondern das ominöse "dreißigste Jahr" bereits hinter sich hatte. Wenn man nur berücksichtigt, daß er sich — besonders, aber nicht nur am Anfang seiner Karriere — auf verschiedenen Sprach- und Argumentationsebenen bewegen konnte,[49] wenn man ferner damit rechnet, daß bei ihm — anders als bei Goethes "Wilhelm Meister" — die entscheidenden "Lehrjahre" erst nach den "Wanderjahren" kamen, und es deshalb unterläßt, die *Moralia* zeitlich unnötig nahe an so unverkennbare Erstlingsprodukte wie die ältesten Briefe mit ihrer z.T. penetranten Coquetterie oder auch *Ad adolescentes*[50] oder die berühmte *Φιλοκαλία*[51] heranzurücken, macht ihre "Frühdatierung" m.E. nicht die geringsten Schwierigkeiten, während ich mich umgekehrt vor die größten Verstehensprobleme gestellt sähe, falls ich mir die *Moralia* im Sinne der Fedwickschen Chronologie als nach dem *Großen Asketikon* abgefaßt vorzustellen hätte.

Ich erwähne abschließend noch, daß die Ansicht, die *Moralia* seien erst in einem längeren Wachstumsprozeß zu der Gestalt gelangt, in der sie sich uns heute präsentieren, jeden textkritischen Anhalts entbehrt und somit rein auf "innere Kriterien" angewiesen ist. Auch die — leider nicht ge-

[49] Welche Unterschiede weisen in dieser Hinsicht bereits das Corpus der Predigten (vgl. dazu jetzt vor allem, auch zu Datierungsfragen, J. Bernardi, *La prédication des Pères cappadociens. Le prédicateur et son auditoire* [Paris 1968]) und, noch mehr, das der Briefe auf! Die Briefe sind ja unter all seinen literarischen Erzeugnissen diejenigen, auf die er nicht nur die größte stilistische Sorgfalt verwendete (vgl. dazu etwa A. Puech, *Histoire de la littérature grecque chrétienne*, 3 [Paris 1930] 310), sondern in denen er sich auch der Vorstellungswelt und Fassungskraft seiner Adressaten am meisten anzupassen bestrebt war.

[50] Mit J. M. Rist (in "Basil's 'Neoplatonism': its Background and Nature," oben S. 137 ff.) bin ich der Meinung, daß die übliche Datierung von *Ad adolesc.* auf die Zeit des basilianischen Episkopats falsch ist. Basileios bietet in dieser Abhandlung, "what is essentially a rhetorician's or literateur's view of the Hellenic past, a view which reflects much of the experiences of his own student years and of his abortive career as a professor of rhetoric" (S. 219). Das weist am ehesten auf "Basil's immediately post-student days" (S. 219, Anm. 340).

[51] Man kann sich ja schwerlich damit beruhigen, daß es sich bei der "Philokalie" lediglich um eine Kompilation handele, die auf die geistige Verfassung und die Intentionen des Verfassers (oder richtiger der Verfasser) keine unmittelbaren Rückschlüsse erlaube. Denn das würde der Bedeutung dieses Werkes kaum gerecht. So halte ich es einstweilen für ausgesprochen schwierig anzunehmen, die *Moralia* seien genau zur selben Zeit entstanden, zumal beide Schriften — zunächst einmal — in erster Linie für den eigenen Gebrauch der Verfasser bestimmt gewesen sein werden.

nauer datierbare, aber, wie ich meine, aus inneren Gründen zeitlich und sachlich zwischen *Kleinem* und *Großem Asketikon* anzusiedelnde — *De perf.* [22] mit ihren unüberhörbaren Anklängen an die *Moralia* kann nicht als äußeres Zeugnis hierfür in Anspruch genommen werden. Sie schließt weder aus, daß die Sammlung annähernd in dem uns bekannten Umfang bereits existierte,[52] noch enthält sie ein Versprechen, welches erst mit den *Moralia* in ihrer Endfassung eingelöst worden wäre.[53]

Ebenso liegt mir indes daran zu betonen, daß ich den couragierten Vorstoß von P. Fedwick trotz aller geäußerten Kritik für ebenso notwendig wie dankenswert halte. Er sollte als Warnung verstanden werden, die *Moralia* nur als Vorarbeit statt als theologisches Explikat eigenen Rechts und eigenen Werts zu betrachten. Und er sollte an die Aufgabe erinnern, sich unter Verzicht auf das — allerdings nicht nur in der Basileiosforschung — übliche "sektorale" Denken wieder mehr um Zusammenschau und Integration zu bemühen, also z.B. den Versuch zu wagen, unter Berücksichtigung aller (sicher, wahrscheinlich oder wenigstens vermutlich) der Frühzeit bis zur endgültigen Übernahme des kirchlichen Dienstes zugehörigen Schriften den Werdegang des Basileios verständlich zu machen.

III

Doch nun zurück zu unserem Thema. Wie fügt sich, so fragten wir, zu dem eingangs entworfenen Bild vom frühchristlichen Mönchtum als charismatischer Erneuerungsbewegung, wie es etwa aus den *Apophthegmata Patrum* zu gewinnen ist, das Zeugnis des Basileios?

Nun, nach Ausweis seines erhaltenen Schrifttums teilt Basileios mit den übrigen Begründern bzw. Reformern des altkirchlichen Mönchtums ein ausgeprägtes Krisenbewußtsein. Inwieweit bei ihm sozialgeschichtliche Faktoren auf dieses Krisenbewußtsein ihren Einfluß ausübten, ließe sich immerhin fragen. Zu denken wäre besonders an den Umstand, daß er einer der vornehmsten und reichsten Familien Kappadoziens, wenn auch nicht gerade einem senatorischen Adelsgeschlecht entstammte, wie B. Treucker in seinen vielzitierten *Politischen und sozialgeschichtlichen Stu-*

[52] Denn was sollte Basileios davon abhalten, sich von neuem, nun aber in bündigster Form (*ἐν συντόμῳ ὑπομνήσει*) und bezogen ausschließlich auf die jüngst unter den angeschriebenen Asketen aufgebrochenen Kontroversen sowie unter Verzicht auf umständliche Schriftbelege (*μαρτυρία*), zu denen die Adressaten selbst das Zeug hatten, zu Grundfragen der *vita communis christiana* zu äußern, "etsi *Moralia* non darentur"?

[53] Gegen Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 150.

dien zu den Basilius-Briefen nachzuweisen suchte.[54] Und das bedeutete, mit den Worten Gregors von Nazianz in seiner Gedächtnisrede auf den toten Freund zu reden, daß ihm der Zugang zu militärischen Kommandos, zu hohen und höchsten kommunalen Leitungs- und Ehrenämtern, zu "Macht und Ansehen am kaiserlichen Hof, ferner zu Wohlhabenheit, hoher Stellung, öffentlichen Würden, hervorragender Beredsamkeit" offenstand.[55] Aber das war nur die eine Seite. Die andere Seite war, daß selbst für einen Mann von dieser Herkunft der politische Aktionsradius gering war, nicht nur deshalb, weil in der Wirklichkeit des spätantiken Zwangsstaates Leute vom Schlage des Basileios leicht von allerlei Emporkömmlingen ("homines novi"), sofern sie nur über Beziehungen und das nötige Geld verfügten, an die Wand gespielt werden konnten, sondern weil sich überhaupt alle "Politik" dem einen Ziel unterzuordnen hatte, den Staatsapparat möglichst zu perfektionieren und allgegenwärtig zu machen, um so der zunehmenden Bedrohung des Reichs von außen zu wehren und die Aufbringung der nötigen Subsistenzmittel sicherzustellen. Was wunder, wenn sich unter den zahlreichen Geschwistern und nächsten Verwandten des Basileios, soweit wir wissen, niemand zum Staatsdienst hingezogen fühlte und es stattdessen viele zum Asketenleben drängte! Wie es auch sicher kein Zufall ist, wenn gerade um die Wende vom 4. zum 5. Jh. — und zwar in Ost wie West — der asketisch-monastischen Bewegung spektakuläre Einbrüche in die römische Oberschicht gelangen![56] "Praxis pietatis" als "Ersatz" für geschwundene bzw. als sinnlos, ja mit Widerwillen betrachtete "praxis politica"? Es wäre nicht das letzte Mal in der Geschichte, daß wir auf solche Zusammenhänge stoßen.[57] Daß auf der anderen Seite Basileios seine vornehme Herkunft kaum je verleugnen konnte, ist in der Forschung inzwischen zu unumstritten, als daß es noch länger umständlicher Beweisführung bedürfte.[58]

[54] (Frankfurt 1961); vgl. dagegen die Rezension von J. Karayannopoulos, *BZ* 65 (1963) 256-359; S. Giet, "Basile, était-il sénateur?" *RHE* 60 (1965) 429-444; R. Teja, *Organización económica y social de la Capadocia en el siglo IV, según los Padres Capadocios* (Salamanca 1974) S. 89 mit Anm. 2.

[55] Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43.3, PG 36: 497C.

[56] Vgl. dazu jetzt etwa den schönen Beitrag von Ch. Piétri zu dem von Ch. Kannengießer herausgegebenen Kolloquiumsband *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin* (Paris 1975) S. 283 ff.

[57] Zu einer analogen Erscheinung im Zeitalter des Pietismus oder, politisch gesehen, des fürstlichen Absolutismus in Deutschland vgl. H. W. Krumwiede, *Geschichte des Christentums*, 3 (Stuttgart 1977) 56 f.

[58] Vgl. dazu außer der genannten Arbeit von Treucker und dem älteren Buch von S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociales de s. Basile* (Paris 1941), etwa noch G. May, "Basilios

Halten wir uns jedoch an die Aussagen des Basileios selbst, und das ist bei aller Lust an "Motivforschung," "soziologischer Verortung" udgl. m.E. unsere primäre Pflicht als Historiker — in Betracht kommen hier vor allem außer dem schon mehrfach erwähnten Prolog zu den *Moralia*, *Περὶ κρίματος θεοῦ* ("De iudicio Dei"), das Schlußkapitel von *De Spiritu Sancto* sowie eine Reihe von Briefen, namentlich aus dem Zusammenhang der mühseligen Einigungsversuche mit Alexandrien und den Bischöfen des Westens — so entzündet sich sein Krisenbewußtsein weniger an eigenen Bedrohtheits- oder gar Verlorenheitsgefühlen — ganz im Gegenteil, möchte man im Hinblick auf einige Selbstzeugnisse des Basileios[59] sagen! — als an dem beklagenswerten "gegenwärtigen Zustand der Kirchen," wie es in der Überschrift zu *De Sp. S.* 3 heißt: daran, daß das *παλαιὸν τῆς Ἐκκλησίας σχῆμα*, die *ἀρχαία κατάστασις*, weithin geschwunden ist[60] und es zur allerwichtigsten Frage wird, wie man die "Bande der alten Liebe (*ἀρχαίας ἀγάπης θεσμούς*)" erneuern,[61] wie "der Kirche ihre ursprüngliche Überzeugungskraft zurückgeben (*τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἰσχὺν ἀποδοῦναι*)" könnte.[62] Bei diesen Klagen spielt gewiß — zumal in den besonders sorgfältig stilisierten Briefen an die westlichen Bischöfe — die Rhetorik eine wichtige, gelegentlich wohl auch schöpferische Rolle. Im Kern aber sind sie, soweit wir noch zu sehen vermögen, wohlverständlich und wohlbegründet. Hatte doch die "Konstantinische Wende" keineswegs nur — wenigstens für die Christenheit innerhalb der Grenzen des Imperium Romanum — Entlastung vom Druck der Verfolgung mit sich gebracht, sondern auch neue Probleme geschaffen: die "Welt" ging nur langsam vom Heidentum zu einer oft nur oberflächlichen Christlichkeit über. Die Kirche war auf die neue Situation geistig wie institutionell nicht eben gut vorbereitet. Und die Einpassung in den Organismus des spätantiken Zwangsstaates erweckte in ihr den Geist des Opportunismus und einen gefährlichen Geschmack an der Macht.

Was wäre der Ausweg? Worin sieht Basileios eine Lösungsmöglichkeit für diese Probleme, die sich, wenn wir ihm Glauben schenken dürfen, in den letzten Jahren der Alleinherrschaft Constantius' II., während des

der Große und der Römische Staat," in *Bleibendes im Wandel der Kirchengeschichte*, herausg. von B. Moeller und G. Ruhbach (Tübingen 1973) S. 47-70; J. Gribomont, "Un aristocrate révolutionnaire, évêque et moine: saint Basile," *Aug.* 17 (1977) 179-191.

[59] Vgl. außer *Mor Prl.* 1, PG 31: 653A-B, vor allem noch *ENeoc.* [204] 6, Courtonne, 2: 178 f.; *EEust.* [223] 2.3, Courtonne, 3: 10-13.

[60] *ENeoc. ec.* [28], Courtonne, 1: 66.

[61] *ESyn.* [70], Courtonne, 1: 164.

[62] *EAth.* [66], Courtonne, 1: 159.

Intermezzos Julians "des Abtrünnigen" und dann noch einmal, als sich Kaiser Valens in der Nachfolge des Constantius die Durchsetzung seines, des "homoiischen" Glaubensbekenntnisses in der Kirche mit allen Mitteln staatlicher Gewalt vorgenommen hatte, dramatisch zuspitzten? Nun, wie die betrübliche Lage der Kirche in seinen Augen letzten Endes nicht in kaiserlicher Willkür, sondern in menschlicher "Eigenmächtigkeit (*αὐθεντία*)" schlechthin, im Ungehorsam gegenüber der "Lehre unseres Herrn Jesus Christus" begründet liegt,[63] so besteht für ihn auch der einzige Ausweg nicht in der "libertas ecclesiae,"[64] sondern in der *μετάνοια*: in der ungeteilten Hingabe an Gottes Willen als der heilsamen Durchbrechung allen menschlichen "Eigenwillens (*ἴδιον βούλημα*),"[65] in jenem völligen Gehorsam, wie er im Neuen Testament noch strikter gefordert werde als im Alten,[66] einem Gehorsam, von dem schlechterdings nichts ausgenommen sei.[67] Dem entspricht es auch völlig, wenn er in den *Ἠθικά* der Kirche seiner Zeit ein "speculum reformationis" vorhält in Form einer "Summe" des geoffenbarten Gotteswillens, eines "Systems," das auf der Bibel als "Regel" basiert.[68] Die unübersehbare Eigenart des basilianischen "Regelbuches" im Vergleich etwa zu den Einzellogien der Wüstenväter resultiert also, wenn ich nicht irre, weniger aus den systematischen

[63] *Mor. Prl.* 2, PG 31: 653B-656C.

[64] Vgl. dazu besonders G. F. Reilly, *Imperium and Sacerdotium according to St. Basil the Great* (Washington, D.C. 1945), sowie etwa noch May, "Basilios." Gewiß hat Fedwicks Vermutung, *The Church*, S. 13 f., viel für sich, daß das Intermezzo Julians, der (wohl im September) 362 höchstselbst in Caesarea erschien, Basileios wie vielen anderen die Augen dafür öffnete, daß die Kirche, um zu überdauern, einer andersartigen Struktur bedürfe und ihre Wohlfahrt nicht länger in dem Maße vom Staat abhängig sein könne. Wie es auch Julians und Valens' Maßnahmen gewesen seien, die seine aktive Teilnahme an der Rekrutierung und Organisation der asketischen Gemeinschaften und vor allem seine Entscheidung, "to switch from an isolated half-desert type of asceticism (Sarabaitism ?) to one with closer ties with the church ostracized by the state" (ibid., S. 12, Anm. 63), wesentlich beeinflußt haben dürften. Man wird auf solche "außertheologischen" Faktoren noch viel mehr sein Augenmerk richten müssen. Darin ist m.E. Fedwick völlig zuzustimmen. Aber es ist doch auch klar, daß Basileios bei aller Distanz kein Befürworter zivilen Ungehorsams der Christen (so auch Fedwick a.a.O., S. 39, unter Verweis auf *EDem.* [225], *EHes.* [72], *EMart.* [74], *EIur.* [85]) noch einer äußerlich — rechtlichen "Libertät" der Kirche (vorausgesetzt, sie war zu seiner Zeit überhaupt denkbar!) gewesen ist. Das verwehrte ihm schon die Einsicht, daß die "Konstantinische Wende" keineswegs der Anfang allen Übels war, sondern daß der "Verfall" längst vorher ("200 Jahre und mehr": vgl. *ENeoc. ec.* [28] 1, Courtonne, 1: 66) eingesetzt hatte.

[65] *Mor. Prl.* 4, PG 31: 660C.

[66] Ibid., 6, 665C-D.

[67] Ibid., 7, 669B.

[68] So mit Recht etwa E. Amand de Mendieta, "Le système cénobitique basilien comparé au système cénobitique pachômien," *RHR* 152 (1957) 31-80 (hier, S. 35 f.).

Ambitionen eines Buchgelehrten[69] als aus dem basilianischen Grundverständnis des Christlichen als totalen Gehorsams!

Wird diese "Regel" zur Richtschnur genommen, zum Maßstab für die *vita christiana*, wird der Weg des Gehorsams gegenüber Gottes Willen in allen seinen Aspekten und Geboten beschritten — auch in den Dingen, über die die Hl. Schrift schweigt,[70] weshalb es nicht blinden, sondern sehenden Gehorsams bedarf! — so stellt sich auch, wie Basileios anscheinend ganz selbstverständlich erwartet, die Fülle der "Geistesgaben," der Charismen ein, über das in der Taufe verliehene *χάρισμα τῆς υἱοθεσίας*[71] hinaus. Denn der Geist als Spender und Wirker der Charismen ist nicht müßig, nicht untätig. Wohl aber mangelt es oft genug an Glauben, an Treue, an Gewissenhaftigkeit derer, denen seine Wohltaten zuteil wurden.[72] "Bitten wir ihn also, daß er in unseren Seelen wohne und uns keinen Augenblick verlasse...."[73] So jedenfalls sollen, wie es in der Schlußregel der *Moralia* heißt, Christen der Schrift zufolge beschaffen sein: "Glieder Christi, *ἐν πάσῃ ἐνεργείᾳ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ Κυρίου ἢ τῶν χαρισμάτων τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος κατηρτισμένους*, zur Ehre des Hauptes, welches Christus ist."[74]

Der Gedanke, daß alle Glaubenden zur Gliedschaft am Leibe Christi berufen sind, in welchem "jedem das Seine" ("suum cuique"), aber nicht allen das Gleiche[75] an Gaben und Aufgaben zuteil wird und doch ein jeder seinen unverwechselbaren Beitrag zum allgemeinen Nutzen zu leisten hat, dieser paulinische Gedanke spielt bei Basileios — anders übrigens als bei den beiden Gregoren, zumal dem Nazianzener[76] — eine beträchtliche

[69] Etwas anders F. von Lilienfeld, "Basilius," S. 428.

[70] Vgl. *EApokr. br.* 1, PG 31: 1081B-C mit *Reg. mor.* 26.2, PG 31: 745A-B und *De Sp. S.* 27.66, Pruche, S. 478-486; PG 32: 188A-192B.

[71] *HPs. 28a*, PG 29: 284C; *HBapt.* [13] 5, PG 31: 433A; vgl. *Mor. PrF.* 4, 685B-C; *HIul.* [5] 7, 253C; *HLac.* [26] 9, 1457B; *De Sp. S.* 14.32, Pruche, S. 358-360; PG 32: 124D-125A.

[72] *EApokr. br.* 248 (= *Asc. I*, Fr. 168, PG 31: 1248C-D); vgl. *EApokr. br.* 306, PG 31: 1300C-1301B); *HFide* [15] 3, 469C-472A.

[73] *HFide* [15] 3, PG 31: 472A.

[74] *Reg. mor.* 80.4, PG 31: 861A.

[75] Vgl. *EApokr. br.* 235, PG 31: 1240C; *HPs. 33* 13, PG 384B-C; *De Sp. S.* 9.22, Pruche, S. 326; PG 32: 108C.

[76] Selbst in Gregors von Nazianz Pfingstpredigt (*Or.* 41, PG 36: 428A-452C) oder in seiner Rede *In s. baptisma* (*Or.* 40, PG 36: 360B-425D) ist von den Charismen nur ganz beiläufig (441C; 364A: die Taufgabe als *χάρισμα*; ebenso 380B und 389A) die Rede, während in seinen fünf "Theologischen Reden" der Befund völlig negativ ist. Zu Gregor von Nyssa siehe A. M. Ritter, "Gregor von Nyssa *In suam ordinationem* — eine Quelle für die Geschichte des Konzils von Konstantinopel 381?" *ZKG* 79 (1968) 308-328, sowie die knappe Skizze seiner Charismatik in meiner Mitteilung in *Écriture et culture philosophique de Grégoire de Nysse*, ed. M. Harl (Leiden 1971) S. 83 f.

Rolle. Ob Gregor von Nazianz zu sehr religiöser Individualist, zu sehr frommer Ästhet war, um sich für diesen Gedanken besonders zu erwärmen? Ganz anders jedenfalls Basileios. Aus der Fülle in Frage kommender Belege[77] aus seinem Schrifttum zitiere ich einen einzigen, *Reg. mor.* 60.1: "Die Gaben des Geistes sind verschieden. Keiner kann alle empfangen; noch können alle dasselbe haben. So muß denn ein jeder in Besonnenheit und Dankbarkeit bei dem verbleiben, was ihm verliehen ward; und alle sollten einträchtig miteinander leben in der Liebe Christi, wie Glieder an einem Leibe. Wer also weniger Gaben empfangen hat, werde nicht kleinmütig über dem Vergleich mit dem, der mehr hat; noch schaue der reicher Begabte verächtlich auf den herab, der weniger hat. Denn die untereinander zerspalten und uneins sind, verdienen (nichts besseres als) den Untergang."[78]

Aus diesem Gedanken der Berufung aller Glaubenden zur Gliedschaft am Leibe Christi gewinnt Basileios bekanntlich auch wesentliche Argumente für die Überlegenheit des gemeinschaftlichen über das einsame Leben, des koinobitischen über das eremitische Mönchtum, das freilich für Kappadozien, nördlich des Taurus, wegen des dort für gewöhnlich herrschenden rauhen Klimas ohnehin nicht recht geeignet war.[79] Aber das spielt in der basilianischen Argumentation keine Rolle. Entscheidend ist für ihn vielmehr, wenn wir uns nur an der Kernstelle, der Antwort auf Frage 3 des *Asc.* 1 (= *EApokr. fus.* 7)[80] orientieren dürfen: "Erstens," daß "keiner von uns imstande ist, allein die Bedürfnisse des Leibes zu befriedigen, zu deren Beschaffung wir einander nötig haben" — ein sicherlich bewußter Anklang an eine Platonstelle.[81] "Denn wie," fährt Basileios fort, "der Fuß das eine vermag, das andere aber nicht, und ohne die Hilfe der anderen Glieder sich sein Vermögen weder stark noch ausdauernd genug zeigt, und auch, was ihm mangelt, nicht aus sich selbst zu ersetzen vermag, so wird auch in dem einsamen Leben (*μονήρης ζωή*) das, was wir haben, für uns unnütz und das Fehlende unbeschaffbar, da

[77] Vgl. u.a. *Reg. mor.* 58 und 60, PG 31: 788D-792B, 793A-796A; *Mor PrF.* 1.4, PG 31: 677A-B, 685B-C; *HAtt.* [3] 4, PG 31: 205B-208B; *Asc. 1r, EApokr.* 168 = *EApokr. br.* 248, PG 31: 1248C-D; *EApokr.* 187 = *EApokr. br.* 179, PG 31: 1201B-C; *EApokr.* 188 = *EApokr. br.* 62, PG 31: 1124C; *Asc. 3, EApokr. fus.* 24, PG 31: 981C-984B; 35, 1004A-D; *EApokr. br.* 253, PG 31: 1252B-C; *De Sp. S.* 16.39, Pruche, S. 386; PG 32: 141A; 26.61, Pruche, S. 468-470; PG 32: 181A-B.

[78] PG 31: 793A-B.

[79] S. dazu Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 159, Anm. 12, mit Quellen und Literatur.

[80] PG 31: 928B-933C; vgl. dazu etwa noch *EEust.* [223] 2, Courtonne, 3: 10 f.; *EApokr. fus.* 24.35, PG 31: 981 ff., 1004A ff.

[81] *Rep.* 2, 369b.

Gott, der Schöpfer, es so bestimmt hat, daß einer des anderen bedarf, wie geschrieben steht [Pred. 13.20], damit wir uns einander anschlössen. Zum andern ist es mit der Liebe Christi unverträglich, daß ein jeder auf seinen eigenen Vorteil sieht; 'denn die Liebe', heißt es [1. Kor. 13.5], 'ist nicht selbstsüchtig'. ... Zudem ist es in der Abgeschiedenheit nicht leicht, seiner eigenen Fehler gewahr zu werden, weil man niemanden hat, der einen zurechtweist. ... Auch werden von mehreren leichter eine Mehrzahl von Geboten erfüllt, was von einem einzelnen niemals geschehen kann, da das eine Gebot an der Erfüllung des anderen hindert." Damit ist nicht auf den Bonhoefferschen "Konflikt der Mandate"[82] abgehoben, sondern etwas sehr viel Banaleres gemeint, daß wir nämlich, wenn wir z.B. Kranke besuchen, nicht zur selben Zeit Fremde beherbergen können. Das wirkt zweifellos etwas rhetorisch und konstruiert. Aber wichtig ist für uns auch erst das Folgende (7.2). "Wenn wir," heißt es da, "allesamt, in einer Hoffnung der Berufung aufgenommen, ein Leib sind und zum Haupte Christus haben ...: wie können wir dann [in Einsamkeit lebend und also voneinander] geschieden und getrennt, den wechselseitigen Dienst der Glieder und die gemeinsame Unterordnung unter unser Haupt, das Christus ist, verwirklichen und aufrechterhalten? ... Da endlich auch einer allein nicht imstande ist, alle geistigen Gaben (*πνευματικὰ χαρίσματα*) zu empfangen, sondern der Geist nach dem Maße des Glaubens, der in einem jeden ist, verliehen wird [Röm. 12.6], so wird in dem gemeinsamen Leben, die einem jeden verliehene Gabe Gemeingut aller (*κοινὸν τῶν συμπολιτευμένων*). ... Denn was ein jeder besitzt, das hat er nicht so sehr um seinet- als um der übrigen willen empfangen...."

Um so auffälliger ist freilich, daß sich, sieht man näher zu, die Anklänge an die paulinische "Leib-Christi"-Ekklesiologie bei Basileios als im ganzen formelhaft erweisen und die Vielfalt der Charismen nicht eigentlich Konturen gewinnt, über die eher grundsätzliche Feststellung hinaus, daß innerhalb der *ἀδελφότης* der Christen im allgemeinen wie der einzelnen *ἀδελφότητες* im besonderen jedem "Amt," jeder Funktion, "wie gering sie auch sein möge, das Charisma zugeordnet ist, welches fähig macht, die Funktion auszuüben."[83] Dagegen wird z.B. die großangelegte Sozialarbeit des Bischofs von Kaisareia und des von ihm beratenen und

[82] D. Bonhoeffer, *Ethik* (München 1958) S. 70 ff. u.ö.

[83] E. Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile* (Denée 1949) S. 142, unter Berufung auf *Reg. mor.* 7 (PG 31: 712B); ähnlich bereits K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898) S. 162 f. Vgl. auch Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 46, Anm. 37.

geleiteten Koinobions,[84] wenn ich recht sehe, niemals ausdrücklich von daher begründet, daß nach Paulus zu den grundlegenden "Versichtbarungen" (*φανερώσεις*) des Gottesgeistes auch die *διακονία*, die *παράκλησις*, das *μεταδιδόναι*, das *προΐστασθαι* (falls dies, wie manche Ausleger meinen, im Sinne der Fürsorge für andere zu verstehen ist), das *ἐλεεῖν* und endlich die *ἀγάπη ἀνυπόκριτος* gehören (Röm. 12.8 f.). Für ihn genügte anscheinend, daß die praktizierte Nächstenschaft den Hungernden, Kranken, Aussätzigen, Fremden und Arbeitslosen gegenüber integraler Bestandteil des geoffenbarten Gotteswillens ist, dem es sich ungeteilt hinzugeben gilt. Oder um es mit seinen eigenen Worten zu sagen: "Wer da sagt, daß etwas sein eigen sei, der sondert sich von der Kirche Gottes (!) und von der Liebe des Herrn, welcher durch Wort und Tat gelehrt hat, daß man für seine Freunde sein Leben einsetzen müsse, nicht zu reden von den zeitlichen Gütern."[85] Zudem konnte er hier gerade auch an rühmliche Traditionen seiner Familie[86] und — möglicherweise — an das Vorbild seines einstigen Lehrers Eustathios von Sebaste anknüpfen.[87]

Ebenso wie Hilfeleistungen aller Art, zumal "körperliche Wohltaten," für Basileios jedenfalls nicht zu den *χαρίσματα πνευματικά*[88] zu zählen

[84] Vgl. Gregor von Nazianz, *Or.* 43.63, PG 36: 577C-580C.

[85] *EApokr. br.* 85, PG 31: 1144A. Wie Basileios diesen Grundsatz auch in seiner öffentlichen Moralpredigt zur Geltung bringt, zeigen besonders die Homilien 6-8, PG 31: 261A-328C. Zum Prinzip einer "doppelten Moral," mit dem nach E. Troeltsch "die Kirche überhaupt den Ausweg aus dem Problem des Verhältnisses von Welt und evangelischer Moral" und so auch aus der Eigentumsproblematik "fand" (E. Troeltsch, *Die Soziallehren der christlichen Kirchen und Gruppen* [1922, 2. Neudruck Aalen 1965] S. 117), hat er sich nie bequemen mögen, ohne allerdings die Augen davor zu verschließen, daß, so klar und eindeutig auch Gottes Gebot und Wille zu sein scheint, nur wenige Kraft und Entschlossenheit genug besitzen, ihm zu folgen. Was aber wird mit den übrigen? Soll man sie einfach gehen lassen? Dies konnte für ihn offenbar ebenso wenig in Betracht kommen wie eine Antastung der Freiwilligkeit des Gebotsgehorsams. Aus diesem sehr ernsten Zwiespalt — und nicht aus den von R. Staats, "Deposita pietatis. — Die Alte Kirche und ihr Geld," *ZThK* 76 (1979) 1-29 (hier: S. 18, Anm. 50), vermuteten Motiven — ist am Ende auch die so folgenreiche Idee des "Seelteils," der *πρεσβεῖα τῆς κληρονομίας* für die "Seele," d.h. für Gott bzw. für die Armen, erwachsen, wonach im Erbfall die "Seele" vor allen übrigen Erbberechtigten aus dem Nachlaß zu befriedigen sei, wie ein Erstgeborener. Auf den Kanzeln Kappadoziens (und zwar erstmals, soweit wir wissen, von Basileios) verkündet, hat sie in Kulturen und Rechten vieler Länder des Orients und Okzidents nachgewirkt und die Grundlage gebildet für ein sich immer weiter ausbildendes kirchlich-soziales Erbrecht (vgl. dazu E. F. Bruck, *Kirchenväter und soziales Erbrecht. Wanderungen religiöser Ideen durch die Rechte der östlichen und westlichen Welt* [Berlin 1956]).

[86] Vgl. von Lilienfeld, "Basilius," S. 431, unter Berufung auf Treucker, *Politische*, S. 18 ff.

[87] So meint W. D. Hauschild, "Armenfürsorge," *TRE* 2 (1979) 14-28 (hier: S. 22).

[88] Zum Begriff s. u.a. *EAlex.* [139] 3, Courtonne, 2: 59; *EEvagr.* [156] 2, ibid., S. 83.

scheinen,[89] so steht in seinem Charismaverständnis auch — anders als bei seinem Bruder, Gregor von Nyssa, der zuweilen wenigstens, in *De instituto christiano* und *In suam ordinationem*, sehr damit liebäugeln kann[90] — alles Wunderhaft-Enthusiastische auffällig im Hintergrund.[91] Gewiß, er leugnet nicht, daß es die geistgewirkte Kraft (δύναμις), "Zeichen und Wunder" zu tun, daß es die Gabe wunderbarer Krankenheilung, das χάρισμα ἰάσεως bzw. ἰαμάτων, gegeben hat[92] und noch immer gibt.[93] Aber er rechnet damit für die Gegenwart nicht; und es ist für ihn auch nicht wirklich wesentlich, was m.E., denkt man an die Rolle, die eigene Krankheiten im Leben des noch vor Erreichen des 50. Lebensjahres seinen Leiden Erlegenen gespielt haben, viel besagen will! Damit, daß dem Mirakulösen bzw. "Paranormalen" ein ganz untergeordneter Stellenwert beigemessen wird, dürfte übrigens auch zusammenhängen, daß Basileios — im Unterschied etwa zu Augustin[94] und den großen Exegeten der antiochenischen Schule[95] — niemals auf den Gedanken gekommen zu sein scheint, in der Wirklichkeit des Charismatischen ein *privilegium ecclesiae primitivae* zu sehen. Wohl aber teilt für ihn der Geist — heute wie zu allen Zeiten — seine Gaben nicht einfachhin und blindlings, sondern an die "Würdigen" aus:[96] die, die sich — in jener brennenden

[89] S. besonders *Asc. 3*, *EApokr. br.* 257, PG 31: 1253C. Danach wäre Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 28, zu korrigieren, wonach "Basil expands the Pauline notion of charisma to include earthly goods as well." Hätte das Basileios jedoch getan, so wäre das keine "Ausweitung" des paulinischen Gedankens gewesen. Aber was die von F. angegebene Belegstelle (*HInv.* [11] 5, PG 31: 384A ff.; vgl. auch *EApokr. fus.* 9.1, PG 31: 941B ff.; *Reg. mor.* 48.2, PG 31: 768D ff.) besagt, ist etwas anderes, nämlich: daß alles, Reichtum, Stärke, Weisheit usw. zum "Organ" der Liebe und Tugendübung werden könne. Irrig ist m.E. auch die Formulierung auf S. 97 (mit Anm. 136), wonach Basileios in seinen Predigten nirgends so weit gehe, "to exclude temporal occupations from the charismatic realm." An der Belegstelle wenigstens (*HAtt.* [3] 4, Rudberg, S. 28 f.; PG 31: 205B ff.) geht es einzig um eine Differenzierung innerhalb des Kreises der "Jünger des Worts" (τῶν μαθητευομένων τῷ λόγῳ), vornehmlich um verschiedene Funktionen und Aspekte des einen "Lehr"- und Leitungsamtes.

[90] Vgl. dazu die oben (Anm. 76) angeführte Literature.

[91] So richtig bereits Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, S. 144 u.ö.

[92] Vgl. *HFide* [15] 3, PG 31: 469C-472A; *De Sp. S.* 16.37, 38, Pruche, S. 374, 382; PG 32: 133A-B, 137C; 19.49, Pruche, S. 418-420; PG 32: 157A; 29.74, Pruche, S. 510; PG 32: 205B.

[93] *EApokr. fus.* 55, bes. 4, PG 31: 1048B ff., bes. 1048C-D; *EEusbn.* [31], Courtonne, 1: 73.

[94] Vgl. Augustin, *De unit. eccl.* 19; *De catech. rud.* 6; *Sermo.* 187, 188.

[95] Vgl. dazu Ritter, *Charisma*, S. 23 ff., 128 ff., 149 f. Daß dies jedoch nicht alles ist, was die Antiochener zum Thema der Charismen zu sagen haben, und daß schon gar keine Rede davon sein kann, Chrysostomos (ausgerechnet er!) habe mit 1. Kor. 12-14 "schon nichts mehr" anzufangen gewußt (Parmentier, "Die Gaben," S. 226), wird dort ebenfalls zur Genüge deutlich.

[96] *De Sp. S.* 16.37, Pruche, S. 376; PG 32: 133C; vergl. auch 9.22, Pruche, S. 324-326;

Gottesliebe, welche er selbst in ihnen geweckt hat[97] — auf den Weg des Gehorsams, in die Schule der *ἐντολαὶ τοῦ Κυρίου* begeben haben.

Es sind vor allem die "gnostischen," "intellektuellen" Gaben der *δύναμις λόγου*, besonders das Charisma der Lehre, mit dem wiederum die Leitungsgabe eng verschwistert ist, wovon Basileios ausführlich redet und wohin seine Charismenlehre gravitiert.[98] Dieses Gefälle ist m.E. ebenso unübersehbar und unleugbar, wie sich die schon mehrfach gemachte Beobachtung bestätigt, daß innerhalb der basilianischen *Ascetica*, von den *Moralia* angefangen bis hin zur 2. Redaktion der *Erotapokriseis*, dem sog. "Großen Asketikon," sich sowohl die Tendenz zur Ausbildung einer mönchischen Sonderwelt, einer "société particulière" (Gribomont),[99] verschärft, als auch das institutionelle Moment ständig an Gewicht gewinnt. Und das heißt nicht zuletzt, daß sich die Betonung einer "statischen," einer vorgegebenen Über- und Unterordnung innerhalb der monastischen *ἀδελφότητες* Zug um Zug verstärkt,[100] bis es am Ende heißen kann, es gebe "zwei allgemeine Stände (*δύο καθολικώτερα τάγματα*): die einen, denen das Vorsteheramt (*προστασία*) anvertraut" sei, "die anderen, die zur Fügsamkeit (*εὐπείθεια*) und zum Gehorsam bestimmt" seien, freilich "in verschiedenen Charismen (*ἐν διαφόροις χαρίσμασι*)." Wer darum das Vorsteheramt und die Fürsorge für die Menge (*ἐπιμέλεια τῶν πλειόνων*) übertragen bekommen habe, der müsse alles wissen und alles in Erfahrung bringen, um alle darüber zu belehren, was Gottes Wille für sie sei (Leitungsamt = Lehramt!); von den übrigen aber solle ein jeder des Apostelworts (Röm. 12.3) eingedenk sein und also mit Eifer das ihm Auferlegte zu erkennen und zu erfüllen trachten, ohne sich in Dinge zu mischen, die ihn nichts angehen, auf daß er würdig werde, einst vom

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PG 32: 108C; 26.63, Pruche, S. 472; PG 32: 184B; *C. Eun.* 3.4, PG 29: 664A-B; *HPs. 45.* 1, PG 29: 416B; *ENeoc. pm.* [210]. Courtonne, 2: 196. Gemeint ist selbstverständlich der Gottes würdige Wandel (*HPs. 33.* 4, PG 29: 360C).

[97] Vgl. *EApokr.* 30, 157, PG 31: 1104A-B, 1185A-B.

[98] Vgl. *HInv.* [11] 5, PG 31: 381C-384B; *EChor.* [53] 1, Courtonne, 1: 138; *EAmph.* [188] 1, Courtonne, 2: 123; *EApokr. fus.* 32, 45, PG 31: 996C-D, 1032D; *Asc. Pr 2*, PG 31: 1030A-B; *De Sp. S.* 9.23, Pruche, S. 328; PG 32: 109B-C; 26.61, Pruche, S. 468-470; PG 32: 181A-B; *Hex.* 6.11, PG 29: 145D.

[99] Vgl. etwa *EApokr. fus.* 2-6 (= 2 des *Asc. Ir.*), PG 31: 908B-928B, bes. 925A-928B; *EApokr. br.* 97 = *Asc. I.* 87, PG 31: 1149C; *EApokr. fus.* 32, PG 31: 996A-B; und dazu vor allem Gribomont, *Histoire*, S. 299-306; derselbe, "Saint Basile," in *Théologie de la vie monastique* (Paris 1961) S. 106, hier auch mit dem wichtigen Zusatz: "mais c'est là le fait, non le droit."

[100] Vgl. *Reg. mor.* 70, PG 31: 841A; *Asc. PrI*, PL 103: 487A-488A = PG 31: 1080A-B und 900B-901A; *EApokr. fus.* 45, 48, PG 31: 1032C, 1037A-B; *EApokr. br.* 235, 303, PG 31: 1240B-C, 1296D-1297D.

Herrn mit den Worten angeredet zu werden: "Komm her, du guter Knecht; weil du über weniges treu warst, will ich dich über vieles setzen" (Matth. 25.21).[101]

IV

Es scheint also, als sei vom Gedanken der Vielfalt, wie sie nach Paulus für die Gliedschaft am *σῶμα Χριστοῦ* charakteristisch und konstitutiv ist, bei Basileios schließlich nicht übermäßig viel übrig geblieben. Und wenn ich mich nicht irre, dann haben dazu nicht nur Erfahrungen ähnlich denjenigen Luthers ("ich habe noch [!] nicht leute und personen dazu"),[102] sondern auch standesbedingte Vorurteile beigetragen, speziell ein (in der Antike allerdings weit verbreitetes!) anti-demokratisches Ressentiment, das sich etwa Luft macht, wenn Basileios im *Großen Asketikon* davor warnt, daß eine Bruderschaft in Abwesenheit ihres Vorstehers "unter Aufhebung der Regel (*ἐπὶ διαλύσει τοῦ κανόνος*) und der überlieferten guten Ordnung ein demokratisches Gebahren (*δημοκρατικόν τι σχῆμα*) annehme."[103]

Indessen mahnen folgende Beobachtungen zur Vorsicht: zum einen wird den *ὑπήκοοι* auch am Ende von Basileios keineswegs blinder Gehorsam abverlangt, sondern es bleibt ihnen auferlegt — und also auch zugetraut — zu prüfen, ob in der Stimme des oder der Oberen die Stimme ihres Herren zu hören sei (Joh. 10.27.28) oder aber die des "Mietlings" (Joh. 10.5).[104] Wenn man so will, kann man in der Tat mit D. Amand de Mendieta und P. Humbertclaude,[105] aber abweichend vom basilianischen Sprachgebrauch,[106] die *διάκρισις* als das eigentliche Charisma der *ὑπήκοοι*, ihr Pendant zur *δύναμις λόγου* bezeichnen, verstanden allerdings nicht im Sinne der "Geisterunterscheidung," wie sie außer den *Apophthegmata Patrum* auch das athanasianische *Antoniusleben* beispielsweise dokumentiert,[107] sondern im Sinne des *sensus Christianus*, welcher instinktiv Anstoß nimmt an allem, was nicht der *ἐντολὴ τοῦ Κυρίου* entspricht. In

[101] PG 31: 1240B-C.

[102] M. Luther, Vorrede zur "Deutschen Messe" (1526), *Weimarer Ausgaben* 19: S. 75.

[103] *EApokr. fus.* 45, PG 31: 1032C.

[104] S. besonders *EApokr. br.* 303, PG 31: 1297B-C im Vergleich mit 114 (= *EApokr.* 13 des *Asc. Ir.*), PG 31: 1160A ff. und dazu Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 32, Anm. 164.

[105] P. Humbertclaude, *La doctrine ascétique de s. Basile* (Paris 1932) S. 317 f.; Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, S. 144, A. 144.

[106] S. etwa *ENeoc.* [204], Courtonne, 2: 177.

[107] Vgl. bes. Kap. 21, 22, 35, 38, 44, 88, PG 26: 873C-876B, 893B-896B, 897B-900A, 908A-B, 965B-C.

jedem Falle bleibt der Unterschied zwischen Basileios und jenem anderen großen "Lehrer des Gehorsams"[108] innerhalb des östlichen Mönchtums, nämlich Pachomios, bemerkenswert.[109] Zum andern dürfte ein terminologischer Befund in diesem Zusammenhang Beachtung verdienen, auf den jüngst J. Gribomont[110] aufmerksam gemacht hat. Er betrifft das — übrigens für Kirchen- wie für Klostergemeinde weitgehend identische[111] — "vocabulaire des présidents (*proestôtes*), des préposés (*epitetagmenoi*), des responsables à qui les choses sont confiés (*pepisteumenoi*)." Auffällig daran ist das Vorherrschen von "participes pluriels, non institutionnels et non individualisés." Das aber scheint auf ein nach wie vor eher funktionales Grundverständnis hinzuweisen! Schließlich steht außerhalb jeden Zweifels, zumal nach der schönen Monographie von P. J. Fedwick, daß Basileios dies "Amt" der *προστασία*, das die Funktion des Auges und der Lippen im *σῶμα Χριστοῦ*, die des Ohres und der Hand zu erfüllen hat,[112] auf daß man sehe und tue, was vonnöten ist, als Charisma bezeichnet und verstanden hat. Und das heißt, in größtmöglicher Kürze gesagt, daß die Befähigung und Beauftragung dazu letztlich durch den Herrn selbst erfolgt;[113] daß deshalb auch der "Lehrer" nichts Eigenes zu lehren, sondern sich als "Herold (*κῆρυξ*)" zu verstehen hat;[114] daß endlich nicht, weil einer gewählt worden ist, das Amt ausgeübt werden kann; sondern weil Gott das Charisma gegeben hat, darum wird durch die Wahl der "Bruderschaft" die Möglichkeit geboten, es auch auszuüben.[115] Eins steht

[108] Einzig als "Lehrer des Gehorsams" hat Basileios bekanntlich — mit einem einzigen unter seinem Namen laufenden *Apophthegma*, das jedoch kein Zitat aus seinen Schriften verwendet — Eingang in die Sammlung der *Apophthegmata Patrum* gefunden, PG 65: 137B-C.

[109] Zumal für die Bestimmung der Pachomiosregel (*Reg.* 82: A. Boon, *Pachomiana Latina* [Louvain 1932] S. 37), daß sogar der "Privatbesitz" einer *mordex parvula* zum Ausziehen von Dornen aus den Füßen "absque praeposito domus et secundo" unerlaubt, ja daß man nicht einmal wagen dürfe, einen Dorn aus dem Fuße eines anderen, "excepto domus praeposito et secundo et alio cui iussum fuerit," herauszuziehen (*Reg.* 96: ebd., S. 40), gibt es bei Basileios keine Entsprechung. Überhaupt geht die Tendenz der neueren Forschung dahin, und das m.E. ganz zu recht, Pachomios und Basileios selbst im Hinblick auf ihr Gemeinschaftsideal immer mehr auseinander zu rücken; vgl. von Lilienfeld, "Basilius," S. 424 f., 426 f. (mit weiterer Literatur); dazu Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 156 ff.

[110] "Les Règles épistolaires de s. Basile: Lettres 173 et 22," *Ant.* 54 (1979) 255-287.

[111] Vgl. dazu Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 41, Anm. 22, und 97 mit Belegen.

[112] Vgl. *Reg. mor.* 80.15, PG 31: 865A; *HPs. 33.* 11, PG 29: 376C; *HPs. 44.* 4, PG 29: 397A; *EApokr. fus.* 24, PG 31: 984.

[113] Vgl. *Mor. PrF.* 1, PG 31: 677A-B.

[114] Vgl. *HPs. 45.* 5, *HPs. 48.* 2, PG 29: 377C, 436A-C; *Reg. mor.* 80.12-13, PG 31: 864A-C; *De Sp. S.* 26.62, Pruche, S. 472; PG 32: 184A u.ö.

[115] So Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 47, Anm. 48, unter Berufung auf *EApokr. fus.* 43.2, PG 31: 1029A; *EAmph.* [161] 1-2, Courtonne, 2: 92 ff.; *EAmb.* [197.1], Courtonne, 2: 149 f.

jedenfalls fest, daß bei Basileios Charisma und Funktion innerhalb der Mönchs- oder Kirchengemeinde aufs engste zusammengehören,[116] so eng, daß er anscheinend promiscue vom "Anvertrauen" einer *διακονία*,[117] einer *οἰκονομία*[118] oder eines *χάρισμα*[119] reden kann, und darf für ihn nur nach eingehender Prüfung (*μετὰ [πολλῆς] δοκιμασίας*)[120] eine Aufgabe "anvertraut" (*πιστεύεσθαι*), "auferlegt" bzw. "anbefohlen" (*ἐπιτάττεσθαι*), "übertragen" (*ἐγχειρίζεσθαι*), "zubestimmt werden" (*τυποῦσθαι*) oder wie immer die von Basileios gebrauchten Bestallungstermini lauten mögen. Dabei setzt er wohl voraus, daß Gegenstand der "Prüfung" nicht nur die sittliche Eignung des Betreffenden, seine "Heiligkeit" ist[121] sondern auch seine charismatische Begabung.

Dennoch ist, wie mir scheint, das Gesamtgefälle der basilianischen Charismatik eindeutig und sind Fragen m.E. erlaubt, ja geboten; Fragen übrigens, die nicht nur den Trend zur Konzentration aller wichtigen Gaben im "Amt" der *προϊστάμενοι* und — allenfalls noch — der ihnen an "Rang und Verstand Nächststehenden"[122] im Auge haben, sondern auch den anderen hervorstechenden Zug, nämlich die Tendenz zur Reduktion des Charismatischen auf die *δύναμις λόγου*, unter weitgehender Ausscheidung oder wenigstens Zurückdrängung alles Paralogischen und Paranormalen. Mag es sich dabei auch um eine — verständliche — Reaktion auf einen gewissen "Prämessalianismus" im Umkreis des eustathianischen Mönchtums[123] oder aber, woran K. Holl und D. Amand de

[116] So bereits Holl, *Enthusiasmus*, S. 162 f., und vor allem Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, S. 143: "De fait tout charisme est l'accompagnement d'une charge, d'un office." Wenn er allerdings fortfährt: "à tel point que, s'il ne précède pas la fonction, il la suit nécessairement," so verstehe ich das letztere weder, noch kann ich dafür einen Beleg bei Basileios entdecken. *Reg. mor.* 7, PG 31: 712B jedenfalls, worauf sich A. beruft, sagt schlechterdings nichts dergleichen.

[117] *De Sp. S.* 13.30, Pruche, S. 350; PG 32: 120B; *Asc. Pr2.* 1, PG 31: 1080A.

[118] *EApokr. fus.* 45, PG 31: 1033A-B.

[119] *Asc. Pr2.* 1, PG 31: 1080A; *EApokr. fus.* 32, PG 31: 996C-D.

[120] Vgl. u.a. *EApokr.* 21, 31, 92, 186, PG 31: 1284D, 1208B-C, 1172A, 1145B; *De perf.* [22], Courtonne, 1: 53 f.; *EApokr. fus.* 45, PG 31: 1033A-B.

[121] Vgl. dazu Fedwick, *The Church*, S. 87 f. Aber sind hier die ("donatistischen") Gefahren gesehen, die Augustin mit seiner Lehre vom *character indelebilis* zu bannen suchte? Vgl. dazu auch etwa Ritter, *Charisma*, S. 102, 144 f. Von der durch Handauflegung übertragenen "Amtsgnade," um das scheußliche Wort zu gebrauchen, ist m.W. bei Basileios ausdrücklich nur *EAmph.* [188] 1, Courtonne, 2: 123 und möglicherweise auch *EChor.* [53] 1, Courtonne, 1: 138 die Rede. Sie hat also in seinen Überlegungen keine erhebliche Rolle gespielt.

[122] *EApokr. fus.* 48, PG 31: 1037A-B.

[123] Vgl. dazu besonders J. Gribomont, "Le monachisme au IVe siècle en Asie Mineure: de Gangres au Messalianisme," *SP* 2 (1957) 400-415. Wenn H. Dörries mit seiner

Mendieta dachten, um eine zwangsläufige Konsequenz seines koinobitischen Ideals handeln; denn "eine Gemeinschaft mit so strenger Zucht konnte nicht bestehen, wenn einer außer den durch die *δοκιμασία* Anerkannten und mit einem Amt Betrauten die Rechte eines *χάρισμα* hätte geltend machen wollen." Allerdings sei es "nicht bloss das Interesse der Disziplin" gewesen, was Basileios zu solcher Abschwächung des Enthusiasmus veranlaßte: er habe "genug von Jesus und Paulus gelernt, um zu wissen, was in Wahrheit die höchsten Gaben sind."[124] Gleichwohl wird man die Sache heute, wie ich meine, differenzierter ansehen müssen, so wenig strittig sein kann, daß eine Festlegung des Charismatischen auf das Paranormale schwerlich in der Linie dessen läge, was von Jesus und Paulus zu lernen ist. Ich muß mich jedoch mit einem summarischen Hinweis auf den Eingang meines Beitrages begnügen und kann, aus Raumgründen, hier nur noch einen einzigen — auch sozialgeschichtlich belangvollen — Gesichtspunkt geltend machen. Nahezu in der gesamten Auslegungsgeschichte von 1. Kor. 12-14 galt als Paradebeispiel dessen, was bei K. Holl u.a. "enthusiastisch" heißt und was wir uns "paranormal" zu nennen angewöhnen, die "Zungenrede," die Glossolalie. Wenn Interpreten wie K. Stendahl, G. Theissen und W. J. Hollenweger recht haben, dann ist darin weniger etwas besonders Exotisches als eine "raw and fresh primary religious experience" zu erblicken, speziell eine Erfahrung derjenigen, "who are not professional in the shaping of words."[125] Und in der Tat: wenn "in Zungen reden" eine Art nicht-begrifflichen, vorrationalen Ventils für das machtvolle Aufbrechen von Gefühlen und Erfahrungen bezeichnet, dann ist wohl einzusehen, wie sehr sich dies zugunsten des "inarticulate man who comes from a non-literate background,"[126] auswirken konnte. Wo umgekehrt, wie bei Basileios, der Nachdruck — einseitig, würde ich meinen — auf dem "Logisch"-Keryg-

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Deutung recht hätte, dann ergäbe sich eine erstaunliche Entsprechung zu Symeons (Makarios') Kritik am Enthusiasmus, welche seine Zugehörigkeit zum Messalianismus als zweifelhaft erscheinen läßt (s. besonders Dörries, "Die Bibel," S. 289 ff.).

[124] Holl, *Enthusiasmus*, S. 166; fast wörtlich stimmt damit überein Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse*, S. 144 bis auf das Bonmot: "Basile est un homme d'ordre et de gouvernement. Son monastère n'est pas une assemblée de Quakers!"

[125] K. Stendahl, *Paul Among Jews and Gentiles* (London 1977) S. 109-124 (hier: S. 122); vgl. auch G. Theissen, "Soziale Schichtung in der korinthischen Gemeinde. Ein Beitrag zur Soziologie des hellenistischen Urchristentums," *ZNW* 64 (1974) 232-272; W. J. Hollenweger, *Konflikt in Korinth und Memoiren eines alten Mannes. Zwei narrative Exegesen* (München 1978).

[126] A. C. Thiselton, "The 'Interpretation' of Tongues: A New Suggestion in the Light of Greek Usage in Philo and Josephus," *JThS* 20 (1979) 15-26 (hier: S. 20).

matischen lag, was, wie gesagt, schon Gregor von Nyssa Unbehagen bereitet und veranlaßt zu haben scheint, bewußt jene Grenze zu überschreiten, an der das Charismaverständnis des Bruders haltmachte, da war die Gefahr gegeben, daß die Charismen sich nicht allein — ganz unenthusiastisch — nach den natürlichen Anlagen richteten und sozusagen deren himmlisches Gegenstück abgaben, sondern auch, da sie den Artikulationsfähigen, literarisch Gebildeten bevorzugten, die gesellschaftlichen Differenzierungen jener Zeit getreulich widerspiegelten. Denn literarische Bildung war dazumal weitgehend ein Standesprivileg.

Gibt es also eine Reihe wichtiger Anfragen an Basileios, so steht für mich außer Frage, daß er in der Grundorientierung, im Grundansatz seiner Charismenlehre wie seiner Mönchstheologie auf dem richtigen Kurs war, darin, daß er den Charismenempfang an den Gehorsam gegenüber dem geoffenbarten Gotteswillen band. Denn wie der Glaube, so kommt der Geist, der Geist Jesu Christi, aus dem Hören (Röm. 10.17), und das heißt auch: aus dem Gehorchen!

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic
A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium

edited by
Paul Jonathan Fedwick

The study of Basil's life, works, teaching and tradition reveals the exceptional qualities of his Christian, humanistic and ascetic upbringing. Although deeply concerned and involved in the handling of current social and religious affairs, Basil of Caesarea is a truly ecumenical figure belonging to all times and races. These essays commemorating the sixteen-hundredth anniversary of his death have been written by a team of international scholars whose expertise ranges from church history, theology, spirituality, liturgy and iconography to classical studies, palaeography, social history, philosophy and humanities.

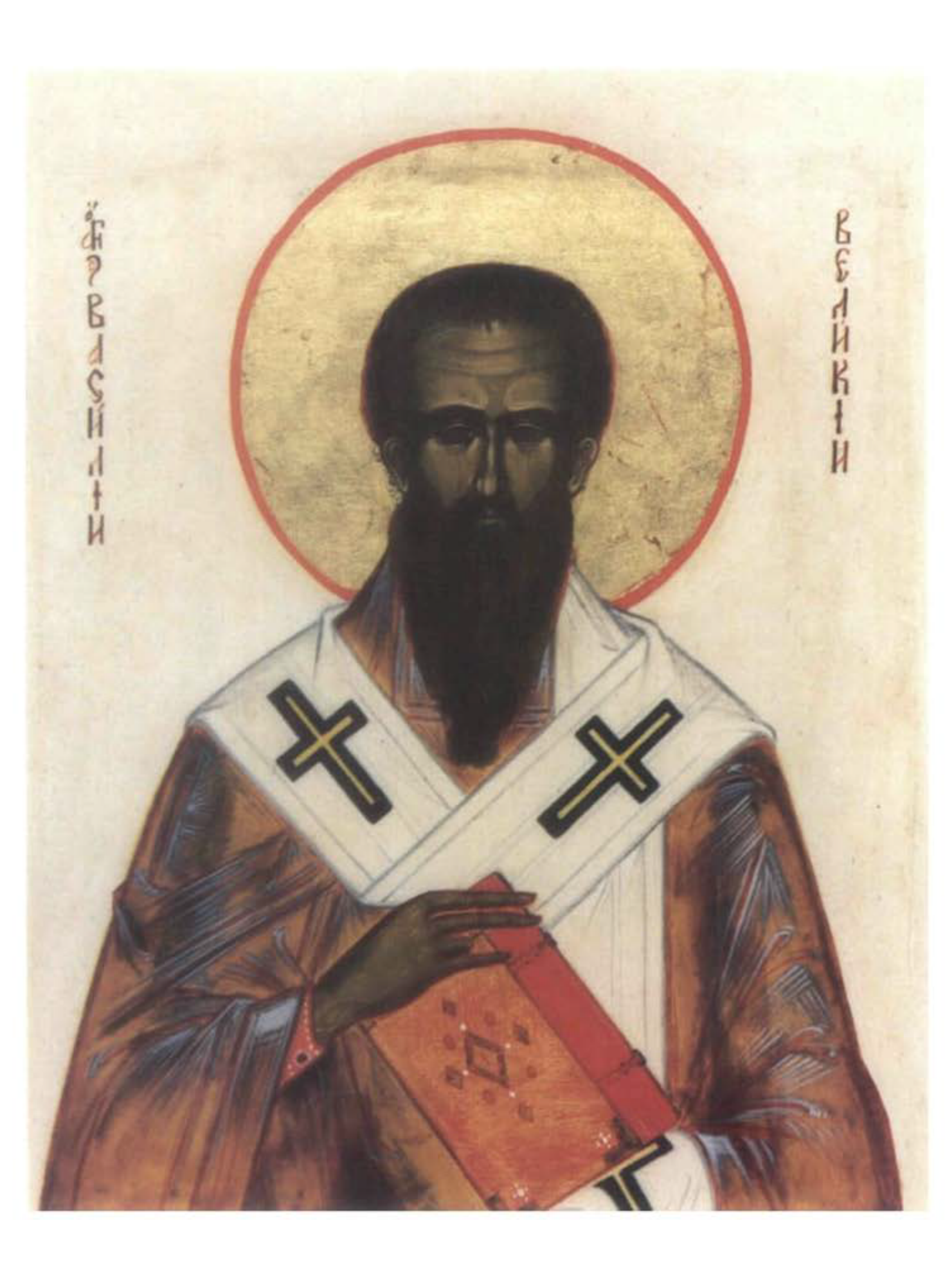
The studies open with a new updated chronology of Basil's life and works followed by a penetrating analysis of his writings within the context of his activity as an ascetic and churchman. Since no critical edition is as yet available of his complete works four studies are devoted to the manuscript tradition of his writings in Greek and of all the translations made before 1400 into Latin, Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Georgian, Slavic and Syriac. Basil's work *Contra Eunomium*, difficult to read, is here masterfully analyzed and presented to modern readers for the first time. His relations with classical Greek philosophy, mainly Plotinism, are studied in the general context of third and fourth-century intellectual history; these studies also offer several corrections and insights into the philosophical background of the Christian world in that period. The thorough study of Basil's knowledge and use of rhetoric exhibits a marriage of pagan art with Christian thought, whose offspring are beauty, clarity, and meaning.

It is argued that Basil, when fulfilling the episcopal office, excelled as shepherd, administrator, and teacher, and as the most coherent defender of the faith against the heresies which undermined the unity of the Church. In his works against those who denied the divinity of the Holy Spirit, Basil examined language, the written teaching in the apostolic tradition, the Bible, and the tradition of the liturgy, in order to argue the equality of the Spirit with the Father and the Son.

What made Basil so effective a leader in the church was not so much his family wealth, his aristocratic background, or his sophisticated education; it was rather his conviction of the power of the Christian life to humanize and civilize, of the strength of moral law, and of the supremacy of spiritual values in circumstances which were materially bad or morally equivocal. Although a strict moralist, Basil never separates morality from understanding. His monasticism, it must be noted, was not so much a protest against existing authority in the church, but a sincere search for spiritual revitalization.

Completing the studies are two essays, one studying Basil's contribution to Western canonical collections, the other focusing on Basil's iconographical representations.

This volume, it is hoped, will be a landmark in Basil studies and will herald renewed and wider interest in a great man who belongs not just to Caesarea and the fourth century, but to the whole world and to all time.


ВАСИЛІИ
ВЕЛИКІИ

BASIL OF CAESAREA: CHRISTIAN, HUMANIST, ASCETIC

A Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary Symposium

Part Two

edited by

PAUL JONATHAN FEDWICK



PONTIFICAL INSTITUTE OF MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

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Contents

Part One

Message of His Holiness, John Paul II, to the Saint Basil Symposium xi

Message of His Holiness, Demetrios I, Ecumenical Patriarch xv

Abbreviations

1. The Works of Basil of Caesarea xix
   —A. Works xix. —B. Dubia xxix. —C. Spuria xxix.
2. Other Works xxxii

Introduction P. Wallace Platt, CSB xxxix

VITA, OPERA, DOCTRINA

1. A Chronology of the Life and Works of Basil of Caesarea
   Paul J. Fedwick 3
2. Notes biographiques sur s. Basile le Grand
   Jean Gribomont, OSB 21
3. Manuscripts and Editions of the Works of Basil of Caesarea
   Stig Y. Rudberg 49
4. Basil's *Κατὰ Εὐνομίου*, A Critical Analysis
   Milton V. Anastos 67
5. Basil's "Neoplatonism": Its Background and Nature
   John M. Rist 137
6. Saint Basil and the Rhetorical Tradition George L. Kustas 221
7. Basilios von Caesarea und die Organisation der christlichen Kirche im Vierten Jahrhundert Konstantinos G. Bonis 281
8. The "Spiritual Sense" of Scripture: The Exegetical Basis for St. Basil's Doctrine of the Holy Spirit Jaroslav Pelikan 337
9. L'idéal du monachisme basilien Thomas Špidlik 361

10. St. Basil's Social Activity: Principles and Praxis
Ioannes Karayannopoulos 375

11. San Basilio y la esclavitud: teoría y praxis Ramón Teja 393

12. A Note on Basil's Letters of Recommendation
Barnim Treucker 405

13. Statt einer Zusammenfassung: Die Theologie des Basileios im Kontext der Reichskirche am Beispiel seines Charismaverständnisses A. Martin Ritter 411

Part Two

THE TRADITION

14. The Translations of the Works of Basil Before 1400
Paul J. Fedwick 439

—Introduction: Significance and Limitations of the Problem 439. —A. Syriac Translations 444. —B. Basiliana Latina 455. —C. Works in Armenian 473. —D. Basil in Coptic Literature 480. —E. Basil in Arabic 485. —F. Georgian Translations 492. —G. Old Church Slavonic Translations 503.

15. Basil and the Early Medieval Latin Canonical Collections
Roger E. Reynolds 513

16. Notes on the Iconography of Saint Basil the Great
Wilma Fitzgerald 533

—A. Official Basil 535. —B. Popular Basil 552.

17. P. Antin 111: Un testimone ignorato delle *Erotapokriseis brevius tractatae* di Basilio Sever J. Voicu 565

18. Repertorio dei manoscritti della versione armena di S. Basilio di Cesarea Gabriella Uluhogian 571

Appendix: Apostolic Letter of John Paul II for the Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Basil of Caesarea 589

Contributors 623

Participants at the 1979 Toronto St. Basil Symposium 624

Bibliography

—A. Editions: Basil of Caesarea 627. —B. Editions: Other Authors 636. —C. Studies 654.

Concordance Between *Asc. 1* and *Asc. 3* 701

Index of Citations of the Works of Basil of Caesarea 703

Index of Citations of Other Sources 713

Index of Biblical References 727

Index of Manuscripts 731

Index Graecitatis 739

General Index 741

The Tradition

14

The Translations of the Works of Basil Before 1400

Paul J. Fedwick
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Introduction: Significance and Limitations of the Problem

In one of his letters addressed to two students, Festus and Magnus, Basil of Caesarea shares some memorable thoughts on the far-reaching significance and consequences of the written word; the works of an author prolong and extend, as it were, his existence into space and time.

> Separation in the body is no hindrance to instruction. The Creator, in the fulness of his love and wisdom, did not confine our minds within our bodies, nor the power of speaking to our tongues. Ability to profit derives some advantage even from lapse of time: thus we are able to transmit instruction, not only to those who are dwelling far away, but even to those who are hereafter born. And experience proves my words: those who lived many years before teach posterity by instruction preserved in their writings; and we, though so far separated in the body, are always near in thought, and converse together (προσομιλοῦμεν) with ease. Instruction is bounded neither by sea nor land, if only we have a care for our souls' profit.[1]

The narrow geographical boundaries within which Basil was confined for most of his life[2] had virtually no effect on his thinking. In all of his

[1] *EFest.* [294], Courtonne, 3: 169.22-34.
[2] With the exception of the time spent on studies in Athens and his trip to Alexandria, some 2,400 km south of Caesarea, Basil hardly ever crossed the borders that surround the

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 439-512.

surviving writings.[3] Basil's outlook is of a man with broad views, reflecting concerns for "the brotherhood all over the world with the same affection and the same zeal"[4] that he showed for his immediate Cappadocian circle. This ecumenical viewpoint combined with balanced judgment and the ability to express his thoughts clearly and forcibly in writing,[5] assured Basil an endurance in space and time which is borne out not only by the history of his works in Greek but also by the translations of his writings which were made in the early Middle Ages into Syriac, Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian and Slavonic.[6] We may further add that Basil from the very beginning was such a highly esteemed and revered personality that in addition to the translation of his genuine writings many other works were made to circulate, some belonging to others, some forged deliberately in order to either "domesticate" or "naturalize" him.[7]

Cappadocian plateau: the Taurus mountains on the south, their extension and the Euphrates river on the east, the Black Sea on the north, and the desert region of Lake Tatta on the west.

[3] In my forthcoming work "Basil of Caesarea, 330-1985. A Critical Survey of the Direct and Indirect Tradition of His Works: Manuscripts, Translations, Early References, Editions and Studies" are listed approximately 630 works attributed to him. Of these some 510 are written in Greek, the others are known only in translation.

[4] *EPetr.* [133], Courtonne, 2: 47.18-19. There is nothing provincial or vulgar in the language and contents of Basil's works. He is indeed one of the first to prove wrong all those who thought the Cappadocians incapable of speaking good Greek. Contrast the opinion of Photius about Basil in P. J. Fedwick, *The Church and the Charisma of Leadership in Basil of Caesarea* (Toronto 1979) p. 173, with that of Philostratus about third-century Cappadocians in A. H. M. Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford 1971) p. 176. Cf. also L. Franck, *Sources classiques concernant la Cappadoce* (Paris 1966) pp. 92-93.

[5] See briefly, Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 169-173.

[6] The reasons for not going beyond the year 1400 are twofold: (a) the enormous output of Basilian and patristic translations notably among the Latin and Slavic-speaking nations beginning with the fifteenth century which even to be properly surveyed would require considerable space; (b) with a few exceptions, most of the translations coming from after 1400 are no longer based on MSS but on the editions of the texts. However excellent, their quality as witnesses diminishes. Nevertheless, with perhaps the exception of Latin and Slavic translations, my treatment of all other translations is almost complete.

[7] By "domestication" is meant the attempt of the early monks who unlike Basil favoured eremitism, to attribute to him writings in which eremitism was recommended side-by-side cenobitism. The best example are the ***Const.*, composed probably in Palestine before the end of the fifth century. Other, less conspicuous attempts, are exhibited in the interpolations of his *Asc. 3*; see the recensions Misogyne and Nilus in J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de s. Basile* (Louvain 1953) pp. 222-230. Cases of "naturalization" are found in many of the adaptations of Basil's works discussed below. See particularly the homiliaries. For examples in Armenian see the work of K. M. Muradyan, *Barseł Kesarac'i ew nra "Vec'oreayn" hay matenagrut'yan mej* (Erevan

Besides being the testimonial to Basil's survival and popularity, some of the translations considered in this paper possess a value of their own. As we shall presently see some of the manuscripts in which the early medieval translations of Basil's works have been preserved antedate the Greek manuscripts, and what is more, some of these versions bear witness to a text which is closer to the original than that of the Greek codices. In addition, the early Latin and Syriac versions of Basil's *Asceticon* have preserved a text which in Greek is extant only in small portions. Hence in modern scholarship it is becoming more and more evident that no modern critical edition of any of the Fathers can afford to ignore some of the early translations of their writings.

On the other hand, turning to Basil, in reviewing the translations of his works we should be aware of some of the limiting factors. First, it should be pointed out that between the fourth and fourteenth century Basil was not the only nor even perhaps the most popular writer to attract the attention and engage the services of the early medieval translators who at the time were anxious to enrich with borrowed material their national and in many instances incipient literatures. Little or no indication exists to support the view that he was preferred to other Greek writers such as John Chrysostom or the two Gregories. Furthermore, it should be noted that during the period under consideration many of Basil's works in which he appears at his best (for instance his more than three hundred letters) were virtually unknown to most people who could not read Greek. The only "lives" in circulation were the encomia of the two Gregories, the Pseudo-Ephrem, and the Pseudo-Amphilochius.[8] By far the most popular was the Pseudo-Amphilochian "Vita et miracula Basilii," a legendary account from the sixth or seventh century bearing little or hardly any resemblance to real facts.[9]

Such is the context in which we ought to place the early medieval versions of Basil's works. In addition, several other points need to be kept in mind. As we shall see, many translations made during that period were not real translations — word-by-word renderings — but free adaptations and paraphrases of the original.[10] Basil's and other writers' works were

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1976), and for Coptic T. Orlandi, "Basilio di Cesarea nella letteratura copta, *RSO* 48 (1975) 49-59.

[8] BHG 244, 245, 246, 246z.

[9] BHG 247-260. Cf. R. Barringer, "The Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of St. Basil: Ecclesiastical Penance and Byzantine Hagiography," *Theologia* 51 (1980) 49-61.

[10] See below under Georgian literature (Ewkt'ime and Giorgi At'oneli) and Arabic literature; also S. Brock, "Aspects of Translation Technique in Antiquity," *GrRoBySt* 20

either lengthened or shortened according to the demands and wishes of the translators/adapters. There was also sometimes applied the literary genre popular among the oriental people, and among the Byzantines as well, whereby a new work was concocted on the basis "of the sayings" of an author.[11] In most instances the procedure adopted was much freer and far-fetched than the one for instance exhibited in the well known *Sermones morales* of Simeon Metaphrastes.[12] The other type of literary production which affected the homilies in particular was that of the homiliaries. By homiliary, from the Latin "homiliarium," it is understood the Greek "panegyrikon," the Armenian "tônakan," the Georgian "mravalt'avi," and the Slavonic "torzhestvennyk," that is, a compilation of sermons of various authors either for public (liturgical) or private use.[13] What we may suspect, although just suspect and not be *a priori* sure, is that the text of a work placed in the homiliary may be to a lesser or greater degree altered, i.e., edited *ad hoc* in order to meet specific requirements. What we can always be sure of is that those requirements will never be ones of literary nature, but of the kind described by Grégoire as "kerygmatic," that is spiritual and practical meant to edify rather than impress the mind of the users.[14] Until more work is done on the individual homiliaries, particularly the very rich oriental ones,[15] we can never be *a*

(1979) 69-87; idem, "Greek into Syriac and Syriac into Greek," *Journal of the Syriac Academy* 3 (1977) 406-422.

[11] In the approximately 5,000 MSS which contain Basil's works (2,500 of which are Greek, and the other half non-Greek) it is often noted that a given work is made up "e dictis sancti patris nostri Basilii." See for instance the "Sermo de juventute et senectute et morte" (in Arabic) in London BL Arund. or. 21, a. 1252; the "Sermo perutilis" (in Greek) beginning with the words *Τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον* in Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 733, 14th cent. These remarks often go unheeded in the studies of the works of Basil. However, they are important for establishing the identity of many of them.

[12] See PG 32: 1116-1381. In most cases, all Simeon did was to add one or two words in order to smooth the transition between the various extracts. However, the authors referred to in the previous note often added whole paragraphs and used the works or "sayings" of Basil only as a framework for their own creations.

[13] I adopt a definition of the homiliary which is much more inclusive than the one proposed by A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig 1937-1952) passim; see J. Gribomont, "Exploration dans les homéliaires de l'Orient," *RSLR* 14 (1978) 232.

[14] R. Grégoire, "Homéliaires orientaux," *DSp* 7 (1969) 609. See also Gribomont, "Exploration," p. 233; and T. Orlandi, "Patristica copta e patristica greca," *VetChr* 10 (1973) 328-341, particularly p. 337.

[15] See already J. M. Sauget, "Deux homéliaires syriaques de la Bibliothèque Vaticane," *OrChrP* 27 (1961) 387-424; idem, "L'homéliaire du Vatican Syriaque 253. Essai du reconstitution," *Mu* 81 (1968) 297-349; idem, "L'homéliaire arabe de la Bibliothèque Ambrosienne (x. 198 sup.) et ses membra disiecta," *AB* 88 (1970) 391-475; and briefly Grégoire, "Homéliaires," 7: 606-617.

priori certain if what we have is really a new work, a different redaction of the original, or simply a different arrangement of the same work whereby an exordium is either left out or placed at the beginning of another work.[16]

In the study of the ancient translations attention should also be paid to the titles given to the corpus of Basil's homilies. In the Greek manuscripts the ordinary title is τὰ ἠθικά comprising all the *Homiliae in psalmos* (no more than eighteen) and the *Homiliae diversae* (the number varies between twenty-four and forty-eight). Also Ewkt'ime At'oneli adopted this designation for his version of a corpus of some fifty-three to fifty-five works of Basil.[17] Because in some Greek manuscripts the same title is also given to the *Regulae morales*, many authors have mistakingly thought that Ewkt'ime translated not Basil's homilies (*Homiliae morales*) but his ascetic rules (*Regulae morales*).[18] In Armenian, Basil's *Moral Homilies* are traditionally designated by a title which is derived from the first homily in the series, the *HIeiun*. 1, in Armenian "Pahoc'," hence the collective name "Girk' Pahoc'" = *Liber de ieiunio*. How misleading and arbitrary these titles can be appears in the case of the Slavonic manuscripts where the same designation *Liber de ieiunio* ("Knyha postnych'stva," or also "Slova postnych'skiya" = *Sermones de ieiunio*) stands not for Basil's *Moral Homilies* but for his *Ascetic Hypotyposis*.[19] In order to avoid such mistakes, I have tried whenever possible to draw my information not only from the manuscripts as described in the catalogues but also from the many specialized studies correcting or completing the catalogue information.[20] In not a few cases I have resorted to the manuscripts themselves, in particular, when such specialized studies were lacking or not available.[21]

[16] The homilies in Arabic listed below (p. 490 c.*ii*.) have only different exordia but the text in all four is the same.

[17] See below under Georgian translations.

[18] M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955) p. 188; G. Garitte, "Géorgienne (littérature spirituelle)," *DSp* 6 (1967) 247. These and other authors repeat the mistake of K. Kekelidze; see E. G. Khintibidze, *Basili Kapadokielis "Samoğwats'eo ts'ignis" kart'uli redaktsiebi* (Tiflis 1968) pp. 162-164.

[19] In most manuals of Slavic literature which I was able to consult it is wrongly affirmed that Basil's homilies not his ascetica were early translated into Slavic; see e.g., D. Chyzhevskyĭ, *History of Russian Literature. From the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague 1971) p. 155; Hr. Luzhnytskyĭ, "Sv. Vasyliĭ Velykyĭ na Ukraini," *Svitlo* 42 (1979) 179. See also below nn. 324, 326.

[20] The most valuable contributions are those of Gribomont, *Histoire*, and S. Y. Rudberg, *Étude sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* (Lund 1953). It would be very difficult to list here the other supplementary literature and the reader is referred to my forthcoming study cited in n. 3.

[21] This is particularly true of the Slavonic MSS.

My survey of all the versions that were made between the fourth and the fourteenth century is arranged according to the various languages. As far as possible, I try to indicate the general context in which the translations were carried out, assess the literary value of the version, and also determine the degree to which people knew the "real" Basil and the extent to which they adhered to his teachings. I begin with the Syriac translations (some of which were made during Basil's lifetime), then follow with the Latin, Armenian, Coptic, Arabic, Georgian, and conclude with the Slavonic recensions.[22] In no way do I pretend this to be the final word in such a complex and intricate matter. My purpose is rather to bring together the results of most recent scholarship and, hopefully, stimulate further research and study in an area so challenging and to a degree still insufficiently explored.

A. Syriac Translations

Throughout his life Basil maintained cordial and friendly relations with many Christians living in the Roman-Byzantine provinces of Coele-Syria, Euphratensis, Mesopotamia and Osrhoëne. From his correspondence with Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, survive nineteen letters.[23] One or more letters are extant from his correspondence with people living in Antioch,[24] Batnae,[25] Beroea,[26] Carrhes,[27] Chalcis,[28] Edessa,[29] Himmeria,[30] Laodicea,[31] Perrhes[32] and Samosata.[33]

[22] To my knowledge there are no pre-fifteenth-century translations into Ethiopic nor any, at least of the authentic works, into Modern Greek from that period.

[23] *EEus.* [27, 48, 30, 34, 95, 98, 128,100, 127, 145, 138, 141, 136, 162, 198, 237, 239, 241, 268]. Samosata (modern Samsat), some 419 km southeast from Caesarea, was since 359 in the province of Euphratensis (formerly Coele-Syria), diocese of Oriens. See also n. 33 below.

[24] *EAnt. ec.* [140], *EAnt. pb.* [253], *EEvagr.* [156]. *EMel.* [57, 68, 89, 120, 129, 216] were written to Meletius while in exile. Antioch (Antakya), in Coele-Syria (after 381 in Syria I.), was the capital of the diocese of Oriens. *EFrat.* [256] was written to the persecuted monks of Antioch. One of them, Acacius, became bishop of Beroea in 378.

[25] *EAbr.* [132]. Batnae (Sarūg, modern Sürüç) was since 363 in the province of Osrhoëne (formerly Mesopotamia), diocese of Oriens. Abramius, to whom Basil wrote, was its first bishop.

[26] *EThdt. Ber.* [185]; *EBer.* [220, 221]. Beroea (Ḥaleb) was in Coele-Syria (after 381 in Syria I.), diocese of Oriens. On Acacius the successor of Theodotus see n. 24 above.

[27] *EVit.* [255]. Carrhes (Haran), about 40 km south of Edessa, was in the province of Osrhoëne (Mesopotamia until 363), diocese of Oriens. Until 361 its bishop was Barses (see n. 29 below).

[28] *EChalc.* [222]. Chalcis (Qennešrīn, south of Ḥaleb) was until after 381 in Coele-Syria (then in Syria I.), diocese of Oriens. When Basil wrote this letter bishop Magnus must

All such contacts favoured the early penetration of Basil's works into Syriac speaking areas. The first edition of his *Asceticon*, the *Asc. 1*, composed before his episcopate, was taken to Syria probably during Basil's lifetime.[34] A translation soon followed.[35] The name of the translator remains unknown. However, one of the oldest manuscripts of the work, the London BI. Add. 14544, was written in the fifth or sixth century by Nonnus "the Sinner," a monk belonging to one of the many monasteries in or near Edessa.[36] The copy was later on sold to Leontius, abbot of the

have been dead. In 378 Eusebius of Samosata ordained a namesake to occupy the see. This Qennešrīn (Chalcis) is not the same as the one mentioned below, p. 449 and n. 57.

[29] *EBars.* [264, 267], while in exile. Edessa (Urfa) was the metropolis of the province of Osrhoëne (Mesopotamia until 363), diocese of Oriens. Barses was transferred from Carrhes in 361. If Basil visited Carrhes in 357 he did not meet Barses; cf. *EBars.* [264]. Courtonne, 3: 126.6-8.

[30] *EEust. Him.* [184]. Himmeria, between Apamea and Carrhes, belonged until 381 to the province of Mesopotamia; afterwards to Osrhoëne, diocese of Oriens.

[31] *EPel.* [254]; **EApoll.* [361, 363]. Laodicea (Lādiqiyeh) was in the province of Coele-Syria, after 381 in Syria I., diocese of Oriens. Basil was well acquainted with its ascetic community which he visited probably more than once.

[32] *Elov. ep.* [118]. Perrhes (Perin) belonged after 359 to the province of Euphratensis (formerly Coele-Syria), diocese of Oriens.

[33] *ETer.* [214]; *ETer. fl.* [105]; *EPauln.* [182]; *ESam. cl.* [219]; *ESam. sen.* [183]; *EAnt.* [146]; *EAnt.* [158]; *EAnt.* [157]; *EAnt.* [168]. On this location see n. 23 above.

[34] The only plausible explanation for the survival of the *Asc. 1* in Syriac and Latin is that it must have left Cappadocia or Pontus before the two new enlarged recensions appeared. On the *Asc. 3* see above, P. J. Fedwick, "Chronology," pp. 15, 17. It should be noted that both *Asc. 2* and *Asc. 3* were never known to the Syrians, and to the Latins not until the fourteenth century (*Asc. 2/3a-c*).

[35] According to A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922) p. 78, and I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia syriaca* (Rome 1965) p. 234, all Syriac translations of the fourth-century Greek Fathers antedate the late fifth and early sixth-century religious divisions. After initially favouring the sixth century, Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 147, concludes: "Il n'est pas impossible que la traduction [scil. of the *Asc. 1*] remonte à une époque très proche de saint Basile, qui était en relations suivies avec le monachisme syrien." See also W. Wright, *Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 3 (London 1872) xix-xx. It could be argued that before the sixth century there was hardly any need for any translations as most Syrians of that time could either understand or speak Greek. In Edessa the study of Greek formed part of the theological curriculum. Besides, all Basil's correspondence with the Syrians mentioned earlier was handled in Greek and what is most significant none of his letters written to them has ever been translated into the vernacular. However, it is unlikely that the monks and ascetics, the main beneficiaries of such texts, were in such a privileged position as most of the inhabitants of the big towns and cities. Like the Coptic, the Syriac ascetics were recruited for the most part from the villages which were untouched by Hellenic culture.

[36] The most likely date of the MS is the sixth century; see C. Moss in Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 108. See also there, pp. 108-109, Gribomont's comparisons with other dated MSS, all from the sixth century and all written in Edessa. For a list of the Syriac monasteries in the region of Edessa see the homonymous entry in *DACL* 4 (1921) 2058-2110.

monastery of St. Theodore on the mountain of Siriyan Qastra, north of Palmyra (Tudmur). It remained there until the year 900 when it was purchased and taken by the monks Mark, Maroutha and Athanasius to the monastery of St. Mary Deipara in Wadi Natrun, Egypt.[37] In the Syriac version of Basil's *Asc. 1* we have one of the two witnesses (the other is the Latin) to the existence of a Basilian work whose Greek original has been lost.[38] However, compared with the Latin, the Syriac version is much freer and much less intelligent, and therefore less reliable for the recovery of the Greek text.[39] Its main value lies in the biblical text used by the translator — the text antedates the Peshitta — and in the light it sheds on the history of Syrian monasticism.[40]

A list of the other works of Basil known to the Syrians is contained in the *Chronique de Séert*, written by the Nestorian Išo'denah in Arabic shortly after 1036:

> Basile nous laissa, entre autres ouvrages, un livre sur l'Hexaéméron, une explication de quelques psaumes remarquables du prophète David, plusieurs traités sur le jeûne et la prière, un écrit sur la règle de la vie monastique, des lettres et des polémiques avec Eunomius.[41]

Because none of the works of Basil translated into Syriac has ever been published, I shall list all the translations directly from the manuscripts, according to the above division, citing for each work only the oldest testimony.[42]

i. *Ascetica*

Chronologically the earliest version is that of the *Asc. 1s* of which we just spoke. No Syriac translation is extant of either the *Asc. 2/3* or the *Reg. mor.* In view that the *Asc. 1s* continued to be copied until the

[37] From this famous monastery (on which see briefly P. Peeters, *Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* [Brussels 1950] p. 183) the MS was acquired by the British Library in 1839. For other copies of the *Asc. 1s* see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 108-114.

[38] In Greek only *Asc. P1* has survived; see Paris BN Coislin. 193, 11th cent., ff. 96v-97v, now published for the first time in BHP 53: 137-138. Since the text of the *Asc. 1* is in many parts identical with that of *Asc. 2/3c* it is possible that the fragments of the papyrus of Antinoopolis studied in this volume by Voicu could just as well be the remnants of the *Asc. 1*.

[39] For some comparisons between the two versions see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 123 ff.

[40] Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 141-144.

[41] I. 51, PO 5: 280-281. Cf. P. Nautin, "L'auteur de la Chronique de Séert': Išo'denah de Baṣra," *RHR* 186 (1974) 113-126.

[42] For a complete list of all the Syriac and other MSS of Basil's works see my forthcoming work cited above n. 3.

thirteenth century, that is virtually until Syriac ceased to be a spoken tongue, one may assume that such translations never existed.[43] The dubious *SDisc.* appears in London BL Add. 14608 from the seventh century; the likewise doubtful *Asc. Pr5*, which in some Greek manuscripts prefaces the *Asc. 3*,[44] is in London BL Add. 12167 from 876. The genuine *Asc. Pr3* is found in London BL Add. 14601 from the ninth century, and the dubious *Epit.* 24 in London BL Add. 14533 from the eighth or ninth century. The only plausible explanation for the existence of these partial versions, and not of the works which they usually accompany in Greek, lies perhaps in the conviction shared by some Syrians with the author of a colophon according to whom the only difference between the *Asc. 1* and the *Asc. 3* consists in the different distribution of the text not in the contents.[45] An otherwise unknown "Treatise on virtue" appears in two manuscripts: London BL Add. 14615, from the tenth or eleventh century, and London BL Rich. 7190, from the thirteenth century.

In a celebrated letter to an otherwise unknown Patricius, Philoxenus of Mabboug (ca. 440-523), exhibits a firsthand knowledge of Basilian spirituality. The entire letter[46] revolves around one of the cornerstones of Basilian asceticism — the absolute necessity for every Christian to observe all divine commandments without discrimination.[47] However, from the historical point of view more interesting is the fact that at Edessa where Patricius lived Basil was known as the supporter of both the cenobitic and the eremitic type of asceticism. It is hard to determine with all certainty on

[43] The Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 126 is from 1223. See below, n. 45.

[44] See CPG 2883, and Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 295-297. Here worth mentioning are the contents of Cambridge UL Or. 2023, 13th cent., which contains mainly but not exclusively ascetic treatises. The works attributed to Basil in it are as follows: "Question of the brethren to Basil"; "Extracts from the writings of Basil"; "From the letter to his brother Gregory" (see London BL Rich. 7190, 13th cent.?; if so it would be the same as London BL Add. 14615, 10/11th cent. described next); "From *SDisc.*"; "Questions and answers"; "On prayer" (c. 1 of the *Const.* as, e.g., in Ayion Oros MMI. 271, 13th cent.?); "From the letter to Amphilochius"; "From another letter to the same"; "From another letter"; "Question put by the brethren to Basil, with his reply"; "Basil and Gregory question and answer."

[45] The colophon appears in the MS written by Nonnus the Sinner in the fifth or sixth century (see above) and in it allusion is made to the *Asc. 3* (368 Questions; the allusion to 360 Questions in Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 122, from a. 769, is probably to *Asc. 2*). However, curiously or rather mistakingly both scribes identify the *Asc. 1s* (which in Syriac has only 183 Questions) with the *Asc. 3*. See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 109 and 111.

[46] Text and French translation in PO 30: 725-873. The part dealing with Basil is at 758-761. The best study is still that of I. Hausherr, "Contemplation et sainteté. Une remarquable mise au point par Philoxène de Mabboug (†523)," *RAM* 14 (1933) 171-195.

[47] See briefly Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 15-23, esp. 16.

what grounds this knowledge rested. Basil, it is known, not only criticized eremitism but he also bluntly rejected it as incompatible with human nature and God's commandments.[48] In order to account for Patricius misinformation one is tempted to think of the spurious **Const. as being the work circulated under Basil's name even at this early period.[49] The only extant Syriac version of the **Const. is from the tenth or eleventh century, or more likely, from the seventh to ninth centuries.[50] However the whole manuscript which contains twenty-eight works of Basil is said to be a *new translation*. This clearly indicates that there was another older version of each work now no longer extant.[51] In my opinion the **Const. in Greek were known in Palestine during or even before the lifetime of Isaias of Scete (†489). Very early on they were translated into Coptic,[52] and, I believe, also into Syriac. The whole work is a clever forgery whose explicit aim is to portray Basil as the upholder of both the cenobitic and the eremitic monasticism. It is precisely from this source that Patricius drew his confusing notion of Basil's spirituality.[53]

Apart from this rather extreme case, although not altogether isolated,[54] we find only a few early traces of Basil's influence on the course and development of Syrian monasticism. In some cases it is not clear if the references are to the Syriac or the Greek text, as most of the authors could also read Greek.[55] The *Asc. 1s* was evidently in use in the Monophysitic monasteries visited by John bar Aphtonia (†537) at the end of the fifth century.[56] This remarkable ascetic was abbot of the convent of St. Thomas in Seleucia on the Orontes until the beginning of the reign of Justin I (518-527). Banned from his monastery, John settled on the left bank of the

[48] See *EApokr. fus.* 7, and Fedwick, ibid.

[49] Nothing impedes us from assigning such an early date for their composition; see below and n. 7 above on Basil's "domestication."

[50] See below, n. 62 and S. Brock, "Basil's *Homily on Deut. xv. 9*: Some Remarks on the Syriac Manuscript Tradition" (forthcoming in the Memorial M. Richard). I wish to thank Prof. Brock, Oxford, not only for making available to me the above article but also for assisting me in many matters related to Syriac MSS.

[51] For the *Moral Homilies* see below.

[52] See L. Th. Lefort, "Les *Constitutions ascétiques* de s. Basile," *Mu* 69 (1956) 5-10. The translation is from the sixth century.

[53] The only other source could be *EGNaz.* [2], translated into Syriac quite early (see below), and which, among others, was often interpreted in the Latin West as advocating the eremitic life.

[54] For other examples see Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 146.

[55] See Gribomont, ibid. For the quotations (most unidentified) of Dadišo see R. Draguet, *Commentaire du livre d'abba Isaïe (logoi i-xv) par Dadišo Qaṭraya (VIIe s.)* (Louvain 1972) CSCO SS 326/327; 144/145: 111, 119, 235, 243.

[56] See F. Nau, "Histoire de Jean bar Aphtonia," *ROC* 7 (1902) 97-135.

Euphrates and in a locality called Qennešrīn ("eagle's nest") he founded the celebrated convent which later became one of the major centres of Syro-Hellenic culture.[57] The chief characteristic of Basil's ascetic ideal, the favouring of cenobitic asceticism, is unmistakably borne out by the account of John's life.[58]

ii. *Hexaemeron*

It is not clear if there has been one or two translations.[59] At any rate, a translation was made as early as the fifth century.[60] I do not know if the complete text of Mount Sinai, MHAi syr. 9, from the eighth century, belongs to this first version or to the second (*sic*) of Athanasius II of Balad.

iii. *Moral Homilies*

There have been two translations of a corpus of some twenty-eight homilies of Basil. The first one, quite free and almost paraphrastic, was made in the fifth century, before the Christological disputes; the second one, characterized by its literalness, came from the school of Jacob of Edessa, and it is probably to be dated to the seventh century.[61] As there is not a complete manuscript from the earlier period, I shall first list the homilies translated for the second time which are found in the Cambridge UL Add. 3175, probably written in the ninth century.[62] Being a "new

[57] Thomas of Heraclea, Athanasius II of Balad, Jacob of Edessa, and others graduated from this centre. That this Qennešrīn is not the same as the one to whose church Basil wrote *EChalc.* [222] (above n. 28) see E. Honigmann, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* (Louvain 1951) p. 191.

[58] See Nau cited in n. 56, and Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 145-146.

[59] In a work published in Syriac in 1967 (see Brock n. 50 above), E. Barsaum asserts that Athanasius II of Balad (see above n. 57) translated Basil's *Hexaemeron* in 666. According to Brock, this could be either a revision of an older version or a new translation.

[60] See the fragments of *Hex.* 7 in London BL Add. 17143, 5th cent. Other fragments: *Hex.* 1 in London BL Add. 17124, 7th cent.; *Hex.* 9 in Milan BA syr. 37, 7/8th cent. Unspecified quotations in Mingana syr. 69, 7th cent. and London BL Add. 12155, 8th cent. Brock (see n. 50 above) adds London BL Or. 8608.

[61] See Baumstark, *Geschichte*, p. 78, and Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia*, p. 234. Both authors place the second version in the ninth century. However, this ought to be considered only as *terminus ad quem*. The activity of the new translators from the school of Jacob of Edessa (see above n. 56) stretched from the seventh into the ninth century. The title of the corpus in Cambridge Add. 3175, 9th cent., and London BL Add. 17193, a. 874, is *'tyqy d-bsylyws* = ἠθικά.

[62] The date given by W. Wright, *A Catalogue of the Syriac Manuscripts Preserved in the Library of the University of Cambridge* (Cambridge 1901) p. 1218 is 10/11th cent. However, Brock (see n. 50) favours the 9th cent. See also N. G. Wilson, *St. Basil on the Value of Greek Literature* (London 1975) p. 72.

translation,"[63] I believe, that they warrant the conclusion that all of these homilies and maybe some more, owing to the defective state of the manuscript, existed alreads in an older version.

Here are the contents of the Cambridge manuscript: i. *HProv.* [12]; ii. *HAtt.* [3]; iii. *HIeiun.* 1; iv. *HIeiun.* 2; v. *HEbr.* [14]; vi. *HFide* [15]; vii. *HMart.* [19]; viii. *HBapt.* [13]; ix. *HGord.* [18]; x. *HGrat.* [4]; xi. *HIul.*]5]; xii. *HPs. 1*; xiii. *HPs. 14a*; xiv. *HPs. 14b*; xv. *HPs. 59*; xvi. *HPs. 61*; xvii. *HPs. 114*; xviii. *HPs. 115*; xix. *HMal.* [9]; xx. *HInv.* [11]; xxi. *HIra* [10]; xxii. *HDestr.* [6]; xxiii. *HDiv.* [7]; xxiv. *Ad adolesc.*; xxv. *HVerb.* [16]; xxvi. **"Against those who say that the Son is not like the Father";[64] xxvii. *HSab.* [24]; xxviii. *HTrin.* [29].[65]

Nineteen of these homilies are found in manuscripts containing the older version: i, ii, iii, iv, v, vi, vii, viii, x, xii, xiv, xvii, xix, xx, xxi, xxii, xxiii, xxiv, xxviii. Also in the older version is *HChr.* [27]. On the basis of this comparison one may conclude, first, that the seven homilies missing, although not preserved in the manuscripts, must have existed in the older version;[66] second, that *HChr.* [27] is probably the one missing from the Cambridge manuscript; and third, that the following (authentic) homilies have probably never been translated into Syriac: *HFam.* [8], *HHum.* [20], *HMund.* [21], *HMam.* [23], *HLac.* [26], *HPs. 7*, *HPs. 28a*, *HPs. 29*, *HPs. 32*, *HPs. 33*, *HPs. 44*, *HPs. 45*, *HPs. 48*.

After comparing both translations of *HAtt.* [3], Brock draws the following conclusion:

> From the point of view of the history of the Greek tradition, the original Syriac translation (Syr. I) is, despite its early date, of disappointingly little importance, by reason of its highly paraphrastic character. Its interest — for it has interest — lies elsewhere, in the field of Syriac language and literature. Syr. II [i.e., the second version], on the other hand, while not achieving the extreme literalness of some seventh-century translations, is of a sufficiently literal nature to render it a witness of potentially much greater value.[67]

In addition to the above authentic works, the following works appear under Basil's name in the manuscripts (all from before the tenth century)

[63] See Wright, *A Catalogue*, p. 1218.

[64] A work otherwise unknown. Not the same as CPG 2950.

[65] The last work in the MS is ***Const.* (incomplete). According to a note by the scribe xxv-xxviii and the ***Const.* are in "another translation." The titles given to *HFide* [15] and *HTrin.* [29] are "De fide prima," and "De fide secunda," respectively. For Simeon of the Black Mountain, translator of *HPs. 1*, see below.

[66] *HGord.* [18], *HPs. 14a, HPs. 59, HPs. 61, HPs. 115, HVerb.* [16], and also probably No. xxvi.

[67] "Basil's Homily" (see above n. 50), conclusion.

of the homiliary type: a. **"Homily on Lent, 1"; b. **"Homily on Lent, 2"; c. **"Homily on Lent, 3"; d. **"Homily on the Martyrs"; e. **"Homily on the xl. Martyrs, 2"; f. **"Homily on Temperance and Chastity"; g. **"Homily on Virginity and Holiness"; h. **"Funeral Sermon on a Child of the Imperial Family."[68]

iv. *De Spiritu Sancto*

Without mentioning the numerous excerpts and quotations from this work,[69] there exist two versions both apparently from the fifth and early sixth century.[70] The title by which this work of Basil is commonly referred to in Syriac is "Epistula ad Amphilochium."[71]

v. *Contra Eunomium*

All four books — Book 4 as one work with Book 5 — are quoted as works of Basil by Timothy of Aelurus (†477), Severus of Antioch (†538), and Theodosius of Alexandria (†ca. 568).[72] However, there is no manuscript tradition in Syriac for all four books as one work. Indeed only the first three books appear with the title "Contra Eunomium," whereas in the above authors and in the manuscripts Book 4 (with the fifth) is commonly referred to by other titles.[73] Both works were probably translated for the first time in the eighth century.[74] But long before these

[68] The MSS for each work are as follows: London BL Add. 17144, 6th cent. (a-d); Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 369, 9th cent. (a-c, e); Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 368, 8th cent. (e); London BL Add. 18814, 9th cent. (f); London BL Add. 14531, 7/8th cent. (g); London BL Add. 18813, 7th cent., and London BL Add. 14520, 8/9th cent. (h).

[69] For some of the references see B. Pruche, *Basile de Césarée, Sur le Saint-Esprit* (Paris 1968) pp. 17-37.

[70] London BL Add. 17143, 5th cent. (inc. et des. mut.), and London BL Add. 14542, a. 509 (without subdivisions into chapters). Both MSS were collated for the edition of C. F. H. Johnston, *The Book of St. Basil the Great, Bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, On the Holy Spirit* (Oxford 1892). Cf. also J. M. Sauget, "L'apport des traductions syriaques pour la patristique grecque," *RThPh* 110 (1978) 139-148.

[71] Pruche, *Basile*, p. 21.

[72] For Timothy see K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. G. Ter-Miniassiantz, *Timotheus Aelurus' des Patriarchen von Alexandrien Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzen Lehre* (Leipzig 1908) with F. Cavallera, "Le dossier patristique de Timothée Aelure," *BLE* 40 (1909) 347, and R. Y. Ebied and L. R. Wickam, "A Collection of Unpublished Syriac Letters of Timothy Aelurus," *JThS* 21 (1970) 335-355. For Severus see CSCO 119/120, 111/112, 93/94, 101/102 *ad indicem*. For Theodosius see CSCO ss 37.

[73] See W. M. Hayes, *The Greek Manuscript Tradition of (Ps.) Basil's Adversus Eunomium IV-V* (Leiden 1972) pp. 8 ff.

[74] London BL Add. 17145, a. 798 (inc. mut.), and London BL Or. 8606, a. 723, written in Edessa, by the priest Gabriel (a "florilegium melkiticum"; see R. W. Thomson, "An

versions appeared they were known through the many quotations and extracts in the florilegia and "catenae" from the early fifth and sixth centuries.[75] The translations that were made at a later date are rather free adaptations of the original for purposes other than combating Eunomius' teachings.[76]

vi. *Epistles*

What for us today is the best source for studying Basil's ideas and the work in which he appears at his best as an ascetic and church leader — his three hundred and so letters — enjoyed only a limited circulation in antiquity. This is not so true of their tradition in Greek as it is of the early translations. Nonetheless in Syriac Basil's letters are represented more strongly than in any other language.

Although no corpus of Basil's letters is extant in Syriac, there are two collections each containing a number of works from his correspondence notably with Gregory of Nazianzus. The works whose titles are given in full (sometimes more than one) appear only in Syriac. They are without parallel in Greek or in any other language.

London BL Add. 17144, sixth century: i. *EItal.* [243]; ii. *EMod.* [111]; iii. **"Letter of Basil to the orthodox priests"; iv. *EMax. sch.* [277]; v. *EAnc.* [29]; vi. **"Letter of Basil to our brother the abbot"; vii. **"Letter of Basil, sent by the hand of the bishop Acacius, when he was a priest, to the convent of Mar Joseph at Teleda"; viii. *EGNaz.* [14]; ix. *EGNaz.* [2]; x. *Ad virg.* [46]; xi. **"A second letter to the same virgin, on her repentance"; xii. **"Letter to the recluses (in the desert or in the monastery)."

London BL Add. 14549, eighth or ninth century, written by Abraham of Beth-Ṣūrāyā: i. *ESoz.* [261]; ii. **"Basil to the priests who were expelled by the heretics"; iii. *EGNaz.* [71]; iv. ***EIuln.* [41]; v. *EAth.* [80]; vi. *EMon. vex.* [257]; vii. *EGNaz.* [14].[77]

Eighth-Century Melkite Colophon from Edessa," *JThS* 13 [1962] 249-258, and P. J. Fedwick, "A Commentary of Gregory of Nyssa or the 38th Letter of Basil of Caesarea," *OrChrP* 44 [1978] 35-36).

[75] See the work of Hayes (n. 73 above).

[76] See Thomson, "An Eighth-Century," p. 250. A "Discourse against Apollinaris" in Mingana syr. 69, 7th cent., has not been identified. See nn. 193-194 below.

[77] Add. 17144 iii is the same as Add. 14549 ii. The title of Add. 17144 v is "Basil to the Alexandrians," and of Add. 14549 i, "Basil to the people of Sozopolis, against the Phantasiasts," i.e., the Julianists (see n. 78). Next, on the canonical collections, I quote only one MS. For other 7/8th cent. MSS see A. Vööbus, *Syrische Kanonessammlungen*, 2 (Louvain 1970), esp. 443 ff.

De perf. [22] appears in London BL Add. 14533, from the eighth or ninth century, with the title "A tract of Basil, containing 48 rules."

In Paris BN syr. 62, from the ninth century, are found the *Epistulae canonicae*, viz. *EGreg. pb.* [55], *EChor.* [54], *EDiod.* [160], *EAmph.* [188], *EAmph.* [199], *EAmph.* [217], "Sentences of Basil concerning heretics who persecute the orthodox," and "Epitimia in canonicas" (12 corresponding to the 11 in Greek). According to the colophon, the translation was made from the Greek in 687.

EOpt. [260] and *EAmb.* [197.1] appear only in extracts.[78]

vii. *Liturgica*

Despite the fact that all the manuscripts are very recent, Rahmani dated on the basis of internal evidence the version of *LBas. 2* to no later than the seventh or eighth century, the time when Syriac literature was at its peak.[79] The oldest manuscript of the translation of *LBas. 1*, the London BL Add. 14497, is from the eleventh or twelfth century. The codex is a "Sacerdotal," according to the Melkite rite, and the translation from the Greek should not have been made too much earlier.[80]

[78] E.g., in London BL Add. 17191, 9/10th cent. In his works written originally in Greek but which have been preserved only in Syriac (from the 7/8th cent.), Severus of Antioch quotes *EMax. phl.* [9], *ETer. fl.* [105], *ENeoc. cl.* [207], *ENeoc. pm.* [210], *ETer.* [214], *EAsc.* [226] (not identified by E. W. Brooks, *The Sixth Book* [London 1902/1904] p. 449), *EAmph.* [236], *EPatrph.* [250], *EEvaes.* [251] (not identified by Brooks, ibid., p. 343), *EUrb.* [262], and *EEulg.* [265]. It should be noted that in Severus' *corpus ENeoc. pm.* [210] followed *ENeoc. cl.* [207]; see CSCO 296 SS 125: 117.17-28. On Julian of Halicarnassus and his quotations from Basil (chiefly from *ESoz.* [261], see R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse et sa controverse avec Sévère d'Antioche sur l'incorruptibilité du corps du Christ* (Louvain 1924) and the edition of Severus' anti-julianistic treatises by Hespel in CSCO 224/245, 295, 301, 318. An extensive use of Basil's *EDiod.* [160] is made by the Nestorian patriarch Timothy I (†823); see CSCO SS 67: 59-62. On this letter which forms part of the *Canons of Basil* see also the *West Syrian Synodicon* edited by Vööbus, CSCO 368 SS 162: 178-182 (the MS on which this edition is based was written before 5 May 1204). The same *Synodicon* quotes also *EChor.* [53], ibid., 187. Further on the *Canons of Basil* in Syriac see previous note. For Timothy Aelurus quotations from *EOccid.* [90], *EAnt. ec.* [140], *EAsc.* [226], and *EEulg.* [265], see Ter-Mekerttschian and Cavallera cited in n. 72.

[79] See Ignace Ephraem II Rahmani, *Les Liturgies orientales et occidentales étudiées séparément et comparées entre elles* (Beirut 1929) p. 403. See also the edition of *LBas. 2* in *Missale Syrorum* (Sharfeh 1922) pp. 172-196. For the MSS and the Latin translation of A. Masius see H. Engberding, *Das eucharistische Hochgebete der Basileiosliturgie* (Münster 1931) pp. xxxiv-xxxv. On the critical value of Masius' work (1569) see Engberding, ibid., p. lxx; for the text see E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 2 (Frankfurt 1847) 543-566. I. E. Rahmani in *I fasti della Chiesa Patriarcale Antiochena* (Rome 1920) p. xxv mentions a sixth-century version of the so-called *Liturgia Nestorii*, whose text is actually quite similar to *LBas. 2*.

[80] The Syriac version of *LBas. 1* is probably also found in Vatican BAV Borg. syr. 13, 12th cent., of the Melkitic rite.

In addition to the *LBas. 1*, the same codex contains an "Ordo baptismi," ascribed to Basil.[81] Another "Sacerdotal," from the tenth century has "The Benediction of the Chalice of Basil" followed by a prayer under his name.[82]

viii. *Authors and Places*

Although not exclusively,[83] the authors and major beneficiaries of the translations were the Monophysites (moderate wing). Just in what places Basil's works were transcribed and available is shown by the colophons of some of the manuscripts now either in the Vatican or in London.[84] Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 103, from 861, was written at the monastery of St. Barbara, on the mountain (westside rocks) of Edessa. From Edessa also hails London BL Add. 14544, written by Nonnus the Sinner in the fifth or sixth century. From St. Jacob, Edessa, comes Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 126, copied by the hieromonachus Simeon in 1223. London BL Add. 14545 is either from Mabbug or Sarmin, fifth or sixth century. According to Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 135, S.A., Simeon of the Black Mountain did the translation of *HPs. 1* at the monastery of Licinius in the fifth or sixth century. Also the scriptorium of Nisibis (modern Nusaybin; Mesopotamia) supplied copies of Basil's works. A colophon written later but found

[81] In Syriac there are three works with this title, two derived from the Greek, and one indigenous (a shorter version in use among the Maronites; Latin translation in H. J. D. Denzinger, *Ritus orientalium*, 1 [Würzburg 1863] 358-359). For the first one see G. L. Assemani, *Codex liturgicus ecclesiae universae*, 1 (Rome 1749) 130-140; 2: 139 ff., and for the second (in use among the Melkites) see Denzinger, *Ritus orientalium*, 1: 318-327 (reprint from Assemani). See also S. Brock, "A New Syriac Baptismal *Ordo* Attributed to Timothy of Alexandria," *Mu* 83 (1970) 367-431.

[82] See London BL Add. 14496, 10th cent. There are not in Syriac any canonical collections of the kind found in Coptic and Arabic, on which see below. On the translation of the *Epistulae canonicae* see above.

[83] On Timothy I, a Nestorian, see n. 78 above. Another Nestorian, Sahdona (Martyrios), a spiritual writer from the 7th cent., quotes only once from Gregory of Nazianzus. But as seen from his writings edited only recently for the first time (CSCO SS 200/201, 86/87, 214/215, 90/91) with Basil he shares many ideas related to the advantages of the cenobitic asceticism. For a seventh or eighth-century Nestorian collection containing a series of "chapitres de conseils pour la formation, utiles dans toute condition et tout état, par Mar Basile," see J. M. Vosté, "Recueil d'auteurs ascétiques nestoriens du VIIe et VIIIe siècle," *Angelicum* 6 (1929) 143-206. This collection, otherwise unknown, is attributed in a MS of Berlin to Evagrius. Besides Al Qosh BCNDS 237, a. 1289, see Vatican BAV Vat. syr. 509, a. 1928.

[84] On the history of the London and Vatican collections (the most complete today) acquired chiefly from the Syrian monastery of S. Mary Deipara in Wadi Natrun, see Wright's preface to the v. 3 of his catalogue of the BL (London 1872, 3: i-xxxix) and v. 2-3 of Assemani (n. 81 above).

in a manuscript from 509, London BL Add. 14542, written by Jacob of Amida (Diyarbakir), states that 250 manuscripts were purchased in 932 at Nisibis by Abbot Moses, who took them to the monastery of St. Mary Deipara, in Wadi Natrun (Egypt).

Without attaching undue significance to the mere (physical) presence of Basil's works in a place, one cannot help noticing that his works were not just "sitting there on the shelves," but that they were also read and assiduously studied. In confirmation of the latter it should suffice to mention the Cambridge manuscript, UL 3175, dealt with earlier, which contains many marginal notes made by the readers who tried to either correct or improve the already quite literal translation prepared by the school of Jacob of Edessa. Also the many quotations found in the dogmatic and ascetic florilegia are witnesses to the popularity and veneration of Basil on the part of the Syriac speaking Christians of various denominations.[85]

B. Basiliana Latina

Unlike his sometime spiritual adviser and friend Eustathius of Sebaste or his hero Athanasius of Alexandria, Basil of Caesarea never travelled to the West. During his lifetime the bishop of Caesarea was known there chiefly through his efforts at restoring peace in the church of Antioch,[86] and through his letters of communion with the churches of Italy, Spain, Gaul, Northern Africa, Sicily, Rome, and Milan.[87]

There is evidence that in less than forty years after Basil's death, manuscripts of his works were available in Italy, France, and Northern Africa. Confronted with a quotation in Latin from *HIeiun.* 1 which he thought to be rendered inaccurately, Augustine of Hippo in 423 was able to look up the original and even to attempt a more "literal" translation of his own.[88] In the course of the same treatise *Contra Iulianum*, Augustine makes

[85] A great number of florilegia are described in the catalogue of Wright (n. 35 above). See in particular London BL Add. 12155, 8th cent., London BL Add. 12156, 6th cent. (edited by I. Rucker, *Florilegium Edessenum anonymum [syriace ante 562]* [Munich 1933] cf. pp. 29, 30, 45, 78-79) to which should be added Mingana syr. 69, written in 650. For the *Historia Josephi*, composed originally in Syriac, see CPG 2987. All the MSS are from the 17-18th cent., with the exception of Paris BN syr. 234 from the 13th cent. However, it remains to be ascertained whether or not the Paris MS contains the *Historia Josephi*.

[86] See *ESyn.* [70], *EOccid.* [90, 263]; *EItal.* [92, 243]. For a survey of Basil's negotiations with the West in the years 371-377 see lastly Fedwick, *The Church*, pp. 101-113.

[87] See *ENeoc.* [204] 7; Courtonne, 2: 179. See also *EVal. ep.* [91], and *EAmb.* [197.1].

[88] *C. Iul.* 1.5.18, PL 44: 652.

another quotation, this time from *HBapt.* [13], but under the name of John Chrysostom.[89]

It is quite certain that Prosper of Aquitaine possessed or at least had access to some manuscripts of Basil's *Moral Homilies* in Greek as his translation of a passage from *HAtt.* [3] differs considerably from that of Rufinus.[90] The same is true of Niceta of Remesiana and Facundus of Hermiane.[91]

[89] *C. Iul.* 2.6.17, PL 44: 685. P. Courcelle, *Late Latin Writers and Their Greek Sources* (Cambridge, Mass. 1969) p. 104 thinks that Augustine's MS contained works by both Basil and John Chrysostom, and that the disappearance of the incipit did not allow him to identify the author of *HBapt.* [13]. It should be noted, however, that once or twice this homily appears in the Greek MSS of Chrysostom under his name. Augustine could not but quote from a Greek MS. B. Altaner, *Kleine patristische Schriften* (Berlin 1967) p. 275 who thinks otherwise appeals to the collection of thirty-eight homilies of the Chrysostom translated into Latin in the early fifth century; see A. Wilmart, "La collection des 38 homélies latines de saint Jean Chrysostome," *JThS* 19 (1918/1919) 412-421. However, *HBapt.* [13] is not among the homilies of John Chrysostom found in that collection. Only the doubtful *SInst.* is. In a recent study S. Poque, "L'expression de l'anabase plotinienne dans la prédication de saint Augustin et ses sources," *RechAug* 10 (1975) 205-215 has put forward the suggestion that Augustine might have had access to *HVerb.* [16] in Greek. Augustine's *Tract. in Ioan.* 20 in which such borrowings would occur is from 418/419. She also thinks that Augustine could have used *HFide* [15], in Rufinus' translation, in his *Sermo Denis* ii and xi from 399/400. Other possible sources of Augustine's teaching could be, according to the same author, *HAtt.* [3], and the two homilies *On Fasting*. On Augustine's quotations from an otherwise unknown *Adversus Manichaeos* see below n. 117.

[90] *Liber sententiarum*, *Sent.* 392, CCSL 58A: 364.1-14; quotation of *HAtt.* [3] 5, PG 31: 209-212.

[91] In his *De vigiliis*, written probably after 379 (and not before as in A. E. Burns. *Niceta of Remesiana* [Cambridge 1905] p. 66; see C. H. Turner, "Niceta of Remesiana *De vigiliis*," *JThS* 22 [1921] 319). Niceta adduces the following passage from "vir quidam inter pastores eximius: 'Sicut fumus inquit fugat apes, sic indigesta ructatio avertit et abicit (*lege*: abigit) spiritus sanctus charismata'" (ed. Turner, p. 312.7-9; see 319 *ad* 9; ed. Burn, p. 66.11-13). This is not a quotation from the Latin homily on fasting (on which see further in this note) as M. Huglo thought in "Les anciennes versions latines des homélies de saint Basile," *RBen* 64 (1954) 131 (the reference in n. 1 to *De psalmodiae bono* is erroneous). The quotation instead is from the Greek *HIeiun.* 1.11, PG 31: 184B, which Niceta undoubtedly read in the original. It should further be noted that throughout this section on the Latin translations all references to the homilies on fasting are to a text which is different from that found in PG 31: 164-197. In my forthcoming work cited in n. 3, I list these homilies under a separate entry as a work different from the Greek *HIeiun.* 1 and 2. I think that the Coptic text should also be considered as a different work; see below, n. 218. See also the homilies on fasting in Syriac and Arabic. Finally, it should be noted that the Ps.-Augustine's *Sermo* 144 (PL 47: 1142-1144), which is the same as Ps.-Maximus' *Sermo* 21 (PL 57: 575-578), consists of borrowings from the (Greek) *HIeiun.* 1 (PG 31: 169-181; see CPL 368) and not from the above Latin recension. Huglo, "Les anciennes versions," p. 131 n. 1 mistakenly refers to the Latin version. See also below n. 104. Facundus of Hermiane in his work *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* from 547/

As is shown by extensive borrowings, references and allusions, Ambrose of Milan, the recipient of Basil's *EAmb.* [197.1], had at his disposition copies of the *Hex.* 1-9, the *De Sp. S.*, and of several *Moral Homilies*, such as *HIeiun.* 1, *HDestr.* [6], *HDiv.* [7], *HBapt.* [13], *HEbr.* [14], and *HPs. 1*.

i. *The Translations of Rufinus*

Among the westerners, Rufinus and Jerome are the most prolific translators of Greek authors. After spending close to twenty-five years in the East, Rufinus brought back a considerable number of Greek manuscripts. Among them several contained works of Basil which he almost immediately set about translating. The translation of the *Asc. 1* was made in Italy ca. 396/397, a year or so after Rufinus' return from the East. At the request of Abbot Urseius, Rufinus undertook the task with an apparent pragmatic purpose in mind: through his translation he hoped to give certain uniformity to the otherwise amorphous monastic movement in the West.[92] The model to be followed were the Basilian monasteries of Cappadocia and the means of achieving it was the work of Basil called by Rufinus "Instituta monachorum." The reference to the monasteries of Cappadocia could suggest a firsthand acquaintance on the part of Rufinus with the province in which Basil lived. However, as there is no other evidence indicating that he indeed went there, the most plausible explanation is that Rufinus learned about Basil's work from some of the Cappadocian ascetics such as Palladius living on Mount of Olives.[93] From these ascetics he very likely obtained also a copy of the *Asc. 1* and some of the other works which he later translated.[94]

548 quotes and translates from the Greek *EPatrph.* [244] 3, *EDiod.* [135] 1-2, and *ENeoc. pm.* [210] 5; see *Pro def.* 4.2, CCSL 90A: 111.181-185; 111.186-112.202; and 10.6, CCSL 90A: 319.10-320.26.

[92] *Tyranii Rufini opera. Praefationes*, CCSL 20: 241.15-20.27/28. Cf. C. P. Hammond Bammel, "A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium Preserving Conventions Used by Rufinus of Aquileia. I. Rufinus and Western Monastic Libraries and Scriptoria," *JThS* 29 (1978) 370-371.

[93] See *EPall. In.* [259]; also *EEpiph.* [258].

[94] Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 260-261, alludes to the possibility that Rufinus could have obtained his copy of the *Asc. 1* from Evagrius Ponticus, former disciple of Basil. As Gribomont notes "such hypothesis appears tempting." However, it should be observed that Evagrius left Basil because of serious disagreement concerning the principles of ascetic life; besides if he had indeed had a copy of the *Asc. 1* he would have made some use of it in his writings. For the only quotation of Basil in Evagrius from an unknown sources see Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 261. All considered, it seems more natural to suggest that Rufinus obtained his copy of the *Asc. 1* from one of Basil's disciples such as Palladius

Despite the title "Regula" given to Basil's *Asc. 1r* in the West there is no indication whatsoever that the monks followed it to the exclusion of any other rule. Along with other so called "Rules" such as the "Regula Macarii," "Pachomii," etc., Basil's *Asc. 1r* formed part of the "Codex regularum" and its main beneficiaries were the abbots not the monks.[95] It is important, however, to notice some of the places in which Basil's *Asc. 1r* was available.

One of the earliest witnesses is the so-called *Regula Eugippii* from the sixth century.[96] Evgippius was the abbot of a monastery situated in Lucullanum near Naples. Some seventeen excerpts from Basil's work are found in his *Rule*, preserved only fragmentarily. The most significant is the excerpt from the *EApokr. fus.* 3 in which Basil discusses the superiority of the cenobitic form of asceticism and opposes it to the eremitic one.

The complete text of the *Asc. 1r* has been preserved in the MS Sessorianus 55, written near Rome in the sixth century. Other manuscripts from between the seventh and tenth century include: Milan BA C 26 Sup., from Bobbio the monastery founded by St. Columban; Leningrad GPB F v. I 2, from Corbie; Orléans BM 192, from Fleury-sur-Loire; Laon BM 330, from the Cathédrale Notre-Dame; Paris BN lat. 12238, from Saint-Germain-des-Prés; El Escorial BM S III 32, from Olivares; Munich BSB Clm 28118, from Saint-Maximin de Trèves; Lambach SB 31, from Münsterschwarzach; Metz BM 395, from the basilica of St. Arnoul; Saint Gallen SB 926, written in the abbey; Wolfenbüttel HAB 4127, from the abbey of Wissenbourg; Rouen BM 758, from Jumièges, and Tours BM 615, provenance unknown. In addition to the places in which the *Asc. 1r* was copied we should add the names of these other locations in which it is

(see n. 93) who lived on Mount Olives from the early 370s, that is, approximately the time before the new revised edition of the *Asceticon* was published between 370 and 376. (Evagrius did not depart from Pontus until after Basil's death; see D. J. Chitty, *The Desert a City* [London 1966] p. 49. On the whole question see also P. J. Fedwick, *Sv. Vasylyĭ Velykyĭ i khrystyanske asketychne zhyttya* [Rome/Toronto 1978] pp. 128-129.)

[95] See PL 103 for the "Codex regularum" compiled by Benedict of Aniane. On the significance of such "codices," see A. Mundò, "Il monachesimo nella penisola iberica fino al sec. VII. Questioni ideologiche e letterarie," in *Il monachesimo nell'alto medioevo e la formazione della civiltà occidentale* (Spoleto 1957) p. 94; and Ch. Courtois, "L'évolution du monachisme en Gaule de St. Martin à St. Columban," ibid., p. 59 with n. 38.

[96] *Editio princeps* from Paris BN lat. 12634, 6th cent., in CSEL 87 (Vienna 1976), prepared by F. Villegas and A. De Vogüé. See in particular De Vogüé's pioneering studies of this "Rule" cited in the Introduction.

known to have been during the first millenium: Arras, Autun, Jura, Limoges, and Reichenau.[97]

Rufinus' version has been edited several times.[98] Unfortunately none of the editions is satisfactory. The new critical edition in preparation, when completed, will be helpful for making the Greek retroversion of a very important work of Basil the Greek text of which has not been preserved.[99]

Rufinus translated the *Moral Homilies* partly in Rome in 398, and partly in Aquileia the next year. Included were eight works: *HPs. 1*, *HAtt.* [3], *HDestr.* [6], *HInv.* [11], *HProv.* [12], *HFide* [15], *HPs. 59*, and *Ad virg.* [46], the latter as a homily, with a final doxology. Rufinus dedicated his translation to Apronianus, his literary agent, for the use of the ascetic Eunomia, daughter of Apronianus.[100]

ii. *The Translation of Eustathius*

A year or so after Rufinus gave the Latin readers Basil's *Asc. 1r* and some of his *Moral Homilies*, another Italian, a nobleman by the name of Eustathius (ca. 400) dedicated to his sister Syncleticia the translation of *Hex.* 1-9.[101] This translation executed in an elegant and Ciceronian style was widely used beginning with the fifth century not only on account of its literary value but also on account of Basil's polemic against the astrologers in *Hex.* 6.[102] Augustine and Bede, however, resorted to it for

[97] For these locations see the excellent study of F. Prinz, *Frühes Mönchtum im Frankreich. Kultur und Gesellschaft in Gallien, den Rheinlanden und Bayern am Beispiel der monastischen Entwicklung (4. bis 8. Jahrhundert)* (Munich/Vienna 1965) p. 97 with map IV A. On Reichenau see the Catalogue from 821/822 in *MBDS* 1: 246.35, citing "Regula ad monachos," "Liber necessariae admonitionis," and also *HPs. 1*, *HInv.* [11], *HIeiun.*, etc. On Pinetum as the source for the diffusion of the *Asc. 1r* see Hammond Bammel, "A Product," pp. 370-371.

[98] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 100-102, and K. Zelzer, "Die Rufinusübersetzung der Basiliusregel im Spiegel ihrer ältesten Handschriften," in *Latinität und die alte Kirche. Festschrift für Rudolf Hanslik* (Vienna 1977) pp. 341-350. Zelzer is finalizing the long awaited new critical edition of the *Asc. 1r*.

[99] It is mainly on the Latin version of Rufinus that one will have to rely since the Syriac translation is of a lesser value; see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 123-141.

[100] See *Praefatio*, CCSL 20: 237, and Hammond Bammel, "A Product," p. 371.

[101] See Altaner, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 437-447 for this date and the identification of Eustathius as an Italian. Most authors before thought that Eustathius was an African and that he translated Basil's *Hex.* 1-9 in ca. 440.

[102] The part dealing with astrology of *Hex.* 6 is extensively reproduced by Cassiodorus in his library-catalogue of Vivarium; see *Instit. div. et saec. litterarum* (ed. R. A. B. Mynors, Oxford 1937) 156.19-157.3. On the whole question see E. Amand de Mendieta, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque. Recherches sur la survivance de l'argumentation morale antifataliste de Carnéade chez les philosophes grecs et les*

exegetical purposes.[103] An indication of the tremendous success of Eustathius' accomplishment is the fact that even after three new translations were issued in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries, his translation continued to predominate.[104]

iii. *Anonymous Translations*

During the same period — the end of the fourth and beginning of the fifth century — an anonymous translator rendered into Latin two homilies on fasting. The text of the homilies is different from the Greek *HIeiun.* 1 and *HIeiun.* 2, and it was probably taken from a homiliary. It is not known if it bears any resemblance to the analogous clusters of "sermons on fasting" existing in other languages.[105] It does not seem likely that Rufinus should be credited with the translations of these works.[106]

Likewise from a homiliary (in Greek) seems to be derived the version of *HMart.* [19]. The text is considerably shorter than the Greek.[107]

Another anonymous person translated *HGrat.* [4] and *HIul.* [5] in Rome in the first part of the fifth century.[108] The translation follows quite closely, although not slavishly, the Greek text, and seems to have been

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théologiens chrétiens des quatre premiers siècles (Louvain 1945) pp. 393-398, and R. Riedinger, *Die heilige Schrift im Kampf der griechischen Kirche gegen die Astrologie. Von Origenes bis Johannes von Damaskos* (Innsbruck 1956) p. 47. The best study of Eustathius' translation from the literary point of view remains that of K. H. von Paucker, *Vorarbeiten zur lateinischen Sprachgeschichte*, 3 (Berlin 1884) 103-117. See also the Introduction to the new critical edition of Eustathius' *Hexaemeron* by E. Amand de Mendieta and S. Rudberg, *Eustathius. Ancienne version latine des neuf homélies sur l'Hexaéméron de Basile de Césarée* (Berlin 1958) pp. xi-xvii. On Scotus Eurigena's independent translations of some passages of *Hex.* 1-9 see J. Dräseke, *Johannes Scotus Erigena und dessen Gewährsmänner in seinem Werke "De divisione naturae libri 5"* (Leipzig 1902).

[103] Augustine, *De Gen. ad litt.* 1.18.36, PL 34: 260, drawn from *Hex.* 2.6, PG 30: 888C; Amand-Rudberg, pp. 26.14-26. Cf. Bede, *Hex.*, *Ep. ad Accam*, PL 91: 9A-10A.

[104] The latest MS is Vienna ÖNB lat. 1076, 15th cent. Argyropoulos' translation edited in 1515 ranks second.

[105] See above n. 91. The first Latin homily on fasting corresponds roughly to paragraphs 1-4 of the Greek *HIeiun.* 1.

[106] See below for a further discussion of this matter.

[107] This homily (see BHL 7541) seems to have circulated mainly in Spain. The MSS are from the tenth and eleventh centuries. London BL Add. 25600 was written in Cardeña by Gomes, "dictus Peccator," in 919. The contents of *HMart.* [19] were also known in the West, through the lengthy paraphrase of Gaudentius of Brescia, CSEL 68: 145-151. Gaudentius in the early 380s visited Caesarea of Cappadocia. A comparison between his summary and the above abbreviated version would be most useful.

[108] *Editio princeps* and study by E. Amand de Mendieta, "Une ancienne version latine inédite de deux homélies de saint Basile," *RBen* 57 (1947) 12-81.

issued by someone interested in the ideas of Basil, quite possibly a Pelagian.

A collection of five letters, ranging over questions of dogma and asceticism, made its appearance very likely in Northern Italy (Milan?) at quite an early period. Included were *EAmph.* [236], *ETer.* [214], *EAmb.* [197.1], *ETheod.* [173], and *ECan.* [52].[109] The only surprises are *EAmph.* [197.1] and *ETheod.* [173]; all the others are concerned with Basil's views on the hypostasis-ousia. I do not know if Ambrose could be credited with these versions but the presence of the otherwise unimportant letter addressed to him seems to betray a circle close to him or his Milan. I had the chance of studying only the translation of *EAmph.* [236] and found it extremely literal. It is a truly word-by-word rendition, with many Greek terms kept in the text.

According to Wilmart, Anianus, the deacon of Celeda who was a specialist in the translations of the works of John Chrysostom, had also translated in the fifth century the dubious *SInst.* but as a work of the Chrysostom.[110]

Likewise from the fifth century comes the anonymous translation of the dubious *SDisc.*[111] Both translations of these ascetic treatises are quite faithful to the original.

Fragments of the *Enarr. in Isaiam* of likewise dubious authorship have been preserved in a twelfth-century Beneventan codex of Montecassino.[112] The translation is quite literal.

Although it is not my intention to discuss the spurious works, mention should be made of the ***Admon.*, composed probably in Egypt in the

[109] These letters remain unedited. CPG 2900 wrongly identifies *ETer.* [214] as *EAth. pt.* [24]; 24 was the old number of the letter to Count Terentius. A. M. Bandini, *Catalogus codicum latinorum Bibliothecae Laurentianae*, I (Florence 1774) 356 suggests Rufinus as the possible translator. But this does not seem likely. After checking the Florence codex I found the vocabulary and translational technique in the letters quite different from those of Rufinus. The Florentian MS is from Bobbio; see G. Mercati, *Codici latini Pico Grimani Pio* (Vatican 1938) p. 187. Mercati notices that all the items are numbered and thinks that originally they formed part of a collection. According to the same author, Facundus of Hermiane would use from this collection the translation of Athanasius in his work *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum* from 547/548. On Facundus' quotations of Basil see above.

[110] See "La collection" cited above n. 89.

[111] *Editio princeps* by A. Wilmart, "Le discours de saint Basile sur l'ascèse en latin," *RBen* 27 (1910) 226-233. For another translation of **SDisc.* see Brussels BSB 27, a. 1461.

[112] See Monte Cassino BA 246, pp. 85-148, published in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, 4 (Monte Cassino 1880) 391-434. I am grateful to Dr. Sever J. Voicu for verification of this reference.

fourth century, and translated very early into Latin. It was known already to Benedict of Nursia but I do not think as a work of Basil.[113] At any rate, quite early it played a predominant role in casting the image of Basil in the West. In most "codices regularum" it accompanies Basil's *Asc. 1r.*[114] The manuscript tradition is unanimous in ascribing it to Basil. However, its style and composition are very foreign to that of the authentic works of Basil.

In some early manuscripts originated in Italy is ascribed to Basil a "Sermo de incarnatione Domini," which is nothing else than chapter six of book two from Origen's *De principiis*, in Latin.[115] Excerpts from this work as Basil's are found in the fifth-century florilegium *Exempla sanctorum Patrum* and in a letter of Leo I. Quotations from the spurious *EGNys.* [38], along with quotations from the authentic *HFide* [15] and *De Sp. S.*, are found in the same *Exempla Patrum.*[116]

Augustine of Hippo quotes two excerpts from a treatise *Adversus Manichaeos*, otherwise unknown.[117] Also in the scholions of Victor of Capua (†554) are quoted two passages, one from the sermon "Ignem veni mittere," and the other from "De dogmatibus" ("Simul rapiamur cum illis"), about which nothing else is known.[118]

[113] On the ***Admon.* see the study and critical edition of P. L. Lehmann, *Die Admonitio S. Basilii ad filium spiritualem* (Munich 1955). To no avail Lehmann tries to show that the ***Admon.* is a work of Basil. See also in the same vein (considering it to be a genuine work) E. Manning, "L'Admonitio S. Basilii ad filium spiritualem et la Règle de saint Benoît," *RAM* 42 (1966) 475-479. Nevertheless, both authors have definitely established the dependence of the *Regula Benedicti* (its preface mainly) on the ***Admon.* H. M. Rochais, "Les prologues du *Liber scintillarum*," *RBen* 59 (1949) 137-156, published from Paris BN lat. 133, 11/12th cent., a different recension of the ***Admon.* which Defensor of Ligugé (late 7th cent.) utilized as a prologue for his work. Cf. also the critical edition by Rochais of the *Liber scintillarum* in CCSL 117: 1-308. For the early Anglo-Saxon translation of the ***Admon.* see the new edition superseding that of Norman from 1848 of L. E. Mueller, "Aelfric's Translation of St. Basil's *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*. An Edition" (Washington, D.C. 1974). See also CPL 1555a.

[114] See PL 103: 683-700.

[115] See Paris BN lat. 10593, 6/7th cent., Italy, ff. 109-115^{v}. See also the edition of *De principiis* in GCS 22: 139-147.

[116] *Exempla sanctorum Patrum*, CCSL 85: 127.993-128.1003. This florilegium was compiled in Constantinople ca. 519/520 by a Scythian monk. Leo I, *Ep.* 165, ACO 2.4: 125. For *De Sp. S.* 18.45, PG 32: 149B-C; ***EGNyss.* [38] 4, PG 32: 332A-B; and *HFide* [15] 3, PG 31: 469A, see *Exempla*, CCSL 85: 126.975-127.981, 127.982-986, and 127.987-992, respectively.

[117] See *C. Iul.* 1.16, PL 44: 650.31-49; ibid., 1-17, PL 44: 651.25-40.

[118] See J. B. Pitra, *Spicilegium Solesmense*, I (Paris 1852) 269. For the quotations of John the Deacon (6th cent.) of these texts see Pitra, ibid., 291.

The short treatise "De remissione xiiii peccatorum," found under this title in only one codex, the Munich BSB Clm 14446b, from the first half of the ninth century, is a patristic florilegium, more commonly known as "Praefatio Cummeani."[119]

A twelfth-century manuscript, the Troyes BM 1234, carries a "Liber sancti Basilii episcopi de divina dispensatione et beneficio nostre salutis." In a fourteenth-century codex, Vatican BAV Chigi lat. A V 130, we find a treatise "Basilii. De claustro materiali; de claustro spirituali; super Deuteronomio." and much more frequently in other manuscripts, "De consolatione in adversis" and "De laude vitae solitariae."[120]

iv. *Three Translations of the LBas. I*

In addition to an excerpt known through a Latin quotation of the fifth or sixth century, we have the translation of a prayer which the priest recites before the "Pater noster" in the Sacramentary of Fulda from the

[119] L. Bieler, *The Irish Penitentials* (Dublin 1963) p. 6 identifies Cumianus Longus with Cummaine Fota (590-662), bishop of Clonfert, author of the so-called *Penitential of Cummean*. The *Paenitentiale Cummeani* has survived in two MSS. the Vatican BAV Palat. lat. 485, 9th cent., from Lorsch, ff. 101-107^{v}, and Oxford BL 311, 10th cent. continental minuscule, ff. 37^{v}-50^{v}; see the edition of Bieler, ibid., pp. 108-135. The *Prologue* has also been preserved separately under the name of Caesarius of Arles in Milan BA L 28 sup., 10th cent., 5, 48: "De remediis uulnerum Caesarii episcopi," and Dijon BM 42, 12th cent., ff. 171^{r-v}: see also the edition in PL 67: 1075; cf. CCSL 104: 980-981. Under the name of Cummean it appears in St. Gall SB 150, 9th cent., pp. 285-287, and Monte Cassino BA 372, in Beneventan script, early 11th cent., from S. Nicola della Cicogna, 5, 56-58: "Excommunicatio abbati Iscotti. Medicina anime." To Basil it is ascribed in Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1349, Beneventan script, 11th cent., ff. 193^{r-v}: "Incipit de remediis paenitentiae. Expositus (*sic*) sancti Basilii inquisitio a Cumiani Longii. De remediis uulnerum..."; also in Milan BA C 79 sup., 12th cent., ff. 110^{v}-111, and in Munich BSB Clm 14446b, early 9th cent., from Regensburg, ff. 66^{v}-67: "Incipit dicta sancti Basilii episcopi de xiiii remissionibus peccatorum, i. De milite Christi, ii. Itaque est remissio peccatorum qua baptizemur in aqua" (follows as in Bieler, pp. 108-110; the number 14 seems to have been obtained by adding item i. and by subdividing the No. 1 of the *Prologue* into ii. and iii.; the codex of Munich has not been noticed by Bieler). For the sources of the *Prologue* see Origen, *In Levit.* 2.4, Cassian, *Conl.* 20.8, and for Munich Clm 14446b probably Ps.-Basil's *Admon*. For further on the *Paenitentiale Cummeani* see Bieler and R. E. Reynolds' study in this volume.

[120] On the last two see CPL 999 ("De consolatione" is not a work of Victor of Cartenna, ibid., 854) and Peter Damian, *Opusc.* 11.19, PL 145: 246A-251B, also titled "De cella," e.g., in Bern BB A-76, 14-15th cent. For more information on the works mentioned here and others ascribed to Basil see my forthcoming work cited in n. 3 above. Perhaps two further works should be added: "Omelia sancti Basilii episcopi. Sanctum evangelium audivit nobiscum caritas vestra, ..." (Madrid BN lat. 78, 12th cent., f. 356 in the style of the *Sermones Pseudo-Caesarii Arelatensis*?), and "Monita Basilii, *Inc.* Similiter quoque et tempore agendi" (Cambridge TC 1133, 13th cent., 8, 92).

tenth century.[121] However, the complete text of the *LBas. I* was done into Latin only between the tenth and the thirteenth centuries.

The first translation is by an anonymous and is found in one manuscript only, Paris BN nouv. acq. lat. 1791 written at the Cistercian monastery of Vauluisant (diocese of Sens) in the twelfth century.[122] The translation itself is from an earlier period and originated in Southern Italy. What is significant is that the *LBas. I* precedes that of John Chrysostom — an indication that at the time it was the ordinary liturgy.[123] The rubrics are scanty and little developed, very much like those found in nine Greek manuscripts which carry the older Constantinopolitan recension of both liturgies.[124]

In 1546 Georg Witzel published at Mainz the Latin version of the *LBas. I* from a manuscript which is no longer extant and which he found in a monastery of Johannisberg (near Mainz).[125] The origin and date of this version are not known, but its detailed rubrics are those of the patriarchal church of Constantinople in use in the tenth and eleventh centuries. A Greek text closely resembling this version was printed by Goar in 1647 from a manuscript, now lost, which Goar obtained from Isidore Pyromalus, deacon of the monastery of St. John the Theologian at Patmos.[126]

Nicola d'Otranto, abbot of the Basilian monastery of Casole (near Otranto; †2/2/1235) is the translator of the third Latin version of *LBas.*

[121] For the excerpt see Fulgentius, *Ep.* 16, PL 65: 442-451, written ca. 519. On this letter see CPL 663 and 817. Altaner, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 506, thought that the text was unparalleled in Greek. However, it is derived from the "Prayer of Intercession" of the *LBas. I*. The prayer found in the Sacramentary of Fulda was edited by A. Jacob, "La traduction de la liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante," *BBR* 38 (1967) 49-51. See also the literature cited there. For an eucharistic fragment attributed to Basil in a 14th cent. MS of Assisi and its possible sources see A. Wilmart, *Auteurs spirituels et textes dévots du Moyen Âge latin* (Paris 1971) p. 413.

[122] Edited by A. Strittmatter, "'Missa graecorum'. 'Missa sancti Iohannis Crisostomi'. The Oldest Latin Version Known of the Byzantine Liturgies of St. Basil and of St. John Chrysostom," *EL* 55 (1941) 2-73; reprinted in *Traditio* 1 (1943) 79-137 (the references are to the latter).

[123] See P. De Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies)," *DACL* 6 (1925) 1598-1599; Strittmatter, "'Missa graecorum'," pp. 81-82, n. 5; A. Jacob, "Une version géorgienne inédite de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome," *Mu* 77 (1974) pp. 72-74. To the twenty-five MSS of Jacob I am adding over fifty more in my forthcoming "Survey" (see n. 3 above).

[124] Jacob, "La traduction," p. 52.

[125] For a complete description of this several times reprinted edition and for that of J. Cochlaeus (Mainz 1549) see my forthcoming work cited in n. 3 above.

[126] J. Goar, *Εὐχολόγιον sive Rituale graecorum* (Paris 1647) pp. 180-184; 2nd ed. (Venice 1730) pp. 153-157.

I.[127] His translation has been preserved in two manuscripts, with slightly different texts, of which Paris BN lat. 1002, 13/14th century, contains the original text, and Karlsruhe E.M. 6, from the thirteenth century, has the revised text.[128]

v. *Studies of the Early Latin Translations.*

We lack a comprehensive treatment of the early Latin versions of Basil's works. Neither have we a critical study based on literary and philological arguments to determine the identity of some of the translators. Here I shall summarize the opinions of some modern scholars, particularly Altaner and Huglo, who dealt at least partly with the problem.[129]

Augustine cannot be considered a translator of Basil, although he does attempt to obtain, as we saw, a more accurate rendering of some of the passages from his works dealing notably with original sin. It has been demonstrated quite convincingly that apart from these rather exceptional cases, Augustine, as a rule, when appealing to the opinions of the eastern authors resorts to existing translations. The same goes for the compilers of early Latin florilegia who like Augustine either translated only the passages in question or made recourse to existing versions of patristic and other texts.[130]

The position of Ambrose is somewhat unique in the Latin West as he applies in the handling of Greek writers a method which combines unacknowledged borrowings from several authors with material of his own. By using texts from more than one author he differs for instance from Ewkt'ime or Giorgi At'oneli and other eastern translators/adapters.[131] However, the lengthy passages that he takes from Basil (and other authors) would deserve in the near future a more detailed study of his method of work.

Rufinus is by far the most prolific translator of Greek authors. He also translated more than anyone else works of Basil, namely his *Asc. 1r* and several *Moral Homilies*. I shall not deal here with the *Asc. 1r* as its trans-

[127] See Jacob, "La traduction," p. 54, who dates it to the years 1174/1178 to 1198.

[128] Edition of both recensions in Jacob, "La traduction," pp. 58-107.

[129] Altaner's various articles are conveniently reprinted in the collection of 1967 (see n. 89 above). I shall quote from this edition also because it has some additional notes and revisions made by the author before his death in 1964. For Huglo's study see n. 91 above.

[130] Altaner, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 498-502. I take exception only to one quotation of Augustine; see n. 89 above.

[131] On Ewkt'ime and Giorgi see below under Georgian translations. See also on Abû-'l Fatḥ 'Abdallāh under Arabic versions.

lation does not pose particular problems. From early times Rufinus appears as its uncontested author.[132]

The question that calls for some further comment because treated incompletely in modern scholarship is the one regarding the number of homilies translated by Rufinus. Garnier in his edition of Paris 1722/1730 printed the text of eight homilies which he found in two Parisian manuscripts.[133] From Paris BN lat. 3701 he adopted the following order: *HPs. 1*, *HAtt.* [3], *HDestr.* [6], *HInv.* [11], *HProv.* [12], *HFide* [15], *Ad virg.* [46] and *HPs. 59*. It should be noted that this order is found in no other manuscript containing the homilies translated by Rufinus. Recently Huglo, noticing that only the first six homilies were found in a sixth or seventh-century manuscript written in Italy, suggested that Rufinus probably issued two editions of his work — one containing the first six homilies, the other the remaining two.[134] Although this is only a matter of small detail, may I point to my difficulty in accepting this theory. Huglo nowhere in his article mentions that before the last item in the Parisian manuscript, the *HPs. 1*, there is the complete text of Rufinus' preface to Apronianus in which Rufinus speaks of eight, not six, homilies.[135] Had this preface been written in 398, as Huglo implies by claiming that it is this type of edition that the scribe of the Parisian manuscript had, it would make no sense. If it was written in 399, then Paris BN lat. 10593 does not descend from any earlier (shorter) edition but from the last and only one which originally contained all eight homilies, two of which — *Ad virg.* [46] and *HPs. 59* — were simply discarded by the copyist.

Let us now turn to the question as to how many homilies did Rufinus in fact translate: only the eight above or more? Whereas in his preface to Apronianus Rufinus speaks of eight works, later on in his *Historia ecclesiastica* he states that he translated "approximately ten brief discourses" ("ferme denas oratiunculas") of Basil.[136] Based on this discrepancy Tillemont, and most recently Engelbrecht, followed by Altaner, claimed that Rufinus should be credited with the translations of some of the other homilies of which we spoke earlier.[137] Two works in

[132] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 107.

[133] Paris BN lat. 3701, 12th cent., from the Oratory of Troyes, and lat. 1701, 12/13th cent. Cf. Huglo, "Les anciennes versions," pp. 129-130.

[134] Huglo, "Les anciennes versions," pp. 130-131. The MS in question is Paris BN lat. 10593, 6/7th cent., written in Italy.

[135] Simonetti in his critical edition (see n. 92) based on all the oldest MSS containing Rufinus' preface nowhere indicates a variant reading for "octo."

[136] *Hist. eccl.* xi.9, GCS 9.2: 1017.

[137] See above pp. 457-459. Altaner, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 409-415.

particular would have to be ascribed to him, the translation of the two *Homilies on Fasting*. Discarding the *Ad virg.* [46] as not a homily but a letter, Altaner thought he could reach the number nine by adding the above two works to the seven ones mentioned earlier.[138]

I consider factitious the argument of Engelbrecht repeated by Altaner that in order to prove that Rufinus translated more than eight homilies one should assume that the original "viiii" was changed in the manuscripts to "viii."[139] As far as I was able to ascertain, none of the manuscripts carrying the text of Rufinus' preface, including the above Parisian from the sixth or seventh century, uses numerals but letters. I would also dismiss as unwarranted the allegation that *Ad virg.* [46] could not have been meant by Rufinus when he spoke in his *Historia ecclesiastica* of "almost ten" homilies. As Prof. Rudberg points out elsewhere in this volume, the work *Ad virg.* [46] is given in the manuscripts as many times as a homily as it is as a letter.[140]

As far as attributing to Rufinus the translation of the two homilies on fasting, this is a matter that can only be resolved on the basis of internal evidence. The testimony of the manuscripts is ambiguous. The only manuscripts known to Engelbrecht and Altaner were the Vatican and the Florentine.[141] In the Vatican the two homilies are placed at the end of a corpus of the works of Gregory of Nazianzus and Basil translated by Rufinus. Apart from many other manuscripts which are copies of the Vatican one, we should add the seventeen manuscripts of Zeno of Verona which carry the *Homily on Fasting* 1 together with three other works translated by Rufinus.[142] The *Homily on Fasting* 1 appears in third place, between *HAtt.* [3] and *Destr.* [6]. The Fratres Ballerini who edited these four homilies from the manuscripts of Zeno seem to have been convinced that the vocabulary and translational technique displayed in the *Homily on Fasting* 1 were very much the same as those exhibited in the other translations of Rufinus.[143] Independent perhaps from their arguments, one could claim that Julian of Eclanum, a Pelagian involved in the contro-

[138] Altaner, *Kleine Schriften*, pp. 412-413.

[139] A. Engelbrecht, *Tyranii Rufini Orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni novem interpretatio* (Vienna 1910), CSEL 46: xiii-xiv; Altaner, *Kleine Schriften*, p. 412.

[140] See above p. 55.

[141] Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 141, 9th cent. (in France?), and Florence BLM Fesole 14, 15th cent.

[142] Most of the MSS of Zeno have been studied by B. Löfstedt, *Zenonis Veronensis Tractatus* (Turnhout 1971) CCSL 22: 13*-45*. The other works of Basil contained in those MSS are *HInv.* [11], *HAtt.* [3], and *HDestr.* [6].

[143] See PL 11: 529-531.

versy with Augustine over original sin, knew and availed himself of this translation.[144] On the other hand, it is well established that Rufinus championed not only Origenism but that he was also a close friend of Pelagius and other exponents of the same doctrine whose main tenets are very much akin to some of the views held by Basil particularly in his *Asc. 1r*.[145] However plausible these arguments may be they cannot generate certainty unless supported by philological evidence. But this has not been done yet, and hence the whole question is still *sub iudice*.

vi. *Some Remarks on the Older Quotations and Use of Basil's Works in Latin.*

I would like to conclude my brief discussion of the Basiliana Latina with a word about the meaning and significance attached to Basil's words by those quoting them. A comprehensive list of all the Basilian quotations in antiquity will be found in my forthcoming "Survey."[146] I intend here to be rather selective, limiting myself to a few names. The purpose is to determine to what extent we can speak of Basil's influence on the shaping of western theology and to what degree his presence may be considered only as one of the crowd.

I shall begin with Augustine.[147] Some authors have claimed that

[144] See above pp. 460-461.

[145] See W. Jaeger, *Two Rediscovered Works of Ancient Christian Literature: Gregory of Nyssa and Macarius* (Leiden 1954) pp. 89-98; R. Lorenz, "Die Anfänge des abendländischen Mönchtums im 4. Jahrhundert," *ZKG* 77 (1966) 35-38; P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of Saint Augustine* (London 1972) pp. 219-220.

[146] As far as I know there are no early medieval quotations of the moral homilies or the letters of Basil. The *Hexaemeron* is the only work which is quoted quite frequently. Already in the catalogue of the library of Vivarium compiled by Cassiodorus we have a long summary of *Hex*. 6. It is precisely this sixth homily devoted to the rebuttal of fatalism and astrology which made Basil's *Hexaemeron* so popular during the early Latin Middle Ages. I know of only two early authors — Augustine and Bede — who quote Basil's *Hexaemeron* for exegetical purposes. Also in his work "De opere sex dierum," Erasmus, a Benedictine of Monte Cassino from the 13th cent., often quotes Basil's *Hexaemeron*: see T. Leccisotti, "Il trattato 'De opere sex dierum' del codice Cassinese 832," *Benedictina* 25 (1978) 49-67. It should be noted that the Anglo-Saxon work, *Be Godes Six Daga Weorcum*, attributed to Aelfric, is not a translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron* as it is sometimes asserted (see, e.g., Henry W. Norman's edition of 1848) but a congeries of texts drawn mainly from Bede, Basil (via Bede), and other Hexaemeral authors. (In Bulgaria in the 10th century a similar "Hexaemeron" was compiled by John the Exarch to which not a few modern authors refer as the *Hexaemeron* of Basil.) For the quotations in the canonical collections see R. Reynolds, below, pp. 513-532.

[147] The purpose of the following remarks is not to criticize or belittle the incomparable genius of Augustine. Nevertheless, because of his failure to integrate into his thought the eastern "tradition," Augustine from the historical viewpoint remains responsible for the

Augustine read most of Basil's works in Greek, and that Basil's influence is most prominent in Augustine's discussion of the Trinitarian relations.[148] Recently Callahan claimed that Basil is the source of Augustine's notion of time.[149] Undoubtedly Augustine knew Basil, not too well but better than any other Greek Father with the exception of John Chrysostom. As was mentioned earlier Augustine had access to some of Basil's works in Greek. However, from two certain instances it is unwarranted to infer that "he read all of Basil's works in the original."[150] As a matter of fact, it appears quite certain that Augustine in general did not read any of the Greek Fathers in the original but only in translations.[151] Surrounded by other, especially pastoral, duties "Augustine had the utmost difficulty in keeping abreast of Greek ecclesiastical literature. In 405 he was still extremely ignorant of this literature and was not capable of contending with St. Jerome on the basis of ecclesiastical knowledge."[152] Afterwards he collected a library which, however, consisted mainly of translations. It was only in the heat of the Pelagian controversy in the 420s that he felt the need of obtaining the original texts of Basil and John Chrysostom.

All this in a way bears upon the quality of Augustine's use of Basil in a twofold manner. First, Augustine does not resort to Basil's teaching spontaneously as some of the Pelagians did who sought in Basil and other Greek Fathers an inspiration for their thinking.[153] Augustine in the development of his theology tries for the most to make sure that Basil and the Greeks do not interfere with his personal views, e.g., on grace, the original sin, etc. Second, Augustine's use of Basil is hampered by his limited knowledge of Basil's life and theological convictions. For his information on Basil and other Greek Fathers Augustine drew mainly

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almost complete ignorance of the eastern authors on the part of many of his followers. See however n. 89 above.

[148] See K. Adam, *Die Eucharistielehre des hl. Augustinus* (Paderborn 1908) pp. 39-40; I. Chevalier, *S. Augustin et la pensée grecque. Les relations trinitaires* (Fribourg 1940) pp. 127-140.

[149] Indirectly, through the statement of Eunomius reported in *C. Eun.* 1.21; Augustine, *Conf.* xi.23. See J. F. Callahan, "Basil of Caesarea. A New Source for St. Augustine's Theory of Time," *HarvClassPhil* 63 (1958) 437-454. See also Poque cited in n. 89 above.

[150] Such is the claim made by the authors cited in n. 148.

[151] See above nn. 130 and 89, and Courcelle, *Late Latin*, p. 208.

[152] Courcelle, *Late Latin*, p. 207.

[153] See n. 145 above; J. De Ghellinck, *Patristique et Moyen Âge. Études d'histoire littéraire et doctrinale*, 3 (Gembloux 1948) 247-310 and F. Refoulé, "Julien d'Éclane, théologien et philosophe," *RSR* 52 (1964) 42-84, 233-247.

from Jerome's *De viris inlustribus* and Rufinus' *Historia ecclesiastica.*[154] From such encyclopedic-type sources he was unable to clear some of the misinformed rumours spread about the orthodoxy of some of the Fathers. In Basil's own case, although Augustine respected Basil as a saint, he was unable to counter the allegations of his friend Orosius who accused Basil of Origenism.

In the case of Ambrose the matter is different. Ambrose whom Basil congratulated on his elevation to the see of Milan knew Greek well. Besides, Ambrose was a man eager to learn. Between 378 and 390 he applied himself to a thorough and systematic study of Basil's works imitating and even plagiarizing some of them just as Jerome did with Origen.[155] In all the works written in that period, that is, in his *De Spiritu Sancto* from 381, *Exameron* from 386/387, *De Helia et ieiunio* after 388, *Enarratio in Ps. 1* after 386, *De Tobia* and *De Nabuthae* from the same time,[156] Ambrose draws heavily on the Greek text of Basil's *De Sp. S.*, *Hex.* 1-9, *C. Eun.* 1-3, *HIeiun.* 1, *HIeiun.* 2, *HBapt.* [13], *HEbr.* [14], *HDestr.* [6], *HDiv.* [7], *HPs. 1*, and *HPs. 14b.* In the treatment of his source material he follows no fixed method. "He now translates literally, now paraphrases, now combines elements of the original in a different order, now condenses, now amplifies." In a word "he adapts Basil's material to suit his own immediate purposes."[157] Or put differently, unlike Augustine, Ambrose draws his inspiration from Basil in an unsurpassable manner.

From these two theologians, let us now turn to some of the monastic authors. About the *Regula Augustini* and its relation to eastern sources I have nothing to add to what Lorenz has found.[158] His conclusion about the coincidental (no more) similarities between the *Regula Augustini* and

[154] Courcelle, *Late Latin*, p. 207.

[155] On Jerome as plagiarizer of Origen see J. N. D. Kelly, *Jerome, His Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London 1975) pp. 145-146. On Jerome's accusations of Ambrose see ibid., 143-144.

[156] On these dates see W. Wilbrand, "Zur Chronologie einigen Schriften des hl. Ambrosius," *HJ* 41 (1921) 1-19. See also M. R. P. McGuire, *S. Ambrosii De Nabuthe* (Washington DC 1927) p. 3.

[157] M. J. A. Buck, *S. Ambrosii De Helia et ieiunio* (Washington DC 1929) pp. 7, 8.

[158] Lorenz, "Die Anfänge," pp. 46-56, records twenty-three similarities between the *Regula Augustini* (written ca. 423), the *Regula Pachomii*, and the *Asc. 3*. (He does not think that the compiler of the *Regula Augustini* knew the *Asc. 1r*.) Only in one instance he admits that the *Regula Augustini* depends on the *Asc. 3*, *EApokr. br.* 180. However, I would not think directly but via Cassian, *Inst.* 4.17, CSEL 17: 58.13-15. For Nos. 13 and 16 Lorenz quotes the *Asc. 1r* and I do not see any reason for affirming that the compiler of the *Regula Augustini* was ignorant of the *Asc. 1r*. See also L. Verheijen, *La Règle de saint Augustin*. 1. *Tradition manuscrite* (Paris 1967) p. 382.

Basil's *Asc. 3* (he excludes any influence of the *Asc. 1r*) could only be proved wrong if evidence were found that Augustine indeed had access to the Greek text of Basil's work. However, this is unlikely due to the scarcity of the information available about the early manuscript tradition of Basil's *Asceticon*.[159]

On the subject of the *Regula Benedicti*, now that the storm has subsided and everyone seems to agree that it is posterior to the *Regula Magistri*, I shall compare two opposing views. On the one side Butler,[160] and all who followed him, represent the view that Benedict is enormously indebted to Basil, that from him he takes all the most characteristic ideas of his own monastic conceptions. On the other side stand such authors as De Vogüé[161] who for the first time profited from the critical studies, particularly by Gribomont, concerning the history and final formation of Basil's *Asceticon*. De Vogüé is inclined to attribute little to Basil's direct influence on Benedict. Most of the analogies and textual approximations he considers either to be taken from a common source or to be quite uncharacteristic and thus insufficient for asserting any direct dependence on the part of Benedict vis-à-vis Basil.

[159] That is to say, in the opinion of Lorenz Augustine could not have known Basil's *Asc. 3*. Evidently at issue is the Greek text, as no Latin translations existed before the 14th cent. Although Greek MSS existed in Italy probably in the fifth century, it is possible that the compiler of the *Rule* availed himself of the text of Cassian (see preceding note). For possible relations between the *Rule* of Aurelian and Basil's *Asc. 1r*, especially *EApokr.* 15, 67, see A. Schmidt, "Zur Komposition der Mönchsregel des heiligen Aurelian von Arles," *StMon* 17 (1975) 237-256, at pp. 252, 247. On the *Regula Pauli et Stephani* (late 6th cent. Italy; no direct quotations) see J. E. Vilanova, *Regula Pauli et Stephani* (Montserrat 1959) p. 214. For the parallels between *Asc. 1r* and the "Regula cuiusdam Patris," see F. Villegas, "La 'Regula cuiusdam Patris ad monachos'. Ses sources littéraires et ses rapports avec la 'Regula monachorum' du Columban," *RHS* (= *RAM*) 49 (1973) 135-144, at 142 (some thirty-three passages). The few early references have been brought together by H. Ledoyen, "Saint Basile dans la tradition monastique occidentale," *Irénikon* 53 (1980) 43-44. Cf. also Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 100, 262-263.

[160] E. C. Butler, *Benedictine Monachism. Studies in Benedictine Life and Rule* (London/New York 1924) is the champion of the view that prevailed unchallenged until the 1960s. See lastly O. Rousseau, *Monachisme et vie religieuse d'après l'ancienne tradition de l'Église* (Chevetogne 1957) criticized by A. De Vogüé (following note).

[161] See the various writings of A. De Vogüé but mostly his *La communauté et l'abbé dans la Règle de saint Benoît* (Rome 1961) esp. pp. 22-26, 103-107, 109-119, 524-530, and *La Règle de saint Benoît*, v. 4-7 (Paris 1971, 1977). Although it is true that Butler's opinion was over-optimistic, the truth seems to lie somewhere in the middle. One cannot avoid noticing the contradictions in which De Vogüé falls by trying to over-minimize Basil's influence on Benedict. This influence should, however, be placed in the historical framework and the context of the times; see below. For a complete list of Benedict's references to Basil see J. T. Lienhard, "Index of Reported Patristic and Classical Citations, Allusions and Parallels in the *Regula Benedicti*," *RBen* 89 (1979) 239-240, 260.

The problem of dependence and influence in general but among ancient authors in particular is a very delicate and elusive one. All one knows about the period is conditioned and restricted by the meagre evidence, in most cases preserved fortuitously. Hence in most instances there is not sufficiently compelling evidence to prefer one solution to the other. However, it can be helpful to place the problem in the right perspective and context. I believe that the context in which Basil's so called "Regula," but in fact his *Asc. 1r*, circulated in the early medieval period was characterized by two circumstances: (a) the early ascetics and monks East and West never followed one set of rules to the exclusion of any other;[162] (b) if they were not already bound by the decrees of regional but most of all ecumenical councils, such as Chalcedon in the East,[163] in practice they were ordinarily subordinated almost completely to the will and oral dispositions of their superiors. The "Codex regularum" was a compilation meant to assist the abbot in the government of his community more than to serve as practical guidance to the monks under his command. Undoubtedly Basil's and other authors' works were also read by the subjects but never as rules in the juridical sense.

In conclusion, I would be inclined to recognize a Basilian influence in monastic matters *mediated* through the will and ability of interpretation of the various superiors — hence limited and not overpowering, of a measure to be determined in each single case individually without unnecessary generalizations.

vii. *Asc. 2/3a-c.*

Whereas the *Asc. 1r* in the translation of Rufinus was the *Regula Basilii* in the West from the early fifth through the fifteenth/sixteenth century, Angelo Clareno's version of Basil's *Asceticon*, along with other secondary pieces, remained an isolated event.[164] Produced probably during the

[162] See Mundò, "Il monachesimo" (n. 95 above), pp. 94-97; K. Hallinger, "Papst Gregor der Große und der hl. Benedikt," in *Commentationes in Regulam S. Benedicti*, ed. B. Steidle (Rome 1957) pp. 231-320.

[163] See L. Ueding, "Die Kanones von Chalkedon in ihrer Bedeutung für Mönchtum und Klerus," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Geschichte und Gegenwart*, ed. A. Grillmeier and H. Bacht (Würzburg 1953) 2: 569-676.

[164] On Angelo Clareno, a Franciscan Spiritual, persecuted by church authorities see L. Oliger, *Expositio Regulae Fr. Minorum, auctore Fr. Angelo Clareno* (Quaracchi 1912) esp. xxxiv-lv; idem, "Ange Clareno," *DHGE* 3 (1924) 17-19; idem, "Spirituels," *DTC* 14 (1941) 2530-2531; Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 91-94; and Cl. Schmitt, "Angelo da Chiarino o Clareno," *DIP* 1 (1974) 638-640, with other literature, to which now should be added L. von Auw, *Angelo Clareno et les spirituels italiens* (Rome 1979).

Franciscan's exile in Thessalia, his translation has survived in five manuscripts only.[165] The composite picture of the corpus of Basil's ascetica translated by Clareno is as follows: i. *Hyp. Pr*; ii. *Mor PrI* (as one work with the preceding); iii. Ps.-Macarius, *Hom.* 25 (= *Prol.* 9); iv. *EGNaz.* [2], followed immediately by the conclusion of v. ***Prol. Const.*; vi. ***Const.*;[166] vii. ***SRen.*; viii. **Asc. Pr5*; ix. *Asc. Pr3*; x. *Asc. Pr4*; xi. *EApokr.* 1-314; xii. **SAsc.* (following John Chrysostom, *Ep.* 125); xiii. **Epit.* 24; xiv. ***Epit.* 26; xv. **Epit.* 25; xvi-xvii. *ETheod.* [173] and *De perf.* [22]; xviii. *De bapt.* 1-2; xix. ***Admon.*;[167] xx. *EMon. comm.* [23]; xxi. *EAmph.* [150]; xxii. **SDisc.*[168]

Gribomont has determined that the Greek text utilized by Clareno belonged to the *recensio* O with some contaminations from *recensio* N.[169] Hence it is difficult to know if Angelo worked on his translation while in Thessalia in 1300/1305 or after his return to Italy in 1305, and more precisely at Subiaco in 1318/1334.[170]

C. Works in Armenian

It is believed that in about 363/365 Basil assisted Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea, in the consecration of Nerses, the newly acclaimed Catholicos of Armenia.[171] In any event we see Basil relating more directly to the church of Armenia in 372/373. Nerses had just been poisoned by King Pap and Emperor Valens was most anxious to secure Roman influence over Armenia. He personally delegated Basil to visit the area and to appoint a new Catholicos. Basil describes his mission in terms that are not flattering

[165] Subiaco ASS 227, 14th cent. (probably autograph of Angelo Clareno); Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 304, 14th cent.; Florence BNC D-2745, 14th cent.; Vatican BAV Urb. lat. 521, 15th cent.; and Urb. lat. 59, 15th cent.

[166] As in Athens EB 223, a. 1195, from the monasteries of Meteora, where Clareno probably saw it; see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 56-57.

[167] In the older fifth-century version, see PL 103: 683-700. Here ends the MS-autograph. The following works are found only in the other MSS. *ETheod.* [173] and *De perf.* [22] were printed by G. C. Amaduzzi and G. L. Bianconi, *Anecdota litteraria*, 1 (Rome 1773) 29-40.

[168] In the older translation edited by Wilmart (see n. 111 above).

[169] Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 92.

[170] Most MSS of *Asc. 2/3b* could be found only in Italy.

[171] See L. Duchesne, *The Early History of the Christian Church*, 3 (London 1924) 372; S. Vailhé, "Formation de l'Église arménienne," *EO* 16 (1913) 200. The date 353 is given by mistake in H. Nersoyan's delightful *A History of the Armenian Church, with thirty five stories* (New York 1963) p. 66. That Nerses was consecrated by Eusebius see Faustus quoted in the incomparable work (with substantial revisions by N. G. Garsoían) of N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970) p. 475, n. 76.

to the moral qualities of the leaders of the church of Armenia.[172] Basil's attempt to make Cyril instead of Faustus the successor to Nerses met with strong opposition from the local clergy and also from the king who in the end prevailed by resorting to Anthimus, the self-proclaimed Metropolitan of Cappadocia II.[173]

The fact that the church of Armenia depended on Caesarea explains the adoption in the former of a liturgical formulary ascribed in the oldest Armenian manuscripts to Gregory the Illuminator but which in fact comes from Cappadocia.[174] Its translation follows shortly the invention of a script for Armenians by Mashtots, under the catholicate of Sahak (388/389-439), son of the ill-fated Nerses. Until then Armenians in respect of books were tributaries of the Greeks and Syrians: they preached in Armenian, but all writings were either in Greek or Syriac. With the assistance of Mashtots, the Catholicos Sahak ushered in what is known as the "Golden Age" (Oskear) of Armenian letters. This period, referred to also as the "Age of Translators," brought about versions of the entire Bible, the liturgy, the canons, and the works of a great number of Greek Fathers. A considerable number of Basil's works were also translated during this period.[175] I shall review the Armenian translations of Basil's works according to the tripartite division which was known already to the thirteenth-century compiler of the first bibliography of Armenian literature (i) *Asc. 2h* (*Girk' Harc'olac'*, literally "Liber interrogationum"); (ii) *Hexaemeron*; and (iii) *Moral Homilies* (*Girk' Pahoc'*, i.e., "Liber de ieiunio").

i. *Asc. 2h and Other Ascetica*

One of the earliest versions of the *Asc. 2* made before the tenth century is the Armenian. It was completed only a few decades after the death of Basil from a manuscript found in the hospital of Caesarea in which all 360 questions were counted consecutively without distinction between longer

[172] *ETer.* [99] 4: Courtonne, 1: 217-218. Vailhé, "Formation," p. 202 suggests that Basil is referring to the bishops of Armenia proper and not Roman Armenia or Armenia Minor.

[173] *EThdt.* [121]: Courtonne, 2: 26-27.

[174] On the anaphora of *LBas. 3* see below, p. 479.

[175] Most of the works contained in the three categories described below were translated between the fifth and the eighth century. In that period, the following translators in particular occupied themselves with the works of Basil: Khozrov "the Translator," 5th cent., a disciple of Mashtots and Sahak; David "the Translator," 7th cent.; and Stephen Siunetse, 8th cent.

and shorter interrogations.[176] The *Girk' Harc'olac'* was accompanied by the authentic *Asc. Pr3*, the dubious *Asc. Pr5* and the likewise dubious *Epit.* 24. Gramatically and linguistically the translation follows quite closely the Greek, but not slavishly. It should be of great assistance for establishing the critical text of the *Asc. 2*.[177]

The influence of Basilian asceticism on the formation and development of Armenian monasticism antedates the publication of the *Girk' Harc'olac'*. Nerses was brought up in Cappadocia in the schools of Eustathius and Basil, and through him the main features of Basilian asceticism were introduced into Armenia: Christian perfection combined with works of apostolate and evangelization; social initiative and enterprise (building and administering of schools and hospitals, care of the sick and needy); sanction of the "ordo hieromonachorum" (*vardapets*) among a hitherto exclusively lay and uneducated group of monks.[178]

However, the progress of this dynamic and socially and ecclesiastically relevant asceticism was not fast nor universal, not even after the appearance of the *Girk' Harc'olac'*. The forms of eremitism remained strongly rooted. Hence the Council of Sahapivan (24 June 444?) had to remind everyone of the necessity to practice the cenobitic life.[179]

Direct borrowings from the *Asc. 2h* are found in the homily called *Yačaxapatoum 23*, attributed by some to Gregory the Illuminator, by others to Mashtots, but which in reality seems to be from 630. Here are its main ideas for which it is not difficult to find parallels in the work of Basil: the ascetic community as the body of Christ: necessity to obey the leader and the community; practice of prayer as memory of God, etc.[180] In the *Universal History* of Ašolnik, written at the beginning of the eleventh century, there is a description of the founding of a monastery at Sevan "according to the institutes of Basil," by Mashtots, the future Catho-

[176] Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 65-77. G. Uluhogian, "Contributi allo studio della tradizione manoscritta del Basilio armeno: 1) Il mscr. 5595 di Erivan," *RILSL* 109 (1975) 210-225, adds the description of one of the oldest and most complete witnesses written in 1279 at the monastery of Eliazar or the Convent of Twelve Apostles near Mows (Armenia proper). With *Asc. 2*, *Asc. 2h* omits *EApokr. br.* 130, 194, 203, 314 (and *fus.* 48bis) but adds from *Asc. 2/3a* or *Asc. 2/3b*, 130, 156, 278, 282, 315-318.

[177] Uluhogian is preparing the *editio princeps* of the *Girk' Harc'olac'*.

[178] See G. Amaduni, "Armeno, monachesimo," *DIP* 1 (1974) 879-899. The same author assembled all the relevant documents in cco 12 (1940) xii-xiii; see also ibid., 39, 43, 145, 194-195.

[179] See the text in Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 76.

[180] See Amaduni, cco 12 (1940) 202 ff.

licos.[181] To the same Mashtots is attributed an *Euchologion* in which there is an "Exhortation of Basil," in fact a cento from his works.[182]

ii. *Hexaemeron*

Contrary to the opinion of earlier scholarship, Muradyan has convincingly shown that the Armenian translation of Basil's *Hexaemeron*, at least the one contained in the Matenadaran manuscripts, is not derived from the Syriac but that it has been made directly from the Greek.[183] Because it was made during the "Golden Age" it could well predate the Syriac version. The translator, or rather translators, are unknown but it is quite certain that they belonged to the school of Eznik.[184] In the assessment of some earlier scholars who based their opinion on the edition of Venice 1830 it appeared as a free rendering of the original.[185] Muradyan, who has been studying the manuscripts of Erevan with a view of a new critical edition, thinks that it is a rather good translation.[186] However, since most of the manuscripts are rather recent and contain many scribal mistakes, recourse must be made to the ancient quotations. Chief among the authors who availed themselves of the *Hexaemeron* is Ananias Shirakatsi, a seventh-century philosopher, astronomer, geographer, and traveller.[187] In him we have the best witness to the original version of the *Hexaemeron*. According to Thomson, Shirakatsi's treatise *On Clouds and*

[181] Amaduni, ibid., p. 39.

[182] Conflation of **Asc. Pr5* and *EApokr. fus.* 25, PG 31: 884B9-C13, 984C5-11, 985B12-C7. See Venice BSL arm. 457, 9/11th cent., and the English translation of F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford 1905) pp. 159-160.

[183] K. Muradyan, *Barseł Kesarac'i ew nra "Vec'oreayn" hay matenagrut'yan meǰ* (Erevan 1976) pp. 138-204. For the opposite view see A. Suk'rean, "Surb Barseł ew ir erkasirut'iwnk'n," *Bazmavēp* 31 (1873) 112-126; J. T'orosean, "S. Barseł. Ir 'vec'ōreay' čarere ew hay t'argmanut'iwne," *Bazmavēp* 92 (1934) 327-336; and I. W. Driessen, "Les recueils manuscrits arméniens de saint Basile," *Mu* 66 (1953) 92. It should be noted, however, that none of these authors has made a comparative study of the Syriac and Armenian versions. Hence it is not at all impossible that originally there was a version based on the Syriac.

[184] Muradyan, *Barseł*, p. 261 raises the possibility that there could have been more than one translator working on the *Hexaemeron*. He/they would belong to the school of Eznik (first half of the fifth century).

[185] *Editio princeps* published in Venice in 1830; see the article in this volume by Uluhogian, n. 4. See the authors cited in n. 183 for the opposite view from Muradyan's.

[186] Muradyan, *Barseł*, pp. 260-261. The work in Georgian by M. Kachadse, *Lexikon zum Sechstagewerk des (hl.) Basilius* (Tiflis 1951 ?) is known to me only through the brief reference of M. Tarchnišvili, "Kurzer Überblick über den Stand der georgischen Literaturforschung," *OrChr* 37 (1953) 97-98.

[187] See Muradyan, *Barseł*, pp. 209-247, and his articles cited in this volume by Uluhogian, n. 4 (Nos. 3, 7).

Signs is "an almost verbatim rewriting of Basil's *Hexaemeron*."[188] The readings that his works have preserved are devoid of the many errors found in the manuscripts. Other authors who prior to Shirakatsi made use of the *Hexaemeron* without mentioning it are Eznik and Agathangelos; both wrote in the mid-fifth century, Agathangelos a decade or two after Eznik.[189]

Because in the pre-tenth-century Armenian schools the *Hexaemeron* was used as the main textbook, Muradyan has discovered several lexicons and commentaries specially designed to help the students in the reading and study of the *Hexaemeron*.[190]

iii. *Moral Homilies*

The collection of some 33 to 35 works of Basil, which in Armenian appears apart from the *Hexaemeron* and the *Asceticon*, is ordinarily referred to by the title of the first work in the series which is Basil's *HIeiun*. 1, hence *Girk' Pahoc'*, "Liber de ieiunio." There are some seventeen manuscripts containing the entire corpus, six independent from the *Hexaemeron* and the *Asceticon*.[191] All the manuscripts are later than the tenth century. However, the translation itself is to be dated to the fifth to eighth centuries. Unlike the *Girk' Harc'olac'*, the *Girk' Pahoc'* is a work of accretion constituted over a period of several centuries and hence the critical value of each item ought to be assessed individually. In general, however, authors agree that the translation of most homilies is quite literal.[192]

Here are the components of the *Girk' Pahoc'* (only in few manuscripts are all the works found together): i. *HIeiun*. 1; ii. *HIeiun*. 2; iii. *HEbr*. [14]; iv. *HAtt*. [3]; v. ***HPaen*. [28]; vi. *HDestr*. [6]; vii. *HDiv*. [7]; viii. *HPs. 14b*;

[188] R. W. Thomson, "The Fathers in Early Armenian Literature," *SP* 12 (1975) 467.

[189] Eznik, disciple of Mashtots, is the author of *De Deo*, known before as "De refutandis sectis"; see PO 28 (based on the only surviving MS). For the identification of Eznik's sources see L. Mariès, *Le De Deo d'Eznik de Kolb. Études de critique littéraire et textuelle* (Paris 1924). Agathangelos (probably a pseudonym) wrote a *History* which purports to describe the conversion of Armenia to Christianity and the activity of Gregory the Illuminator. See the study of G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Vatican 1946) and the English translation, with identification of the sources, by R. W. Thomson, *The Teaching of St. Gregory* (Cambridge, Mass. 1970) §§ 259-715; the remaining paragraphs are in idem, *Agathangelos, History of the Armenians* (Albany 1976).

[190] Muradyan, *Barsel*, p. 261.

[191] For a summary description of the MSS see the article by Uluhogian in this volume. On the MSS of the Matenadaran in general see *Problemy paleografii i kodikologii v SSSR* (Moscow 1974) pp. 362-381.

[192] See Driessen, "Les recueils," p. 92.

ix. *HIra* [10]; x. *HInv.* [11]; xi. *HPs. 1*; xii. *HPs. 59*; xiii. *HPs. 61*; xiv. *HPs. 114*; xv. *HPs. 115*; xvi. *HFide* [15]; xvii. *HVerb.* [16]; xviii. *HChr.* [27]; xix. ***Contra Apollinarem*; xx. (?) *Ad Gregorium theologum*; xxi. *EOpt.* [260]; xxii. *EAth.* [82]; xxiii. *EGNaz.* [2]; xxiv. *ETheod.* [173] + *De perf.* [22]; xxv. *EDiod.* [160]; xxvi. *HGrat.* [4]; xxvii. *HIul.* [5]; xxviii. ***Encomium in Stephanum*; xxix. *HMart.* [19]; xxx. *HGord.* [18]; xxxi. *HBapt.* [13]; xxxii. *HMal.* [9]; xxxiii. ***De eleemosyna*.[193]

The florilegium *Seal of Faith*, which was put together in 610/611, during the pontificate of the Catholicos Komitas, includes, among others, extracts from Basil's *De Sp. S.*, chapter 18, *HGrat.* [4], *HIul.* [5], *HProv.* [12], **"Disputatio Orthodoxi cum Apollinario,"[194] and the complete text of *HFide* [15].[195] The translation of most passages is derived from previous versions.[196] Based on the Syriac translation of the texts are the excerpts contained in the anti-Chalcedonian florilegium of Timothy Aelurus.[197]

[193] The title of v. in some MSS is "Basilii ad Theologum De paenitentia," or "In ps. 37." xix. is the Ps.-Athanasius, *Dialogus* 4, PG 28: 1249-1265. The author of this dialogue is probably somebody named Orthodoxus (see next note; also n. 76 above). xx. is one of the many ***EApokr. Basilii et Gregorii*: for others see below. In Erevan Matén. 5595, a. 1279, the title of xx. is "Tractatus de fide beatorum SS. Basilii et Gregorii." The title of xxii. in the *Pahoc'* is "Epistula ad Eusebium Caesariensem praedecessorem suum" (see CPG 2980); it was identified for the first time by Uluhogian, see below pp. 572-573, n. 10, No. 22. xxviii. and xxxiii. have no parallels in Greek. For the works that have thus far been edited see Uluhogian below p. 573, n. 11. Now also K. Muradyan, "Tri gomilii Vasiliya Kesariiskogo v drevnearmyanskom perevode," *Kavkaz i Vizantiya* 1 (1979) 200-230 (critical edition of *HDiv.* [7], *HPs. 14b*, *HEbr.* [14], based on Erevan Maten. 2549, 13th cent., and Erevan Maten. 5595, a. 1279). The oldest translation of *HBapt.* [13], under the name of Severian of Gabala, was published by G. B. Aucher, *Severiani sive Seberiani Gabalorum episcopi Emesensis homiliae* (Venice 1827) pp. 370-401. Another version is extant in Vienna MB 217, a. 1848/1849 (copy of Erevan Maten. 1500, 13th cent.). For still another translation (excerpt) corresponding to PG 31: 440B1-8, 443C3 see *Vitae Patrum* (in Arm.) ed. by N. Sargisian (Venice 1855) 2: 676-678.

[194] Same as xix. above (n. 193). For Orthodoxus as a proper name see Lebon cited in the following note. Cf. Florence BMI, SM lat. 584, 9/10th cent., and Mercati, *Codici latini*, p. 188. Armenian translation with a Greek retroversion of ***Dial.* 4 in P. Jungmann, "Die armenische Fassung des sog. pseudo-athanasianische *Dialogus de sancta Trinitate IV* (Armenisch: 'Betrachtung über die Körperlichkeit des Erlösers')," *OrChr* 53 (1969) 159-201.

[195] Edition of the florilegium by K. Ter-Mekerttschian, *Knik' Hawatoy* (Etchmiadzin 1914; rpt. Louvain 1974). See J. Lebon, "Les citations patristiques grecques du *Sceau de la foi*," *RHE* 25 (1929) 5-32, and Thomson, "The Fathers," pp. 462-466. For another Armenian florilegium compiled by a certain Vardan by 1205 under the title "Root of Faith," see R. W. Thomson, "The Shorter Recension of the 'Root of Faith'," *REArm* 5 (1968) 249-260.

[196] Thomson, "The Fathers," p. 463. However, the extract from the *De Sp. S.* must come from another source as this work has never been translated into Armenian.

[197] Edition by K. Ter-Mekerttschian and E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Timotheus Aelurus Widerlegung* (Leipzig 1908). Quotations identified by Cavallera, "Le dossier patristique,"

In a Chrysostomic manuscript of the eleventh or twelfth century *Ad virg.* [46] appears as *HChr.* [27] *(sic)*; another miscellaneous twelfth-century manuscript contains, along with some items of the *Pahoc'*, a. **"Oratio de hypapante (ex Comm. in Lucam)," b. **"Commentarius in Zachariam 13.7" (fragment); c. **"Ad Terentium strategum."[198]

Independently from the *Pahoc'* and chiefly as part of the homiliaries appear the following sermons and treatises whose dates of composition are unknown (some could be as recent as the nineteenth century): d. **"Admonitio ad omnes credentes"; e. **"Admonitio 'Nunc ... ne prohibeat te'"; f. **"Consilium de paenitentia"; g. **"Consilium 'venerabilis quidam homo Dei'"; h. **"De eleemosyna et in-eleemosyna 'Ne quis'"; i. **"EApokr. Basilii et Gregorii theologi 'Basilius ait: Cum nec'"; j. **"EApokr. Basilii et Gregorii theologi 'Basilius ait: Quot lumina'"; k. **"EApokr. Basilii et Gregorii Nysseni"; l. **"In s. Baptistam"; m. **"In ieiunium 'Sabbatum dies festus'"; n. **"In illud: 'Unde, vel a quo invenerunt'"; o. **"In Verbum 2."[199]

iv. *Liturgy, Prayers, Canons*

Under the title "Anaphora of St. Gregory the Illuminator" (†332) has been preserved the oldest recension of Basil's Liturgy, *LBas. 3*, translated into vernacular shortly after the invention of the Armenian script.[200] An

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p. 347. For the dependence on Timothy's *Refutation* of Movsēs Khorenatsi (last decades of the 5th cent., author of a "Treatise") see K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London 1965) p. 165: the work of Khorenatsi in *Girk' T'lt'oc*, *Sahak-Mesropean Library* 5 (Tiflis 1901) 22-28.

[198] The Chrysostomic codex, Vienna MB 232, a. 1851, is a copy of two MSS, one from 1046, and another from 1198. a-c. are found in Venice BSI. 463, 13th cent. Sometimes c. is mistakingly identified as *ETer. fl.* [105], probably because of the title in some MSS "Ad Terentium de obitu filiarum." Paris BN arm. 118 (= 116-118), 14th cent., ascribes to Basil an "Oratio in festum prophetae Davidis atque Iacobi apostoli." According to M. van Esbroeck (see n. 263 below), pp. 189-190, the latter is an extract from the Pseudo-Chrysostomian homily CPG 4544; Aldama 294.

[199] For information on most of these works I am indebted to Prof. Gabriella Uluhogian who kindly made available to me her notes. I do not possess at the moment the dates of all the MSS; however, they all seem to be very recent. Some authors of catalogues ascribe to Basil two commentaries, "In Marcum 13.3," and "In Ezechielem," which in the MSS appear anonymously. According to Driessen, "Les recueils," p. 79 the fragment "In Christi generationem" (see K. Zarbhanalean, *Matenadaran haykakan t'argmanut'eanc naxeac'* [Venice 1889] p. 336) is taken from *HChr.* [27]. Another excerpt from this homily from the 11/12th cent. was published by B. Outtier, "Les feuilles de garde onciales du Psautier arménien de Tours," *REArm* 9 (1972) 107-112.

[200] Texts of *LBas. 3* in H. Catergian and H. Dashian, *Srbazan pataragamatoyts'k' Hayots' T'argmanowt'iwnk' pataragats' Yownats', Asorwots' ew Latinats'wots* (Vienna

excerpt of the anaphora of *LBas. 3* is quoted in the Armenian version of the *History of the Church* of Faustus of Byzantium. Writing ca. 425 the history of the years 320-387, Faustus puts in the mouth of the priest Zowit' of Artasat a long prayer for the conversion of a monk entertaining doubts about the presence of the Lord in the eucharistic mystery. As Renoux points out, the beginning of this prayer is identical with that of the anaphora of *LBas. 3*.[201]

LBas. 3 remained in use in the Armenian church probably until the late fifth century, when Catholikos Yovhannēs Mantakuni (405-485) reorganized all the ritual of his church. The translation of *LBas. 1* is to be dated either to the end of the eighth or to the ninth to tenth centuries.[202]

The following prayers go under the name of Basil in Armenian: i. "Prayer for Monday"; ii. "Prayer for the blessing of the water on the day of the Epiphany"; iii. "Prayer of Holy Thursday, for those who make penance"; iv. "Prayer for the day of Easter"; v. "Prayer for the holy day of Pentecost"; vi. "Prayer for the burial of a layperson"; vii. "Prayer for the burial of a priest"; viii. "Prayer to be recited over the tomb"; ix. "Prayer for the day of the Transfiguration of our Lord."[203]

The Armenian "Canons of Basil," derived from the Greek, were edited by Hakobyan.[204] It should be noted that *EDiod.* [160], which appears in that collection, forms also part of the *Girk' Pahoc'*.

D. Basil in Coptic Literature

Early Christian Egypt, notably from the third century on, is associated with the origin and development of two forms of monasticism, the

1897) pp. 120-159; French translation in A. Renoux, "L'anaphore arménienne de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur," in *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, ed. B. Botte et al. (Paris 1970) 2: 88-108. See also the partial Greek retroversion by Engberding, *Das eucharistische*, pp. 2-24. For the MSS see Engberding, ibid., pp. xlvii-xlviii, and Renoux, ibid., pp. 84-86.

[201] Faustus' quotation from the prayer after *Sanctus* is reproduced in its entirety by Renoux, "L'anaphore," pp. 93-100.

[202] See De Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies)," col. 1605. Complete text of *LBas. 1*, in Armenian, in Catergian-Dashian, *Srbazan*, pp. 180-216. On the MSS see Engberding, *Das eucharistische*, pp. xlvii-xlviii.

[203] With gratitude I acknowledge the contribution of Prof. Gabriella Uluhogian to the making of this list.

[204] *Kanonagirk' Hayoc'*, 1 (Erevan 1964) 329-362. On the various stages of development (all rather late) see V. Hatzuni, "Disciplina armena. Armeni," CCO 8 (1932) 139-168, esp. 156-158, 164-165. According to this author, the *Canons of Basil* never occupied a prominent place in the Armenian canonical collections.

eremitic and the quasi-eremitic model.[205] Pachomius was not the only organizer of cenobitic monasticism on Egyptian soil. An even more active role before him was displayed by Meletian monasticism, a movement that tended to keep close to the affairs of the local churches.[206]

In ca. 357 Basil paid a short visit to Egypt, probably only to Alexandria, with the intention of learning the most suitable forms of evangelical life.[207] In a letter from 375 he left a rather unfavourable opinion of what he saw and learned during his trip.[208] However, his judgment is quite generic bearing at the same time upon the forms of monasticism as seen by him in Syria, Mesopotamia, Osrhoëne, and Palestine.[209]

From the surviving documents, some, the earliest, in Sahidic, others, the majority, in Bohairic, it is possible to appreciate only to a certain degree the popularity enjoyed by Basil among the Coptic speaking Christians. He is commemorated as a Saint in the synaxaries, although the information about his life contained therein is often deprived of any historical value.[210] For the most part it is derived, independently though, from the same source as the Pseudo-Amphilochian *Vita et miracula Basilii*.[211] The Arabic Jacobite Synaxary (Coptic redaction) adds a mention of his works by genres:

[205] On the myth of Egypt as the cradle of monasticism see A. Veilleux, "La théologie de l'abbatiat cénobitique et ses implications liturgiques," *VSSuppl* 21 (1968) 353-366; and Fedwick, *Sv. Vasylii*, pp. 11-19. Cf. also J. Gribomont, "Le monachisme au sein de l'Église en Syrie et en Cappadoce," *StMon* 7 (1965) 7-24.

[206] The fundamental work is that of H. I. Bell, *Jews and Christians in Egypt* (London 1924) esp. pp. 38-99. See also L. W. Barnard, "Some Notes on the Meletian Schism in Egypt," *SP* 12 (1975) 399-405. In many ways the organization but most of all the terminology of the Meletians concurs with that of Basil. The most striking example is the use of the term *προεστώς*. Could have Eustathius been the intermediary? While studying in Alexandria under Arius, Eustathius doubtlessly came into contact with Egyptian monasticism, see E. Amand de Mendieta, *L'ascèse monastique de saint Basile* (Denée 1949) p. 53, n. 46. This monasticism was not the Pachomian as Pachomians lived mostly outside Alexandria. The Meletians on the other hand kept close to the towns and they were very much involved in current church affairs. On a similar feature in the Eustathians see briefly Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 158.

[207] See *EEust.* [1] and *EEust.* [223]. On the former cf. J. Gribomont, "Eustathe le Philosophe et les voyages du jeune Basile de Césarée," *RHE* 54 (1959) 115-124.

[208] *EEust.* [223] 2-3. See Fedwick, *The Church*, p. 159.

[209] Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 86 draws a rather strong conclusion from Basil's verdict on the Egyptian (Coptic) monks. See, however, Lefort, "Les *Constitutions*," p. 5, and especially T. Orlandi, "Basilio di Cesarea nella letteratura copta," *RSO* 48 (1975) 49-50. Besides, the Coptic monks could have not been aware of the contents of *EEust.* [223] which existed only in Greek.

[210] See Orlandi, "Basilio," pp. 49-50.

[211] Orlandi, "Basilio," p. 50. The *Storia della Chiesa* (ed. T. Orlandi, Milan 1968/1970) from the 5/6th cent. dedicates to Basil chapters nine and ten. But the information

> Il composa de belles homélies, des discours, des exhortations, des écrits ascétiques; il commenta les livres de l'ancienne et de la nouvelle loi et composa des règles qu'on trouve entre les mains des fidèles.[212]

I shall review the Coptic translations of Basil's works for the entire period of the existence of Coptic as a spoken language — from the sixth or seventh to the twelfth or thirteenth centuries. Already in the tenth century, beginning with Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa', the use of Arabic started to prevail particularly among the Jacobites in Egypt.[213] The works in Arabic, however, will be excluded from this section as they are treated separately elsewhere.[214]

i. *Ascetica*

No complete version of Basil's *Asceticon* has been preserved probably because such a complete translation never existed in Coptic. It is difficult to infer from the fragmentary remains of some prologi that there were also versions of the complete works to which they are usually appended in Greek. *Asc. Pr3* has been preserved in an abbreviated form in a Sahidic palimpsest of the tenth to twelfth centuries.[215] Fragments of *Mor. Pr1* have been discovered in a seventh-century ostracon found in a Coptic monastery of Upper Egypt.[216] Several remains of the spurious *Const.* are

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concerns only the role of Basil in the death of Julian the Apostate. This story is often combined in Coptic with the legend of St. Mercurius; see Orlandi, "Basilio," p. 50. The source for Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa''s information in the book *Affliction's Physic and the Cure of Sorrow*, CSCO 396-397, SA 34-35: 15, is undoubtedly the *Or.* 43 of Gregory of Nazianzus probably in Coptic. On the existence of an early Coptic version of this work see Orlandi, "Basilio," p. 50 n. 2.

[212] PO 11: 550.

[213] About the substitution of Arabic for Coptic in Egypt write R. Y. Ebied and M. J. L. Young: "With Severus ibn al-Muqaffa' (905/910-after 987) begins the history of Coptic literature in Arabic. In the 10th cent. the Coptic language was no longer intelligible to a large number of Egyptian Christians, who were fast adopting the Arabic tongue of the Muslim rulers. Severus realized that Christian learning would be extinguished among the Copts unless they were instructed in a language they understood" (*The Lamp of the Intellect of Severus ibn al-Muqaffa' bishop of Al-Ashmūnain*, Louvain 1975, CSCO 365-366, SA 32-33: vi-vii). Two observations should, however, be made: Coptic did not die completely after the 10th cent.; there are many MSS written after that period. While the above statement is true about Egypt, in other parts of the empire, notably in Palestine, Arabic has been in use among Christians since at least the 8th cent. See n. 227 below. For further on Severus see n. 236 below.

[214] See below pp. 485-492.

[215] Manchester JRULM copt. 62, f. 3. Same text in Arabic in Strasbourg BP Or. 4226 (ar. 151), 9th cent., from Mount Sinai. The Arabic probably depends on the Coptic see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 86-87.

[216] Described by W. E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca from the Collections of the Egypt*

contained in a manuscript of Naples.[217] The manuscript written in the eleventh or twelfth century is acephalous and mutilated; hence the beginning of *Hyp. Pr.* is missing as is the conclusion of chapter one of the second book *De baptismo*. The Sahidic text of this manuscript is from the sixth or seventh century.

ii. *Moral Homilies*

The Coptic versions of Basil's moral homilies, some in Sahidic, others in Bohairic, do not constitute a homogeneous tradition. They are scattered throughout various manuscripts, often under the name of other authors. Fragments of a homily in Sahidic similar to *HIeiun.* 1, written in the time of Patriarch Damian (578-607), have been preserved in two tenth-century manuscripts from Amhim, the White Monastery, in the valley of Nitria.[218] Derived from the complete text of this Sahidic translation is the ninth or tenth-century Bohairic text of Vatican BAV Vat. copt. 58 (A 7). Another Sahidic fragment of the same homily *De ieiunio* is found in the papyrus of Turin, from the seventh century, but under the name of Athanasius. Likewise as a work of Athanasius appears in a seventh-century manuscript the spurious *HMis.* [34]. The same Sahidic codex from Upper Egypt carries a homily under the name of Basil with the title "De consummatione saeculi et templo Salomonis; et de exitu animae."[219] This homily has no parallel in Greek and, according to Orlandi, the Coptic could preserve an authentic work of Basil whose original text has been lost.[220]

Exploration Fund, the Cairo Museum and Others (London 1902) p. 6. The text of Basil was identified by Gribomont in Orlandi, "Basilio," p. 59.

[217] See Lefort, "Les *Constitutions*," pp. 5-13.

[218] One fragment is now in London BL Add. or. 3571A (3), and the other in Paris BN copt. 131 (2). With regard to the text of the homily Orlandi, "Basilio," p. 51, writes: "Ci troviamo dunque in presenza di una diversa 'redazione' dell'omelia, esistente già forse in greco." Since such different "redactions" of the homilies on fasting are found also in other languages (Latin, Syriac, and Arabic) it would be important to know first if they are interrelated and second if the different redaction is the work of Basil or of the compilers-editors of the homiliaries?

[219] The papyrus London BL Or. 5001 has been edited in its entirety by E. A. T. W. Budge, *Coptic Homilies in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* (London 1910), ***HMis.* [34]: 58-65 (text); 204-211 (translation); ***HCons.* (CPG 2966): 105-114 (text); 248-257 (translation). For summaries of the latter see W. E. Crum, *Catalogue of the Coptic Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London 1905) p. 63, and Orlandi, "Basilio," pp. 54-55.

[220] Orlandi, "Basilio," p. 55. On the sole basis of the Coptic translation it is difficult to say anything definite about the Basilian authorship of *HCons.* If the translation is faithful to the original I would be inclined to reject its authenticity.

The authentic *HMal.* [9] goes under the name of John Chrysostom in the Vatican BAV Vat. copt. 57, from the tenth century. Another tenth-century manuscript, the Paris BN copt. 131², attributes to Athanasius a work entitled "De vita in Christo," which in some Greek manuscripts appears under the name of Basil.[221] There were probably also translations of *HGord.* [18] and *HMart.* [19] but no manuscripts of these works have been preserved.[222] Most of the other homilies which are handed down in the Coptic manuscripts as works of Basil are spurious. Such are the following eight found in the manuscripts of the homiliary type: i. **"Homilia de arca Noe"; ii. **"Dedicatio ecclesiae Mariae virginis"; iii. **"Sermo in ecclesia Michaelis archangeli ad Lazicam"; iv. **"Sermo alter in ecclesia Michaelis archangeli ad Lazicam"; v. **"Sermo in Gabrielem archangelum"; vi. **"Miracula Mercurii"; vii. **"Homilia circa annuntiationem beatae Virginis"; viii. **"Sermo de conceptione beatae Virginis super die vii mensis Pharmute."[223]

iii. *Canons and Liturgy*

In the Coptic as in the Christian Arabic literature a special place occupied the canonical writings in view of the political circumstances of the Christians living under Moslim rule. In both languages Basil is credited with a series of thirteen and another of one hundred six canons.[224]

In 1960 Doresse published the Coptic text of the ***LBas. 4* from a seventh-century papyrus found in the White Monastery of Nitria.[225]

[221] CPG 2945. The fragment of twenty-three lines has been edited and translated by L. Th. Lefort, "S. Athanase, *Sur la virginité*," *Mu* 42 (1929) 197-275; 239: text; 264: translation.

[222] See Orlandi, "Basilio," pp. 49, 53. For the MSS of the "Sermo in Nativitatem," same as the Greek under the name of Ps.-Chrysostom, see Orlandi, ibid., p. 54.

[223] The first six, with the exception of No. 5, are in CPG 2965, 2970, 2967, 2968, and 2969, respectively. For the MSS see Orlandi, "Basilio," pp. 56-57. For Nos. 7 and 8 see Naples BN IB 11, 428, 11th cent. (fragments).

[224] Coptic fragments of the latter in F. Rossi, *I papiri copti del Museo Egizio di Torino, trascritti e tradotti*, 2.4 (Turin 1892) 81-92; English translation in W. E. Crum, "The Coptic Version of the 'Canons of St. Basil'," *ProcSocBibArch* 26 (1904) 57-62; German (from the Arabic of the 106) in J. W. Riedel, *Die Kirchenrechtsquellen des Patriarchats Alexandrien* (Leipzig 1900) pp. 234-283. Cf. G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, 1 (Vatican 1944) 606-608, and O. Meinardus, *Christian Egypt. Faith and Life* (Cairo 1970) p. 84. For some see also Rahmani, *I fasti*, pp. xiv-xviii. According to A. Raes, *Introductio in liturgiam orientalem* (Rome 1947) pp. 55, 59, Canons 97, 99 are from the sixth century, and Canon 96, ibid., p. 233, from the fourth.

[225] J. Doresse and E. Lanne, *Un témoin archaïque de la liturgie copte de saint Basile* (Louvain 1960). For the Greek and other (Sahidic, Bohairic, and Ethiopic) MSS see ibid., pp. 7-10. For the Arabic, "codex Kacmarcik," see below n. 251. There is an edition of the

iv. *Further Remarks*

None of the major treatises of Basil — his *Hexaemeron, Contra Eunomium, De Spiritu Sancto*, or his letters — have ever been translated into Coptic. Neither has his *Asceticon*, usually found in the other languages. In order to understand the reason for this we have to look at the main characteristics of early Coptic literature.

For the longest time, practically during the whole period of its existence, Coptic has been almost exclusively the language of the ordinary people of Egypt; hence its literature was always of a popular nature — moralizing, homiletic, and didactic.[226] This folk nature of Coptic can be well seen in the kind of Basil's works translated into the vernacular. They are all of a didactic and ascetical nature geared to serving the needs of illiterate monks whose major occupation was manual labor. The liturgical synaxes were the only opportunities during which the Egyptian fellahin were exposed to literary artefacts. During the whole sixth and seventh centuries (especially during the patriarchate of Damian, 587-607) there was a special group of schoolmen, "litterati," whose main assignment was to supply these monks with adequate items of Christian literature. In the selection but more so in the "edition" of such works these learned schoolmen adopted a particular method which had little or no regard for questions of authenticity and whose main objective was to "edify" their readers or rather listeners. (Very few monks could read at all.) During the same period the language of the cultured Egyptians was Greek, and Basil and the other Fathers were usually read in the original.

E. Basil in Arabic

Whereas it is only in the tenth century that Arabic becomes the popular tongue of the Copts living in Egypt, in other parts of the empire especially among the Melkites in Palestine, Syria, and on Sinai, the language was widely employed and spoken by Christians since the eighth century.[227]

Ethiopic text by S. Euringer, *Die aethiopische Anaphora des heiligen Basilius* (Rome 1934). In Doresse-Lanne are also mentioned the editions of some fragments by Evelyn White and Lanne (the latter in an *Euchologion of the White Monastery* from the 10-11th cent.). See also Engberding, *Das eucharistische*, pp. xxxv-xxxvii, xlix-l, and the excellent study of A. Houssiau, "The Alexandrian Anaphora of St. Basil," in *The New Liturgy*, ed. L. C. Sheppard (London 1970) pp. 228-243.

[226] See T. Orlandi, "Patristica copta e patristica greca," *VetChr* 10 (1973) 328-341, esp. 337.

[227] See J. Assfalg, "Arabische christliche Literatur," *RGG* 1 (1957) 529; K. Samir, "Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens et les versions patristiques arabes," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 229-231.

The translations of biblical, patristic, canonical, and liturgical texts were derived either directly from the Greek or via the Syriac and the Coptic.[228]

i. *Pre-Tenth-Century Translations*

For most of the pre-tenth-century translations we possess only indirect evidence.[229] Based on the syntaxis, the number of loan words, transliteration of proper names and variants of the biblical quotations, Abuladze in 1964 concluded that the first Georgian version of the *Hex.* 1-9 made in Palestine in the eighth or ninth century was derived from the Arabic.[230] No manuscript of this version has survived. Very recently the Österreichische National-Bibliothek acquired a fifteenth-century manuscript which contains a translation of *Hex.* 1-9 made in 964 by the Coptic monk Ǧarīh Ibn Yuhannes ar-Rarāwi at the monastery of St. Macarius in Wadi Natrun.[231] This translation is not mentioned by Graf, and I am not sure if it was known to Abuladze. Otherwise it could be one and the same with the version utilized by the anonymous Georgian translator. Hence we would have one not two pre-tenth-century Arabic versions of *Hex.* 1-9. The other question which needs clarification is from what language did Ǧarīh translate Basil's work — Greek, Syriac, or Coptic?

If all the fifty-eight sermons contained in the Georgian collection "Teachings of the Fathers" were translated from the Arabic one would have to presume the existence in Arabic of the two spurious homilies, "De paenitentia," and "De invidia."[232] The Georgian work is from the ninth century.

Direct manuscript evidence survives for the existence in Arabic during the ninth century of *EGNaz.* [2], *De perf.* [22], *Asc. Pr3* and *Mor. PrI*.[233] In

[228] See Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 300-302. Cf. J. M. Saguet, "La version arabe de l'homélie *Sur la trahison de Judas* d'Eusèbe d'Alexandrie," *Mu* 92 (1979) 5-23.

[229] Derived chiefly from the study of the Georgian versions. This type of evidence is not used by Graf in his monumental *Geschichte* (Vatican 1944/1953).

[230] I. Abuladze, *Ujvelesi redak'c'iebi Basili Kesarielis "Ek'ust'a dget'aysa" da Grigol Noselis t'argmanebisa "Kac'isa agebulebisat'ws," x-xiii ss-is khelnacert'a mihedvit' gamosc'a* (Tiflis 1964). See n. 259 below.

[231] Vienna ÖNB ar. 2137 (mixt. 1381), acephalous and fragmentary. Origin unknown. Purchased in 1932.

[232] CPG 2991-2992. Such is the contention of B. Outtier, "Les enseignements des Pères, un recueil géorgien traduit de l'arabe," *BK* 31 (1973) 36-47. Outtier utilizes a method similar to that of Abuladze, the editor of the collection. See I. Abuladze, *Mamat'a scavlani x da xi s.-t'a khelnacerebis miḫedvit'* (Tiflis 1955), esp. xvi-xviii. The MS edited in its entirety is the Mount Sinai MHAi georg. 36 from 925. Pp. 138-151: **SPaen.* (CPG 2991); 151-161: **SInv.* (CPG 2992).

[233] Strasbourg BP Or. 4226, written in the 9th cent. on Mount Sinai. See Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 320. His partially erroneous identification has been rectified by Gribomont,

the undated manuscript of Vienna ÖNB Or. 1560, written on Sinai probably before the tenth century, fragments of the *De bapt.* have been preserved.[234] Because the same items are found in Coptic it is possible that the Vienna manuscript originally contained the ***Const.* and the *Hyp. Pr.* as well.

The dogmatic works, *De Sp. S.* and *C. Eun.* 1-3, were known chiefly (or perhaps only) through quotations. Habib Ibn Hidma Abu Ra'ita, a Jacobite author who in 813/817 wrote against the Melkites, quotes from *HIul.* [5], *HFide* [15], *C. Eun.* 2 and ***EGNys.* [38].[235] In the florilegium of Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa' "The Precious Pearl," from the tenth century, there is a quotation from *HGrat.* [4], from the "De Trinitate," and from another unidentified work.[236] Another florilegium, "The Confession of the Fathers," composed in 1078, adduces passages from *C. Eun.* 1, ***C. Eun.* 4, *HFide* [15], an *Epistle to Amphilochius* (?), and from "Basil's Faith in the First Canons."[237]

ii. *Post-Tenth Century Translations*

After the tenth century Basil's *Asceticon* was translated twice,[238] the first time in Egypt in the thirteenth century from a text resembling that of *Asc. 2/3a* (hence *Asc. 2/3a-k*). No manuscript has preserved the complete corpus. On the basis of the Beirut USJ 482, from 1694, it is possible to say that it consisted of a. *Hyp. Pr.*; b. *Mor PrI*; c. ***Const.* V'; d. *De bapt.* 1-2; e. *Asc. Pr5*; f. *Mor. PrF*; g. *EApokr. fus.* 1-55; h. *EApokr. br.* 1-313.[239] The language of this first translation has been assessed as being unsophisticated

Histoire, p. 86. Fragments of *Asc. Pr3* survived in Munich BSB ar. 1068, 10th cent., from Mount Sinai. See also Paris BN syr. 239, 15th cent. The Arabic probably depends on the Coptic; see Manchester JRULM 62 25, 10/12th cent.

[234] Book 1, ch. 2.7; Book 2, ch. 3.9-13. Translation derived from the Coptic; see U. Neri, *Basilio di Cesarea, Il battesimo* (Brescia 1976) p. 108.

[235] CSCO 130-131 SA 14/15 (1951) 105, 154, 155. See also 88 (unidentified).

[236] See G. Graf, "Zwei dogmatischen Florilegien der Kopten. A. Die kostbare Perle. B. Das Bekenntniss der Väter," *OrChrP* 3 (1937) 49-77; 345-402. On the new edition of the former by P. Maiberger, *"Das Buch der kostbaren Perle" von Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa'* (Wiesbaden 1972) see K. Samir, "Un traité inédit de Sawīrus Ibn al-Muqaffa' (10e siècle): Le flambeau de l'intelligence," *OrChrP* 41 (1975) 167-168.

[237] Graf, ibid. For the Ethiopic version of this florilegium see Paris BN or. 111, 16th cent.

[238] See Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 319-320; Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 82-88. The title of *Asc. 2/3a-k* in Arabic is *Kitāb tartīb waquwānīn ar-ruhbān wan-nusāk* (i.e., "Book of the Ordinances and Canons of the Monks and Ascetics").

[239] It should be noticed that Cairo LCP ar. 315, Theol. 164, 17th cent. (?), 3, 249-345, does not contain thirty homilies of Basil but the ***Const.* (30 chapters = *mīmars*).

and hard to understand.[240] A second translation made by the Maronite monk Theophilus Fares on the basis of the Garnier-Maran edition was issued in Rome by the Propaganda Fide in 1745.

The *Hex.* 1-9 was done into Arabic for the second or maybe the third time[241] by Abû-'l Fatḥ 'Abdallāh b. al-Faḍl at Antioch in 1052. Graf characterizes this translation as "eine freie, kompilatorische Übersetzung ... vermehrt mit zahlreichen eigenen Glossen."[242]

The most complete collection of Basil's *Moral Homilies* in Arabic is contained in one manuscript only, the Paris BN ar. 133, written in Egypt in the fifteenth century. The manuscript is mutilated at both ends. Here are its contents: i. *HPs. 1*; ii. *HPs. 7*; iii. *HPs. 14a*; iv. *HPs. 14b*; v. *HPs. 28a*; vi. *HPs. 28b*; vii. *HPs. 29*; viii. *HPs. 32*; ix. *HPs. 33*; x. *HPs. 37*; xi. *HPs. 44*; xii. *HPs. 45*; xiii. *HPs. 48*; xiv. *HPs. 59*; xv. *HPs. 61*; xvi. *HPs. 114*; xvii. *HPs. 115*; xviii. *HIeiun.* 1; xix. *HIeiun.* 2; xx. *HAtt.* [3]; xxi. *HDestr.* [6]; xxii. *HDiv.* [7]; xxiii. *HGrat.* [4]; xxiv. *HIul.* [5]; xxv. *HMal.* [9]; xxvi. *HEbr.* [14]. In other manuscripts are contained four more: xxvii. *HChr.* [27]; xxviii. *HBapt.* [13]; xxix. *HMart.* [19]; xxx. *HFide* [15].[243]

iii. *Arabica*

More widespread than the above authentic homilies were the works carried by the manuscripts of the homiliary type. Pending further investigation about their identity and composition, they all appear to be spurious. Perhaps they were composed originally in Arabic; some if not the majority could be traced back to the Syriac.[244] The matter treated in these works not surprisingly is ascetical and moral, devoid of dogmatic speculations. Most of the discourses are assigned for reading on a specific day of the week, month, or year. It should be observed that some of these

[240] See Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 82 with n. 2.

[241] See above p. 486.

[242] *Geschichte*, 2: 56. To the two MSS which bear the name of 'Abdallāh, Graf, ibid., adds five more without the translator's name.

[243] MSS of the last four: Beirut USJ 954, a. 1739, and Paris BN ar. 258, 15th cent. An excerpt of the *Ad adolesc.* is found in Vatican BAV Vat. ar. 145, 13/14th cent. In some MSS an "explicatio orationis 'Pater noster'," translated from the Greek, is attributed to Basil; see Sauget, "L'homéliaire" (n. 15 above), pp. 440-441. Most MSS, however, ascribe this work to John Chrysostom; Sauget, ibid. From Atiya, *Catalogue raisonné*, 1 (Alexandria 1970) 504 it is unclear what other works of Basil, besides *HPs.* 1, are contained in Mount Sinai MHAI ar. 271, copied on 13 June 1233 by Mikhā'īl. According to the colophon (f. 229ᵛ), the translations are due to deacon 'Abdallāh Ibn al-Faḍl Ibn 'Abdallāh (same as the above?).

[244] See J. M. Sauget, "Une collection arabe d'homélies pour les Fêtes du Seigneur. Étude comparée des manuscrits Vaticanus arabes 81-82 et Beyrouth 509," *AANLR* 17 (1974) 405-452; and idem, "La version arabe" (see n. 228 above).

works do not claim to be written by Basil; they are simply said to consist "e dictis sancti patris nostri Basilii."[245]

I will list them all here, according to the subject matter dealt with which is a. fasting; b. penance; c. religious festivities, and d. theological matters.[246]

a. Sermons for Lent

i. **"Homily on the vanity of the world for Thursday of the fourth week of Lent"; *or* "Sermon about penance and judgment"; *or* "Sermon about death and judgment."

ii. **"Exhoration to penance for the fifth Sunday of Lent."

iii. **"Homily about the poor Lazarus and the Dives, and about penance for Friday of the seventh week of Lent."

iv. **"Homily on the self-deception of youth and humility of old age for Good Friday"; *or* "Sermon about youth, old age and death."

v. + (?). [Various sermons for Lent?][247]

[245] See, e.g., London BL Arund. Or. 21, a. 1252, ff. 18-25: "Sermo e dictis sancti patris nostri Basilii, quem dixit exempla tradens de juventute et senectute et morte." Likewise London BL Arund. Or. 3, written by the presbyter Abu-'l Surúr in 1226. See also n. 11 above.

[246] On the basis of the incipits I have eliminated several of the homilies listed by Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 322-324. For the orientation of the reader I have included all such titles in the list a-d. Because of insufficient information I have put a question mark followed by a + after the homilies on fasting a. v. below. These homilies could well be independent creations or they could simply be translations of the *HIeiun*. [1-] (see next note). The sermons excluded from my list have been identified as follows: Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 322.14: "Auf das Geburtfest" = *HChr*. [27]; 322.38: eliminate "Mittwoch," see b. i-ii; 323.3: "Über das Wort des Moses: 'Ich habe gegen dich gesündigt'" = *HAtt*. [3]; 323.8-9: "Über den Tod und das letzte Gericht," see a.i; 323.10: "Über den Jugend und den Tod," see a.iv; 324.29: "Wunder des hl. Georg" = Ps.-Theodot.; 324.30: "Lob der 40 Martyren von Sebaste" = *HMart*. [19]. I wish to express my sincere gratitude to Prof. Khalil Samir, Rome, for sharing with me so generously the wealth of his knowledge of Arabic literature.

[247] Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 322.14-21, gives the following information on the homilies on fasting: "Über das Fasten: Bairut 512, S. 125-135. — Zum Käsesonntag und zum Fastenbeginn: Leningrad, Samml. Gregor IV, Nr. 27, ff. 19-50. Vielleicht dasselbe 'für den 1. Montag der Fastenzeit, d.i. zum Beginn des Fastens': Bairut 512, S. 547-563." I was unable to check the incipits of these works. It seems that neither has Graf checked them out; hence it is possible that at least some of these homilies are translations of *HIeiun*. 1 and *HIeiun*. 2, and perhaps also the spurious *HIeiun*. [32]. In fact, in many Greek MSS of the homiliaries the first two are assigned for the beginning of Lent; see Oxford BL Cromwell gr. 23, a. 1064/1065, f. 307; *HIeiun*. 1, *τῇ δ' τῆς τυροφάγου*; Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1633, 10/11 cent., ff. 140-143: *HIeiun*. 2, ff. 143-147: *HIeiun*. 1, both *τῇ κυριακῇ τῆς τυροφάγου*. The Arabic could also be derived from the Syriac, see above, p. 488.

b. Sermons on Penance

i. **"Sermon about Sunday and Friday, and the soul and the body."
ii. **"Sermon about Sunday and Friday, and about the departure of the soul from the body."
iii. **"Sermon about penance, mercy, and alms."
iv. **"Sermon about Mary the sinner who wept at the feet of the Lord, 1."
v. **"Sermon about Mary the sinner who wept at the feet of the Lord, 2."

c. Festal Sermons

i. **"Sermon on the Ascension."
ii. **"Homily on the construction and dedication of the church to the Virgin Mary at Philippi (21 Ba'ūna = 15 June)"; *or* "Homily on the dedication of the church to the Virgin Mary built by Eunomius at Caesarea (21 Ba'ūna)"; *or* "Homily on the construction and dedication of the church to the Virgin Mary (21 Ba'ūna) and account of the miracles that she performed there"; *or* "Homily pronounced in honour of the Holy Virgin in the new church which Proseidos built east of the town and which the Saint consecrated."[248]

d. Theological Discourses

i. **"Sermon on the trinity and unity of God, 1."
ii. **"Sermon on the trinity and unity of God, 2."
iii. **"Sermon about the offering of the Mass for the departed."
iv. **"Sermon on the parables of the gospel."
v. **"Treatise about the church and the priests."[249]

iv. *Canons and Liturgies*

From early times Christians living under Moslim rule could avail themselves of various canonical collections some of which were purposely prepared to meet the demand of a Christian "state" (*milla* = "nation") within the Islamic empire. In these collections there are two

[248] Despite their different titles and even incipits these homilies are simply variations of one and the same work derived probably from the Coptic homily "Dedicatio ecclesiae Mariae virginis" (see No. 2 above p. 484). See also Cairo LCP 661, Hist. 60, 18th cent., "Mimar by St. Basil on the building of the church dedicated to the Virgin which He consecrated on the 21st of Ba'ūna."

[249] For d.v. not in Graf, see Mingana ar. 152, 14th cent. It is possible that both d.iv. and v. are extracts from the ***Erotapokriseis* on which see below.

series of Ps.-Basilian canons, one, among the Melkites, with fourteen — or the same, among the Copts, with thirteen canons — and another, larger, for the use of the Copts, with 105 (106) canons.[250] The latter, in Coptic, must have been in existence in the tenth century as they were known to the author of the florilegium, "Faith of the Fathers." For the series of 105 (106) canons Riedel claimed a Greek original.

The ***LBas. 4*** was known in Arabic from at least the thirteenth century. The manuscript recently acquired by M. Frank Kacmarcik of St. Paul, Minnesota (henceforward called "codex Kacmarcik") was copied in the fourteenth century at the monastery of St. Antony in the desert of ʿArabah, from a prototype written between 1283/1284.[251] The version of *LBas. 1* is also from the thirteenth century, although its use among Copts has been limited, the central stage being occupied by ***LBas. 4*.[252]

The "Ordo baptismi," translated from the Greek has been in circulation in various recensions since the eleventh century.[253]

Before concluding we ought to mention the widespread circulation of the ***Erotapokriseis*, already very popular in Greek, with Basil in most cases as the respondent and Gregory of Nazianzus (sometimes of Nyssa) as the interpellant.[254]

[250] See n. 224 above. For the collection in use among the Melkites see J. B. Darblade, *La collection canonique arabe des Melkites (XIIIe-XVIIe siècles)* (Harissa 1946) pp. 150-153. On the florilegium, "Faith of the Fathers," referred to next, see n. 236 above.

[251] On the "codex Kacmarcik" see W. F. Macomber, "The Kacmarcik codex. A 14th-Century Greek-Arabic Manuscript of the Coptic Mass," *Mu* 88 (1975) 391-395; idem, "The Greek Text of the Coptic Mass and of the Anaphoras of Basil and of Gregory According to the Kacmarcik codex," *OrChrP* 43 (1977) 308-334. For some rectifications and the edition of the Arabic text see K. Samir, "Le codex Kacmarcik et sa version arabe de la Liturgie alexandrine," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 74-106; idem, "La version arabe du Basile alexandrin (codex Kacmarcik)," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 342-390. Samir considers the text of "codex Kacmarcik" slightly better than that of Paris BN gr. 324, 14th cent. (cf. E. Renaudot, *Liturgiarum orientalium collectio*, 1 [Paris 1716] 57-89). For a comparison between "codex Kacmarcik," Paris BN gr. 324, and the "Roman Missal" of 1971 see Samir, "Le codex," pp. 102-104.

[252] The ***LBas. 4*** is the ordinary liturgy of the Copts. There are several thirteenth-century MSS of the *LBas. 1*: Mount Sinai MHAI ar. 449, Cairo ICP 33. For the "codex Bacha," copy of a dated MS from 1260 see C. Bacha, "Notions générales sur les versions arabes de la liturgie de s. Jean Chrysostome suivies d'une ancienne version inédite," in *Chrysostomica* (Rome 1908) pp. 405-471. It should be noted that *LBas. 1* precedes the *LChrys.* Cf. n. 123 above. In fact, the Greek model of "codex Bacha" seems to be a 9/10th century MS.

[253] Vatican BAV Vat. ar. 53, 11th cent.; Vatican BAV Vat. ar. 54, 14th cent.; Vatican BAV Vat. ar. 41, 14th cent. For the Syriac versions of this "Ordo," see above n. 81.

[254] See Graf, *Geschichte*, 1: 324-327.

v. *Further Remarks on the Works of Basil in Arabic*

It is quite difficult to say anything definite on translations of Basil's works into Arabic. The manuscript tradition has been described only very insufficiently and hardly at all studied.[255] To see clear in the jungle it is necessary to proceed to the systematic classification and study of all the manuscripts. It could well be that some of the Ps.-Basilian homilies listed above are slight variations of one and the same text. The other task is to see if the same text is not attributed elsewhere to another author.

According to Graf, the value of the Arabic translations of the Fathers is negligible on account of the many liberties taken with the original by the translators/adapters, and the concoction of an unlimited number of spuria.[256] These works, however, served a practical purpose. Although dwelling sometimes on banalities and trite topics, they provided food for the minds of their readers and/or listeners. The placement of such works under star-like names like Basil added weight to the otherwise unpolished products.

F. Georgian Translations

From its inception and well into the eleventh century Georgian literature has been predominantly religious and theological in character. It was a literature designed to serve primarily the spiritual and intellectual needs of Georgian ascetics at home and abroad. Its other major characteristic is that it was chiefly composed of translations — in the first period, fifth to seventh centuries, mainly from Armenian and Syriac; in the second, 750-975, from Arabic, and in the third, 975-1250, from Greek.

i. *The Second Period, 750-975*

Georgian translations of Basil's works appear for the first time during the period of national resurgence, early eighth century. Writes Blake:

> The texts produced during this period are the best of which the language can boast. Armenian and Syriac influences are kept to the minimum, while translations from the Arabic, made in Palestinian circles, begin to bulk largely.[257]

[255] The highly promising *Catalogue raisonné* of A. S. Atiya on the holdings of Mount Sinai has been published only in part (vol. 1: Alexandria 1970). Somewhat paradoxically the English text is being translated into and published only in Arabic (!).

[256] *Geschichte*, 1: 299-300.

[257] W. Blake, "Georgian Theological Literature," *JThS* 26 (1925) 53.

Only a few works of Basil translated during this period survive. The most important is the *Hexaemeron*. However, there is only indirect evidence to prove this, a cursory reference in a colophon to the effect that when Giorgi At'oneli was working on his translation of the *Hexaemeron* in the eleventh century he had on hand an older version.[258] Abuladze in 1964 tried to corroborate the argument by showing that the translation contained in two Jerusalem manuscripts was in fact derived from the Arabic and that it was made in Palestine in the eighth or ninth century.[259] Pending further investigation it is possible that the Arabic version used by the anonymous Georgian translator is none other than the one made by the Coptic monk Ğarīh Ibn Yuhannes ar-Rarāwi in 964 at the monastery of St. Macarius in Wadi Natrun (Nitria).[260] If this be so the date of the oldest Georgian version of the *Hexaemeron* would have to be moved to about the tenth or early eleventh century.

Following a similar linguistico-lexicographical method as the one used by Abuladze, Outtier suggested in 1973 that the entire collection known as *Mamat'a scavlani* (= "Teachings of the Fathers"), edited for the first time by Abuladze in 1955 from a tenth-century manuscript, was derived from the Arabic.[261] The place of origin of the collection is ninth-century Palestine. Among the 58 works included there are two attributed to Basil: **"Sermo de paenitentia et morte," and **"Sermo de invidia, et typus paenitentiae pro fidelibus."[262] These works are unparalleled in Greek and Outtier suggested for them an Arabic origin.[263]

There are two related manuscripts from the ninth century; both are "mravalt'avi," which is the Georgian word for "homiliary." One is the prestigious parchment codex from the monastery of Udabno (in Georgia proper), and the other is the dated manuscript, a. 864, from the monastery

[258] For this colophon quoted by Zhordania see Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte* (n. 18 above), p. 164.

[259] The edition cited n. 230 above is based on Jerusalem PB georg. 44, 12/13th cent., and Jerusalem PB georg. 74, 13/14th cent.

[260] See above p. 486.

[261] See article cited n. 232 above.

[262] See n. 232 above.

[263] On the relations between early Christian Arabic and Georgian literature see the judicious remarks of K. Samir (n. 227 above) with reference to the remarkable study of M. van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens homéliaires géorgiens. Étude descriptive et historique* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1975). Most translators from Arabic into Georgian remain anonymous. However, in eighth and ninth-century Palestine two translators in particular distinguished themselves — David and Stephen.

of Mount Sinai.[264] In the first one is found the *HIeiun.* 1 and in the second *HMart.* [19]. Another, perhaps even older "mravalt'avi" is the parchment codex from the monastery of Svanet'i in Georgia proper, written probably in the eighth or ninth century.[265] It contains some works ascribed to Basil which do not appear in any other Georgian manuscripts such as "Sermo de Ephremo eremita," "Sermo de Petro fratre suo," "Sermo de Anastasio," and "Sermo de aeternitate poenarum."

The first Georgian translation of Basil's *Asceticon* (= *Asc. 2/3c-p*) was made in the first half of the tenth century by Procopius, a hieromonachus of Mar Saba, otherwise unknown.[266] The Greek model used by Procopius was a manuscript closely resembling the current Istanbul BOP HT 105,

[264] The codex of Udabno was transferred from the monastery in 1920 and is now in Tiflis SMA A-1109. See its description (codex U) in Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens*, pp. 29-37, 133-157. The same older translation of *HIeiun.* 1, considered by Van Esbroeck, ibid., p. 250, to be a classic, is found in two tenth-century *mravalt'avi*, Ayion Oros MI georg. 11 and Tiflis SMA A-95. The latter comes from the scriptorium of Parhal (Georgia proper). In all the catalogues and descriptions of the codex of Udabno it is erroneously indicated that it contains the Pseudo-Basilian *HPaen.* [28]. If such indeed were the case, this would be the only witness to the existence of such a translation in Georgian. However, as Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens*, p. 142, correctly points out the work under consideration is not ***HPaen.* [28] but a homily of Meletius of Antioch. The MS of Mount Sinai MHAi georg. 32-57-33, from 864, which G. Garitte, "Les récents catalogues des manuscrits géorgiens de Tiflis," *Mu* 74 (1961) 412 considers to be the companion of the codex of Udabno, was edited in its entirety by A. Šanidze, *Sinuri mravalt'avi 864 clisa* (Tiflis 1959), *HMart.* [19] at pp. 115-123. The same (older) version of this homily is found in the codex of Udabno, Tiflis SMA A-1109 (just a short fragment), in the dated (a. 1038) palimpsest of Leningrad IVAN M 13 (the original writing containing *HMart.* [19] is from the 8/9th cent.; see Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens*, p. 35), and Tiflis SMA A-95, 10th cent. Both G. Peradze, "Die alt-christliche Literatur in der georgischen Überlieferung," *OrChr* 3/4 (1929) 283 (based on a similar work of Kekelidze) and Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens*, p. 127, add Oxford BL georg. 1, from the 11th cent. However, unless their opinion is based on philological arguments, it would seem that the version of the Oxford MS is due to Ewkt'ime At'oneli. In fact this codex was written in the Georgian monastery of the Holy Cross near Jerusalem by Ewkt'ime's companion and friend Giorgi Prokhoré; see P. Peeters, "De codice hiberico Bibliothecae Bodleianae Oxoniensis," *AB* 31 (1912) 306 (by mistake in the Latin translation of the title the *HMart.* [19] is put under Gregory of Nazianzus' name). Besides *HMart.* [19], the codex of Oxford contains "In Georgium" and "In crucem," two works of Andrew of Crete which here as in the *Ethika* of Ewkt'ime (see below) are attributed to Basil. The "Oratio in illud: Pater si possibile est," probably of Amphilochius (see CPG 3237), is ascribed to Basil in only one MS, the Tiflis SMA A-144, 10th cent., from the convent of Klardjeth (see Van Esbroeck, *Les plus anciens*, pp. 160-161).

[265] Now at Tiflis SMA A-19. The works listed next, notably the first three, appear to be taken from the Ps.-Amphilochian "Vita et miracula," translated early into Georgian. Also in Greek the aforementioned works (BHG 255, 257, 254) appear sometimes as works of Basil.

[266] See Khintibidze, *Basili* (n. 18 above), pp. 87-89, recensio G.

from the tenth or eleventh century, and the Vatican BAV Barb. gr. 476, from the twelfth century. *Recensio* G consists of a single series of 300 *EApokr. br.* preceded by the spurious *SVit.*[267] In the only manuscript in which it has survived, the Mount Sinai MHAi georg. 35 from the tenth century, its title is: "Canon constitutus pro monachis qui propter Christum una congregati sunt; sancti et beati Basilii Caesareae Cappadociae episcopi doctrina."[268]

ii. *Greek Age*

The third period of ancient Georgian literature, which extends from ca. 975 to 1150, marks the acme of Greek or Byzantine influence, and is called by Kekelidze the "Greek age."[269] This period is characterized chiefly by the fact that oriental influence falls completely into the background. The translations of Byzantine authors are no longer made via Armenia, Syria, or Arabian Palestine, but are derived directly from the originals. The new literary centres shift from Georgia proper to the west, to Ayion Oros (the monastery of Iviron = Georgians), to Palestine (the monasteries of Mar Saba and Holy Cross), to Sinai and to the Black or Admirable Mountain near Antioch.[270]

Of the great number of translators from this period, four occupied themselves with the translation of Basil's works as well: a. the Philhellene Ewkt'ime At'oneli (Euthymius Hagiorites, †1028); b. his disciple and successor, the hellenizer of Liturgy and Scripture, Giorgi At'oneli (†1065); c. the scholastic Ephrem Mtsiré (= "the Little," †ca. 1110); and d. Arsen Iqalt'oeli (fl. 11/12 cent.).

a. Under the instigation of his father John, a nobleman and the founder of the monastery of Iviron, Ewkt'ime whose first language was Greek quickly learned Georgian[271] and immediately set about translating a great

[267] For the complete concordance of *recensio* G with the Vulgata see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 166-169.

[268] See G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* (Louvain 1956) p. 117. The usual designation of Basil's *Asceticon* in Georgian is *Samoğwats'eo ts'ignis* = "Liber asceticus."

[269] Kekelidze in Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, p. 35. Some authors call it less properly the "Golden Age." It was certainly a prolific period in which an unprecedented number of patristic and other texts were translated into vernacular most for the first time. However, the linguistic quality of the translations does not always match the purity of style achieved in the previous period.

[270] On these and other Georgian monasteries in the diaspora see Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 69-78.

[271] In his biography by Giorgi At'oneli this fact is attributed to a miraculous

number of biblical, apocryphal, exegetical, dogmatic, ascetical, and hagiographical texts.[272] Among his translations of Basil the best known is the collection of moral homilies entitled *Ethika*.[273] Ewkt'ime's reputation as a translator was so great that authors still wonder what caused it.[274] However, upon closer examination his renderings are not of the literal, word-by-word type, but are rather excerpts and abbreviations, or in some cases expansions of the originals. In other words, he is an adapter as much as, or even more than, a translator. Observes Blake: "His language is good and pure, but somewhat filtered; it lacks the zest and flavour of the earlier period."[275]

In Georgian there is a special study dealing with the composition and contents of Ewkt'ime's *Ethika*, which was unavailable to me.[276] On the basis of the four most complete manuscripts I have drawn the following comparative table.[277]

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intervention of the Holy Virgin (see the Latin translation of Ewkt'ime's life in P. Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," *AB* 36/37 [1917/1919] 13-68).

[272] For a complete list of his translations see his biography cited in n. 271.

[273] Fifty-one, and in some MSS fifty-two and up to fifty-five works, some spurious. See the table below. For the authors who misinterpret the designation *Ethika* see n. 18 above and 285 below.

[274] See Blake, "Georgian Theological Literature," pp. 55-56 who adds further speculations to those of Kekelidze.

[275] Blake, ibid., p. 55. For similar views see G. Peradze, "L'activité littéraire des moines géorgiens au monastère Iviron, au Mont Athos," *RHE* 23 (1927) 531; J. Karst, *Littérature géorgienne chrétienne* (Paris 1934) p. 26; J. Kirchmeyer, "Euthyme l'Hagiorite," *DSp* 4 (1961) 1722.

[276] N. Copurašvili, "K sostavu 'Itiki'," *VVONGr* 2 (1973) 64-78 (in Georgian).

[277] My table is based on A = Tiflis SMA A-100, a. 1713, copy of a MS from before 1000; B = Jerusalem PB georg. 14, a. 1055; C = Tiflis SMA A-181, a. 1816; D = Tiflis SMA A-394, S.A., 11/14th cent. (?). In the abbreviation of works *Doct.* 1-8 stands for the works listed in Peradze, "Die alt-christliche," p. 284, d. i-viii. *Doct.* 1 is *Asc. Pr4*. No. 30 belongs to Gregory of Nazianzus; 31 and 33 to Andrew of Crete; on 32 see M. Van Esbroeck, "L'Assomption de la Vierge dans un Transitus pseudo-basilien," *AB* 92 (1974) 125-163; 54 is a work of Gregory of Nyssa; 55 contains the legend about the apparition of Melchizedek. In the work *Suphewa* (lit. "Basiliana") of the hieromonachus of St. John the Baptist monastery of Parhal (east Georgia), Gabriel Mtsiré ("the Little") from the 18th cent., are reproduced eight works from the *Ethika*. I will list all twelve chapters of the *Suphewa* indicating in parenthesis the numbers of Ewkt'ime: i. *On faith* (2); ii. *On love*; iii. *On the desire of God* (8); iv. *On humility* (17); v. *On persevering prayer and thankfulness towards God*; vi. *On generosity towards the poor* (22); vii. *On avarice*; viii. *On usury*; ix. *On anger* (20); x. *On envy* (21); xi. *On penance* (8); xii. *On gentleness* (12). On the *Suphewa* cf. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 302-303. See also n. 301 below.

Ethika (tr. Ewkt'ime At'oneli)

	A	B	C	D
(1) *HBapt.* [13]	1	29	1	19
(2) *HFide* [15]	2	11	2	20
(3) *HVerb.* [16]	3	12	3	21
(4) ***HSp. S.* [25]	4	13	4	22
(5) *HMart.* [19]	5	33	5	—
(6) *Doct.* 1	6	20	6	23
(7) ***Doct.* 2	7	21	7	24
(8) ***Doct.* 3	8	22	8	25
(9) ***Doct.* 4	9	23	9	26
(10) ***Doct.* 5	10	24	10	27
(11) ***Doct.* 6	11	25	11	—
(12) *EGNaz.* [2]	12	26	12	28
(13) ***Doct.* 7	13	27	30	29
(14) *HIeiun.* 1	15	1	31	1
(15) *HIeiun.* 2	15	2	32	2 (3-6)
(16) *HAtt.* [3]	16	34	33	7
(17) *HHum.* [20]	17	16	34	8
(18) *HGrat.* [4]	18	5	35	9
(19) *HMal.* [9]	19	3	36	—
(20) *HIra* [10]	20	6	37	10
(21) *HInv.* [11]	21	7	38	11
(22) *HDestr.* [6]	22	4	39	12
(23) *HDiv.* [7]	23	8	40	—
(24) *HFam.* [8]	24	9	41	13
(25) *HProv.* [12]	25	10	42	14
(26) *HEbr.* [14]	26	14	43	15
(27) *HLac.* [26]	27	15	44	16
(28) ***Doct.* 8	28	18	45	17
(29) *HMund.* [21]	29	17	48	18
(30) ***Maccab.*	30	—	47	—
(31) ***Georg.*	31	31	46	—
(32) ***Dormit.*	32	28	49	—
(33) ***Cruc.*	33	30	50	—
(34) *HChr.* [27]	34	—	51	46
(35) *HPs. 1*	35	—	13	30
(36) *HPs. 7*	36	—	14	31
(37) *HPs. 14a*	37	—	15	32
(38) *HPs. 14b*	38	—	16	33
(39) *HPs. 28a*	39	—	17	34
(40) *HPs. 28b*	40	—	18	35

	A	B	C	D
(41) *HPs. 29*	41	—	19	36
(42) *HPs. 32*	42	—	20	37
(43) *HPs. 33*	43	—	21	38
(44) *HPs. 37*	44	—	22	39
(45) *HPs. 44*	45	—	23	40
(46) *HPs. 45*	46	—	24	41
(47) *HPs. 48*	47	—	25	42
(48) *HPs. 59*	48	—	26	43
(49) *HPs. 61*	49	—	27	44
(50) *HPs. 114*	50	—	28	—
(51) *HPs. 115*	51	—	29	45
(52) *HIul.* [5]	—	32	—	—
(53) ***In bapt.* (= Sophr. Hier.)	—	—	—	47
(54) ***Virg.*	—	—	—	48
(55) ***Melchis.*	—	—	—	49

Ewkt'ime also should be credited with the version of Basil's *Epistulae canonicae* found in a manuscript of the twelfth or thirteenth century containing the whole *Nomocanon*. Forty of these canons have been preserved in the fragment now at Leningrad, which in 1829 Stoiev brought from the Iviron monastery of Ayion Oros, and which is part of Ewkt'ime's autograph.[278]

b. As his biographer points out, the work of Giorgi At'oneli, the fourth higoumen of Iviron, may be considered as a continuation and in some cases a rectification of that of his teacher Ewkt'ime.[279] Giorgi translated some things which had not previously existed in Georgian, revised some others, and improved the translations of Ewkt'ime.

To him we owe the translation of *ESimpl.* [115], and of the two apocryphal works, *SSac.* and "that the priest ought to celebrate the Liturgy once not twice a day."[280] His major undertaking was the new version of the *Hexaemeron*.[281] It is only by incorrect inference that some

[278] The entire *Nomocanon* is in Tiflis SMA A-171, 12/13th cent. The translation, without the name of its author, is derived from the Greek. For the fragment of Ewkt'ime's autograph see Leningrad BAN VI C 1, 10/11th cent. (other parts of the MS belong to a later period).

[279] Life by his disciple and namesake in Peeters, "Histoires monastiques," pp. 77-159.

[280] See Tiflis SMA A-584, 11th cent.

[281] Derived from the Greek, with help from an older version; see n. 258 above.

authors like Kekelidze, repeated by Peradze, attribute to him a new version of Basil's Byzantine liturgy.[282]

As a translator, Giorgi keeps closer to the Greek than Ewkt'ime. However, his works do not yet represent as scholarly and accurate a rendering of the original as does the work of his younger contemporary Ephrem Mtsiré.

c. Ephrem Karič'idzé, surnamed Mtsiré ("the Little"), was higoumen of the monastery of Kastana on the Black or Admirable Mountain near Antioch.[283] Early in life he received a thorough Hellenic education presumably in Constantinople. Ephrem's translational technique is fundamental for later Georgian literature. He was the first to introduce literal rendering into Georgian, and made scholia and lexica familiar to Georgian readers.[284]

As higoumen of Kastana, Ephrem undertook for the second time the translation of Basil's *Asceticon* apparently because Procopius' version was not available to his monks. Besides working on a more complete text (of the Vulgata type), Ephrem included many of the works omitted by Procopius. His corpus consists of: i. *Hyp. Pr.*; ii. *Mor. PrI*; iii. *Mor. PrF*; iv. **Asc. Pr5*; v. *Index EApokr. fus.*; vi. *Asc. Pr3*; vii. *EApokr. fus.* 1-55; viii. *Index EApokr. br.*; ix. *EApokr. br.* 1-313; x. **Epit.* 24; xi-xii. *ETheod.* [173] + *De perf.* [22]; xiii. *Reg. mor.* 1-80;[285] xiv. ***SRen.*; xv. ***Const.* (30 chapters).[286]

[282] See the *Euchologion* of Tiflis SMA H-531, 11th cent. According to De Meester (see n. 305 below), col. 1609, the first version of the Georgian *Euchologion* is from the 10-11th cent.; according to Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, p. 168 n. 1, and p. 445, nn. 176-177, from the 9-10th cent. At any rate, the oldest MSS are from the 11th cent.; see below n. 304.

[283] On this monastic mountain besides Tarchnišvili (above n. 270) see P. Peeters, "L'église géorgienne du Clibanion au Mont Admirable," *AB* 46 (1928) 241-286, and W. Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes* (Louvain 1976) pp. 86-108.

[284] Blake, "Georgian," p. 58. On his translation of the scholions of Basil's *Asc. 3* see n. 286 below.

[285] For the first time in any language. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 188-189, gives a confusing information. He implies that Ewkt'ime had already translated *Reg. mor.*; see likewise Garitte (n. 18 above), and Blake, "Georgian," p. 58. However, as explained before *Ethika* in Ewkt'ime stands for *Homiliae morales* not *Regulae morales*.

[286] There are two MSS containing the work of Ephrem: Tiflis SMA A-689, 11/12th cent., from the monastery of Gelathi, and Tiflis SMA A-132, 14th cent., a copy of the previous. Both are mutilated at the beginning and end. Tiflis SMA A-689 contains the translation of *Scholion* 8 (Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 156). For Ephrem's translations of other scholions of the works of Basil, some of which he incorporated in Gregory of Nazianzus' *Or.* 43, see Khintibidze, *Basili*, pp. 131-134, 158-165. The text of the ***Const.* is derived from the recension N (see Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 305), with the following distribution of the

Ephrem's models were two manuscripts, one of which — closely resembling the Venice BNM gr. 63, 11th cent., and the Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1088, 13/14th cent. — he found in the monastery of St. Simeon,[287] and the other, containing the Nilus' recension of the **Const.*, he came across at the monastery T'ualt'a ("ad fontes").[288]

In Khintibidze's study Ephrem's translation has the sigla E.[289] The same author notes that there is an abbreviated text of Ephrem's work which he designates with the letter C.[290] *Recensio* C is the work of an anonymous from the seventeenth century, and has been preserved in only one manuscript, the Kutaisi SSM 61 from 1788. It consists of forty-six chapters: (1) *EApokr. fus.* 1; (2) *fus.* 2; (3) *fus.* 3; (4) *fus.* 4; (5) *fus.* 5; (6) *fus.* 16; (7) *fus.* 18; (8) *fus.* 37; (9) *fus.* 55; (10) *EApokr. br.* 1; (11) *br.* 5; (12) *br.* 8; (13) *br.* 10; (14) *br.* 11; (15) *br.* 12; (16) *br.* 13; (17) *br.* 15; (18) *br.* 16; (19) *br.* 23; (20) *br.* 22; (21) *br.* 26; (22) *br.* 27; (23) *br.* 30; (24) *br.* 56; (25) *br.* 64; (26) *br.* 157; (27) *br.* 172; (28) *br.* 191; (29) *br.* 192; (30) *br.* 193; (31) *br.* 195; (32) *br.* 196; (33) *br.* 198; (34) *br.* 204; (35) *br.* 205; (36) **Const.* 1;[291] (37) **Const.* 2; (38) **Const.* 4; (39) **Const.* 5; (40) **Const.* 6; (41) **Const.* 7; (42) **Const.* 8; (43) **Const.* 10; (44) **Const.* 11; (45) **Const.* 20; (46) **Const.* 23.

Apart from the ascetica, which was his major undertaking, Ephrem Mtsiré translated a number of Basil's letters and revised Ewkt'ime's version of *HIeiun.* 1 and *HIeiun.* 2.[292] As mentioned earlier,[293] Ephrem's translations are much more literal and accurate ("scholarly") than those of Ewkt'ime and Giorgi At'oneli. However, Ephrem drew little praise for his achievements from the conservative-minded monks who were

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chapters (the second number is that of the *recensio* Vulgata as in PG 31: 1321-1428): 1: 2; 2: 17; 3: 3; 4: 4; 5: 5; 6: 7; 7: 13; 8: 14; 9: 18; 10: 22; 11: 23; 12: 27; 13: 28; 14: 29; 15: 11; 16: 19; 17: 6; 18: 8; 19: 9, 20: 10, 21: 18; 22: 21; 23: 24; 24: 25; 25: 26; 26: 30; 27: 31; 28: 32; 29: 33; 30: 34.

[287] Gribomont, *Histoire*, p. 80; Khintibidze, *Basili*, pp. 125-131. On this monastery located on the Black or Admirable Mountain near Antioch see Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, p. 73. It was inhabited by both Greek and Georgian monks.

[288] See Th. Zhordania, *K'ronikiebi*, 2 (Tiflis 1897) 39-40.

[289] *Basili*, pp. 73-80.

[290] *Basili*, pp. 80-82.

[291] The numbers are those of Ephrem; see n. 286 above.

[292] Tiflis SMA A-292, 14 October 1800, contains the 26 homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus which Ephrem, after Ewkt'ime, "dared" to retranslate (see below n. 294). On ff. 346-359 are found 25 (unspecified) letters. It is assumed that some if not most are of Gregory, and that Basil's are probably *EGNaz.* [2] and perhaps *EGNaz.* [14]. For the homilies see Tiflis SMA A-129, 13th cent., and Tiflis SMA A-272, 24 September 1817.

[293] See p. 499 above.

particularly displeased with his attempt to correct the work of Ewkt'ime.[294]

d. The fourth author of the group, Arsen Iqalt'oeli, translated only one work of Basil, the spurious *SSac.*[295]

iii. *Recensions of the Asceticon*

Thus far we have seen three recensions of Basil's *Asceticon* in Georgian: *Recensio* G, translator Procopius, no later than the tenth century; *recensio* E, translator Ephrem Mtsiré, second half of the eleventh century; *recensio* C, an anonymous abbreviation of E from the seventeenth century. In his work from 1968, Khintibidze studies a fourth recension, *recensio* P, which he considers to be the work of an anonymous working sometime after the twelfth century on a Greek text similar to that of *Asc. 3* and *Asc. 2/3d.*[296] The only codex containing *recensio* P is Tiflis SMA A-63, from 1710. Contained in this recension are the following works: i. *Hyp. Pr.*; ii. *Mor. PrI*; iii. *Mor. PrF*; iv. *Asc. Pr3*; v. **Asc. Pr5*; vi. *Index EApokr. fus.*; vii. *EApokr. fus.* 1-55; viii. *EApokr. br.* 1-313; ix. ***Const.* 1; x. ***Prol. Const.*; xi. ***Const.* 2; xii. ***Const.* 17; xiii. ***Const.* 3; xiv. ***Const.* 4; xv. ***Const.* 5; xvi. ***Const.* 6; xvii. ***Const.* 7; xviii. ***Const.* 8; xix. ***Const.* 9; xx. ***Const.* 10; xxi. ***Const.* 11; xxii. ***Const.* 12; xxiii. ***Const.* 13; xxiv. ***Const.* 14; xxv. ***Const.* 15; xxvi. ***Const.* 16; xxvii. ***Const.* 18; xxviii. ***Const.* 19; xxix. ***Const.* 20; xxx. ***Const.* 21; xxxi. ***Const.* 22; xxxii. ***Const.* 23; xxxiii. ***Const.* 24; xxxiv. ***Const.* 25; xxxv. ***Const.* 26; xxxvi. ***Const.* 27; xxxvii. ***Const.* 28; xxxviii. ***Const.* 29; xxxix. ***Const.* 32; xl. ***Const.* 34; xli. ***Const.* 30.[297]

[294] Writes Blake, "Georgian," p. 59: "Ephrem had serious opposition to contend with. The more conservative party felt that his retranslation of Gregory of Nazianzus was an implied criticism of Ewkt'ime, and suspected his philosophical leanings." Cf. also above n. 292.

[295] See Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, p. 211.

[296] *Basili*, pp. 82-87. The designation P may appear misleading; it would fit better the translation of Procopius. In fact Kekelidze wrongly thought that Procopius was the author of this version. In spite of rejecting this hypothesis (*Basili*, pp. 176-186), Khintibidze decided to keep the sigla as he kept the sigla G given by Gribomont to the version of Procopius.

[297] In Tiflis SMA A-63 there are only forty titles but based on the mutilated beginning of the MS Khintibidze, *Basili*, pp. 90 ff., added the No. 1 (cf. recension E above). The Greek model of the translator of P was a MS of the contaminated Vulgata similar to Paris BN gr. 502A, 11th century; Khintibidze, *Basili*, pp. 122-125; on Paris BN gr. 502A (= V9) see Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 21-22.

In a work of Č'ič'inadze quoted by Tarchnišvili,[298] mention is made of a monk by the name of Joseph Kandelaki who after being trained at the monastery of Gelathi (in Georgia proper) lived in the Iviron monastery of Ayion Oros. Nothing else is known about this monk except that at the beginning of the seventeenth century he translated from the Greek the *Asceticon* of Basil. Could Joseph Kandelaki be the author of *recensio* P?

iv. *Epistles*

There is no corpus of Basil's letters in Georgian. As we saw earlier, Ewkt'ime translated the *Epistulae canonicae* and the *EGNaz*. [2], Giorgi the *ESimpl*. [115], and Ephrem an unspecified number of letters addressed probably to Gregory of Nazianzus.[299] In 1799 Rector Gaios (1746-1821) published in Moscow a collection of Basil's letters translated from Russian.[300]

v. *Quotations*

Besides translating Basil, Ephrem Mtsiré in his *Commentary on the Psalms* written before 1080 makes considerable use of Basil's *Homiliae in Psalmos*. His quotations are not drawn from Ewkt'ime's *Ethika* but directly from the Greek.[301]

vi. *Georgica*

These are some of the other works attributed to Basil in Georgian; the time of composition of some of them is unknown: i. ***"On faith in Incarnation"; ii. ***"On faith in the unity of the tri-une essence and on the two natures of Christ"; iii. ***"On the unity of the two natures of Christ"; iv. ***"On virginity, 1"; v. ***"On virginity, 2"; vi. ***"On the creation of the soul"; vii. ***"On prayer and good works"; viii. ***"On the sevenfold revenge of Cain."[302]

[298] *Geschichte*, p. 189 n. 2.

[299] See above p. 500.

[300] See Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 290-293.

[301] On the quotations of bishop Anton Cagereli Č'qondideli (†1815), drawn from Ewkt'ime's *Ethika* see Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 294-297.

[302] The MSS are as follows: i-ii. Tiflis SMA A-735, 17th cent.; iii. Tiflis SMA A-375, 19th cent.; iv. Tiflis SMA A-19, 8/9th cent., etc. Also under the name of John Chrysostom (CPG 5180); v. Ayion Oros MI georg. 11, 10th cent.; also as Chrysostom's (CPG 5180); vi. Jerusalem PB georg. 4, S.A.; vii. Tiflis SMA A-81, 18th cent.; viii. no MSS; translated by Ewkt'ime (see Peeters, "Histoires monastiques," p. 36).

vii. *Liturgica*

Until the tenth century Greek was the liturgical language of the Georgian church. The first translation of the *LBas. 1*, *LChrys.*, and *LPraes.* (under Basil's name) is probably due to the Georgian monks established very early on in Palestine and Ayion Oros.[303] In the most ancient manuscripts, the *LBas. 1* precedes the *LChrys.*[304] As in Greek, this is an indication that at the time it was the ordinary liturgy of the Georgian church. There are not any editions of the older versions. The first editions of the translations made much later date to the eighteenth century.[305]

The codex georg. 78 of Mount Sinai, eleventh century, has preserved a post-communion prayer of thanksgiving ascribed to Basil.[306]

G. Old Church Slavonic Translations

The Old Church Slavonic language[307] based in its original form on a Macedonian dialect spoken in the Slavonic hinterland of Thessaloniki was established in all its essentials by the Apostles of the Slavs, St. Cyril (†869) and Methodius (†885). The creation of the new language was more than the reduction to writing of a ninth-century Macedonian dialect. Like that of the Armenian, its main purpose was literary and ecclesiastical. There are three main classes of Old Church Slavonic manuscripts (most in Cyrillic script which is probably posterior to the Glagolitic one): translations of biblical, liturgical, and homiletic (martyrological, and other theological) texts. The works of Basil are found in the following recensions (national forms) of Old Church Slavonic: Bulgarian (or most commonly referred to as Middle Bulgarian), Serbian, and Russian.

[303] It is almost certain that Giorgi At'oneli should not be credited with the first version of the *Euchologion*; see Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte*, pp. 168-169, with n. 1, and p. 145; cf. pp. 176-177. See also n. 282 above.

[304] See Mount Sinai MHAi georg. 89 and Tiflis SMA H-531, both of the 11th cent. On these MSS see Jacob, "Une version."

[305] See P. de Meester, "Grecques (Liturgies)," *DACL* 6 (1925) 1609, and Jacob, "Une version," p. 68.

[306] See Garitte, *Catalogue*, p. 225.

[307] For the terminology adopted here and essential information on the Slavonic language see the excellent introduction of R. Auty, *Handbook of Old Church Slavonic*, Part 2, *Texts and Glossary* (London 1968) pp. 1-14; see also there the remarks prefacing each text. For the concordance of the old geographical terms with the current ones see briefly D. Tashkovski, *Bogomilism in Macedonia* (Skopje 1975) pp. 21 ff.

i. *Moral Homilies*

The famous Cyrillic "codex Supransliensis," copied before 1056 by Reto (in the western part of East Bulgaria?), contains *HMart.* [19] translated sometime earlier from an unidentified Greek menologion for the month of March.[308] The same text appears in the thirteenth-century "Homiliary of Mihanovič," Serbian recension.[309] Among the other homilies translated

[308] The MS was kept in the Basilian (OSBM) monastery of Suprasl near Bialystok from 1533 until 1838/1839 when it was discovered by M. K. Bobrovskii. Of the three parts (quat. 17-18 are now in Leningrad GPB; 19-37 in Warsaw [this part was thought to have been lost in the Second World War but it was recovered in 1968]) the one containing *HMart.* [19] (quat. 1-16) found its way to Ljubljana where it is now preserved in the NUK Cod. Kop. 2. See the editions of F. R. von Miklosich, *Monumenta linguae palaeoslavicae e codice Suprasliensi* (Vienna 1851) pp. 61-72; *HMart.* [19], superseded now by S. N. Sever'yanov, *Suprasl'skaya rukopis'* (Leningrad 1904) pp. 81-97: *HMart.* [19]. To the studies cited by Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1: 593-599, should be added V. A. Mošin, *Ćirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske Akademije* (Zagreb 1955), and notably idem, *Kopitarjeva zbirka slovanskikh rokopisov in Zoisov cirilski fragment iz Narodne in Univerzitetne Knjižnice v Ljubljani* (Ljubljana 1971) pp. 58-71 (with abundant bibliography and the history of the codex). Mošin cites the opinion of Nahtigal according to whom the translation could be dated to the times of Cyril and Methodius. Although the two brothers occupied themselves also with translations of patristic works (for Cyril see A. S. Arkhangelskii, *K izuchenyu drevne-russkoĭ literatury* [Leningrad 1888] p. 38), it seems more likely that the Suprasl menologion was translated during the tenth century either in East Bulgaria or, as suggested by V. Mošin, "Russkie na Afone i russko-vizantiĭske otnosheniya v XI-XII vv.," *Byslav* 9 (1947/1948) 58, on the Ayion Oros. According to A. Margulies' study, *Die altkirchenslavische codex Suprasliensis* (Heidelberg 1927), the translations of the single items belong to different authors.

[309] See Zagreb KJAZU iii c 19 (Mihanovič 25), 13th cent., reproduced photostatically in *Mihanovič Homiliar* (Graz 1957) pp. 1-5. For another fragment of this homily see Leningrad GPB F.i.631, a. 1367. I am not certain of the identity of a homily ascribed to Basil in a MS, Leningrad GPB F n i 39, 13th cent., containing mainly works of Kyryl of Turov. It should perhaps be noted that not infrequently the works of the latter are put under Basil's name. *HAtt.* [3] is in London BL Add. 27442, written at the Serbian monastery of Dechan, Kosovo, either late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century. Its contents, with the exception of *HAtt.* [3], are identical with those of the other MSS of the Middle Bulgarian recension most written in the 14th century. *HPs. 1* is featured in several MSS of the Serbian recension as a prologue of the commentated *Psalter*. One of these MSS, the Ayion Oros MCh 108 (T 30), is from the late 14th century. In 1552 Makariĭ, the metropolitan of Moscow, completed a monumental collection of "great monthly readings" (hence entitled *Velikiya Minei Chet'i*) consisting of 13,000 large folios. Between 1868-1917 the Arkheograficheskiya Kommissiya of Leningrad published the volumes for September, October, November 1-25, December 1-24, January 1-11, and April. In the volume for December, cols. 2289-2301, is Basil's *HChr.* [27], and in that for January, cols. 142-158, *HGord.* [18]. Since Makariĭ and his aides were in the habit of using existing translations probably for March 9 they included *HMart.* [19]. There could be other homilies of Basil whose existence in Old Church Slavonic is attested by several MSS of the 15/16th century. I was unable to consult either Arkhimandrit Yosif's *Podrobnoe oglavlenie Velikikh Chet'ikh Mineĭ* (Moscow 1892) nor D. Shestakov's "Zametki o

before the fifteenth century are *HPs. 1* (as a preface to the *Psalterium*) and probably also *HAtt.* [3].

ii. *Ascetica*

In 1902 P. A. Lavrov discovered on Ayion Oros, in the monastery of Zograph, two parchment folios containing the Old Church Slavonic translation in Cyrillic of the *EApokr.* 34 and 35.[310] The discovery became momentous when it was ascertained that the version was from no later than the second half of the tenth century.[311] The above questions/answers belong to Basil's final redaction of the *Asceticon*, the *Asc. 3*. In a subsequent study, A. Vaillant was able to discern some linguistic and stylistic similarities between the folios of Zograph and the Pseudo-Basilian *De virg.*[312] Both exhibited characteristics from the period of decadence of the Old Bulgarian: shoddy style and careless handling of the original. In Vaillant's opinion both translations belonged, if not to the same hand, certainly to the same milieu. He furthermore suggested that the spurious *De virg.* could have initially formed part of the original collection of Basil's ascetic treatises in Old Church Slavonic.[313]

Besides one rather dubious allusion to *Asc. 3* in Kozma the presbyter's sermon against the Bogomils, I do not know of any other ancient references or quotations of this work.[314]

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grecheskikh tekstakh zhitii v Makarevskikh Mineyakh Chetyakh," *Bogoslovskiĭ vestnik* 23 (1914) 369-382. However, according to Chyzhevskii, *History*, pp. 301-302, the work of Makarii is a rather mechanical compilation "with complete absence of any critical sense. ... The redaction ... in most cases was done without reference to the Greek original and thus resulted in no more than distortion of the original meaning."

310 See P. A. Lavrov and M. G. Dolobko, *Les feuillets de Zograph* (Paris 1926); P. A. Lavrov and A. Vaillant, "Les Règles de saint Basile en vieux slave," *RES* 10 (1930) 5-35. See also Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 89-90. In his catalogue *Moskovskiĭ Publichniĭ i Rumyanchevskiĭ Muzei, Sobranie rukopiseĭ P. I. Sevast'yanova* (Moscow 1881) p. 95, A. E. Viktorov briefly describes one or three parchment folios from Zograph dated 1367 containing excerpts from a Bulgarian recension of Basil's *Kniga o postnych'stvi*. I could not find confirmation of the existence of these folios either in Lavrov or in the newest handlist of parchment MSS from before the end of the fourteenth century published in *AE* 1965 (1966) 177-272.

311 See Vaillant, "Les Règles," and Gribomont, *Histoire*, pp. 89-90.

312 A. Vaillant, *Le De virginitate de saint Basile* (Paris 1943) pp. iv-v.

313 View upheld by Gribomont, ibid.

314 In his introduction (reprinted from *RES* 21 [1944] 46-89), A. Vaillant, *Le Traité Contre les Bogomiles de Cosmas le prêtre* (Paris 1945) p. 46 suggested the possibility that Kozma could have had in mind Basil's *Asc. 3* when referring to the "monastic rules" held in contempt by the Bogomils. The sermon of Kozma is dated to 972. If confirmed the reference would give us a *terminus ante quem* for the translation of *Asc. 3*. However, I consider this to be very doubtful. I was unable to identify the original wording since the

Both Lavrov and Vaillant maintained that the translation originated in East Bulgaria. However, in view both that the folios were found on Ayion Oros and that Bulgarian monks lived there since late ninth, early tenth century, it is possible also to suggest that the translation was made there.[315] Writes Mošin: "There is no doubt that during the first period of Slavonic literature [i.e., early tenth century] there were Slavs on the Ayion Oros. They not only lived as hermits in this or that Greek residence but there also existed an important Slavic centre where Greek books were translated and Slavonic MSS copied."[316]

The version of *Asc. 2* was made probably in East Bulgaria between the thirteenth and fourteenth century independently from the previous one. At any rate the earliest manuscripts are from the fourteenth century. The number of works included in the corpus varies from manuscript to manuscript. I will first enumerate the works contained in the manuscripts of the Middle Bulgarian recension, and then those of the more expanded Russian recensions A and B.

a. Middle Bulgarian recension, four manuscripts (+ 2 of the Serbian recension): i. *De perf.* [22]; ii. *Hyp. Pr.*; iii. *Mor. PrI*; iv. *Mor. PrF*; v. **Asc. Pr5*; vi. *Asc. Pr3*; vii. *Asc. 2*; viii. ***Const.* (30 chapters); ix. **SDisc.*; x. ***SRen.*; xi. *EMon.* [295]; xii. **Epit.* 24; xiii. **Epit.* 25; xiv. ***Epit. diversorum SS. de refectorio.*[317]

edition of M. G. Popruženko, *Kozma presviter', bolharskiĭ pysatel' x. vyka* (Sofia 1936) was not available to me. But even if Kozma had used the word "rule" (*pravylo*) and not *ustav* (regulation) he could not have meant Basil's *Asc. 3*. As I explain below, Basil's *Asc. 3* or for that matter *Asc. 2* is never called or referred to in Old Church Slavonic as rules but as "books" or "sermons on eremitical life." The only "rules" that could have been meant by Kozma would be those of the councils of the church (see above n. 163). Characteristically enough Metropolitan Fotiĭ, in a letter from 27 June 1418 to the monks of Snitogorsk, refers to the "ustav" of the "Great Basil, in no way inferior to the Apostles" but at the same time mentioning other fathers: *PDRKP* 1 (1880) 394. The quotations of the *EApokr. br.* in the *Izbornik* of Syatoslav of 1073 (copy of an archetype from the latter part of the 10th cent.) are translated directly from the Greek. On the superiority of their literary style see Vaillant, *Le De virginitate*. Two things may be inferred from this: (a) that the translation of *Asc. 3* is posterior to that of the *Izbornik* (hence later than the tenth century); (b) that *Asc. 3* (because translated on Ayion Oros) was unknown to the translator of the *Izbornik* or otherwise, he would have followed the general practice and availed himself of the existing translation.

[315] See Mošin, "Russkie," pp. 57-58. The monastery of Zograph was founded by the Bulgarian monks in 919; ibid., p. 57.

[316] Mošin, "Russkie," p. 57.

[317] London BL Add. 27442 adds *HAtt.* [3]. For details on this and other MSS see my forthcoming "Survey" (n. 3 above).

b. Russian recension A, Moscow GIM Uvarov 506, fourteenth century: i. Ps.-Amphilochius, *Vita et miracula Basilii*; ii. *De perf.* [22]; iii. **Asc. Pr5*; iv. *Hyp. Pr.*; v. *Asc. 2*; vi. ***Const.* (30 chapters); vii. **SDisc.*; viii-ix. ***SRen.* + *EMon.* [295]; x-? **Epit.* 24 + ?; xi. ***SSac.* (CPG 2933.2).[318]

c. Russian recension B, sixteenth century onward: i. Ps.-Amphilochius, *Vita et miracula Basilii*; ii-iii. *De perf.* [22] + *ETheod.* [173]; iv. *Hyp. Pr.*; v. *Mor. PrI*; vi. *Mor. PrF*; vii. *Index, Reg. mor.* 1-80; viii. **Asc. Pr5*; ix. *Asc. Pr3*; x. *EApokr. fus.* 1 (as a prologue, followed by the *Index*); xi. *Asc. 2*; xii. *Index*, ***Const.* (30 chapters, with preface); xiii. **SDisc.*; xiv. ***SRen.*; xv. *EMon.* [295] (followed by a *Scholion*); xvi-xvii. **Epit.* 11 (= 24) + **53; xviii. **Epit.* 25; xix. ***Epit. diversorum SS. de refectorio*; xx. *HAtt.* [3]; xxi. *HIeiun.* 1; xxii. *HIeiun.* 2; xxiii. *HGrat.* [4].[319]

Without entering upon details which would take us beyond the scope of this essay, I would like to make one or two remarks regarding this second Old Church Slavonic translation of Basil's *Ascetic Hypotyposis*. The closest Greek model to a. seems to be the current Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 431, thirteenth century, listed in Gribomont as *S*[tudita] 4.[320] In both cases the *Reg. mor.* are omitted despite the presence of *Hyp. Pr.*, *Mor. PrI* and *Mor. PrF*. The similarity, however, ends after *Asc. 2*.

The Russian recension A descends probably from the Middle Bulgarian Moscow GBL 129. This manuscript was either brought to the Troitse-Sergieva Lavra by the Serbian monks in the fourteenth century or was written there by the same.[321] Unfortunately I do not have a complete description of this manuscript in order to ascertain, among other things, if the Pseudo-Amphilochian *Vita* was already there. The addition of the spurious *SSac.* could suggest the presence of priests in the monastic community.

[318] Of the six MSS only one, the Uvarov 506, is fully described in the catalogues. The scriptoria are as follows: Troitse-Sergieva Lavra (Zagorsk), founded by Sergiĭ of Radonezh (†1392); monasteries of Andronikov and Chudov, Moscow, both founded by Metropolitan Alekseĭ (†1378). Some of the fourteenth-century MSS ended up later on in the monasteries of Sarov and Kirilo-Bilozersk.

[319] There are some twelve MSS of this recension. They will be described in my forthcoming "Survey" (see n. 3 above).

[320] *Histoire*, pp. 29-30.

[321] See G. I. Vzdornov, "Rol' slavyanskikh monastyrskikh masterskikh pis'ma Konstantinopolya i Afona v razvitii knigopisaniya i khudozhestvennego oformleniya russkikh rukopiseĭ na rubezhe XIV-XV vv.," *TODRL* 23 (1968) 178.

Recension B falls outside the purview of this paper and I shall not comment on it other than to mention that it has once been printed at Ostrog in 1594.[322]

For the works shared in common all three recensions have basically the same text, with only slight linguistic variations. Rather interesting about this second version is the fact that for the Greek ἄσκησις it consistently adopts the term "postnych'stvo" rather than "podvyzanie" as in the previous translation.[323] The word "postnych'stvo" and its cognates literally means "fasting."[324] However, it seems more likely that its real meaning was then the same as that of the modern Bulgarian, "eremitical life." This semantic peculiarity is rather revealing and it is confirmed by the history particularly of Russian monasticism where no single set of rules was followed and where eremetical tendencies have always predominated.[325] The ideal place for practicing asceticism for the Russian monks was the "pustynya" = desert, not the cenobitic life advocated by Basil. Hence Basil's *Asceticon* was used, alongside other ascetic treatises, as a book for reading more than as a rule to be obeyed. This explains also the other titles given to his *Asceticon* in the manuscripts: "Vyprashaniya postnych'ska" = "quaestiones asceticae" (lege: "de vita in eremo"; Middle Bulgarian recension); "hlavy," "slovesa postnych'skiya" = "capitula, sermones ascetici," or "Knyha o postnych'stve" = "liber asceticus" (= "de ieiunio"; life of continence in solitary confinement).

One final remark about this second version concerns the philological aspect. The translation is so literal and full of hellenisms (lexical, syntactical) that at times it is hard to understand without consultation of the Greek text. This certainly speaks for its archaicity; it was made at the time when Old Church Slavonic did not have all the resources for conveying elaborate and abstract concepts such as those related to ascetic life. On account of the fact that often the order of the Greek sentence is

[322] For a full description of this edition see my "Survey" (n. 3 above); also I. P. Karataev', *Opisanie slavyano-russkikh knig' napechatannym' kirillovskimi bukvami, I s 1491 po 1652 g* (Leningrad 1883) No. 132, and now *Ukrainskie knigi kirillovskoĭ pechati XVI-XVIII vv. Katalog izdaniĭ* (Moscow 1976) No. 7 with the plates Nos. 241, 354, 358, 374, 407, 655, 660, 722, 803, 809.

[323] Cf. Vaillant, *Le De virginitate*, pp. iv-v, 96.

[324] See *Slovník jazyka staroslověnskeho*, 2 (Prague 1973) 200; I. I. Sreznevskiĭ, *Materialy dlya slovarya drevne-russkogo yazyka po pis'menny'im pamyatnikam*, 2 (Leningrad 1902) 1263; I. A. Lysaght, *Material Towards the Compilation of a Concise Old Church Slavonic-English Dictionary* (Wellington 1978) p. 289.

[325] See F. von Lilienfeld, *Nil Sorskij und seine Schriften* (Berlin 1963) p. 104, with n. 33. Cf. also Fedwick, *Svyatyĭ Vasyliĭ*, p. 195.

kept and that many of the untranslateable particles have corresponding words, the Old Church Slavonic version of *Asc. 2* should be of some importance for the critical establishment of the original text.

iii. *Hexaemeron*

The only surviving manuscript of Basil's *Hexaemeron* in Slavonic is that of the Serbian recension, Ayion Oros MCh. 405, written in late fourteenth and early fifteenth-century.[326] That an earlier version of this work of Basil is sometimes asserted in manuals of Slavic literature is due to a twofold error. First, it is believed because of the similar title, that John the Exarch translated into Old Church Slavonic Basil's *Hexaemeron* in the latter part of the tenth century. However, the so-called *Hexaemeron* of John the Exarch is not the translation of any particular or single work but an original composition or rather a congeries of texts containing long unacknowledged quotations from at least three authors. First and foremost John draws from Basil's homonymous work. Among his other sources are the *In cosmogoniam* 1-6 of Severian of Gabala and Theodoret of Cyrus' *Graecorum affectuum curatio*, 4: *De materia et mundo*.[327] The second cause for the mistaken belief that there was an earlier version of Basil's *Hexaemeron* stems from some manuscripts in which is ascribed to Basil the above work of Severian translated early into Old Church Slavonic under the title "Shestodnevnek," i.e., "Hexaemeron."[328]

The other Slavic versions of the *Hexaemeron* are those Russian ones from the seventeenth century of Sichkarev, Slavenetskiĭ and Mladenovich'. They all are based on the edition of Erasmus (Basel 1532) and hence contain eleven homilies.

iv. *Extracts and Quotations*

Excerpts from several genuine and spurious works of Basil are extant in various collections and florilegia of which some, the better known, were

[326] Besides Basil's *Hex.* 1-9 the Chilandar MS has Gregory of Nyssa's *De hom. opif.* (31 chapters with the preface). The last 17 folios are taken up by excerpts from various authors. In her study "Katalog miniatyur," *ZOR* 22 (1960) 96, n. 33, T. B. Ukhova mentions a fifteenth-century MS of the *Hexaemeron* apparently of the Russian recension on which I was unable to gather more information.

[327] See the photostatic reprint of John's *Hexaemeron*, with parallels from all the various sources, by R. Aitzemüller, *Das Hexaemeron des Exarchen Johannes*, 7 v. (Graz 1958-1967).

[328] See, e.g., Kazan NBKU 114.

translated from the Greek; the *Izbornik* of Svyatoslav of 1073,[329] the *Nomocanons*,[330] and the various homiliary type collections such as *Zlatostruĭ, Izmaragd, Zlataya tsip,* and *Pchela*.[331] Other early anthologies using Basil are original, Old Church Slavonic, compositions of which the most widely spread were the *Izbornik* of Svyatoslav of 1076, the *Pouchenie dityam* of the Grand Prince Vladymyr Monomakh from 1117, the *Mirelo pravednoe* from the twelfth or thirteenth century, and the *Kormchaya knyha* from the thirteenth century.[332]

[329] The *Izbornik* (= *Collection*) of 1073 is a Byzantine miscellany translated from the Greek in Bulgaria in the 9th cent. for Tsar Simeon. In 1073 it was recopied in Kiev by John the Scribe for the Grand Prince Svyatoslav. The original copy is now in Moscow GIM (slav.) 161. Here are its Basilian contents: f. 4: ***C. Eun.* 5; f. 186ᵛ: *EApokr. br.* 61; f. 187: *br.* 62; f. 190: *br.* 63; f. 193ᵛ: *br.* 64; f. 198ᵛ: *br.* 65; f. 205ᵛ: *br.* 66; f. 209: *br.* 67; f. 209ᵛ: *br.* 68; f. 210: *br.* 69; f. 210ᵛ: *br.* 70; f. 211: *br.* 128; f. 211ᵛ: *br.* 71, 72; f. 241ᵛ: ***EApokr. Basilii et Gregorii*.

[330] The *Synagogue* of John Scholasticus (†577) was translated into Old Church Slavonic probably by Methodius in the 9th cent.; see R. Souarn, "Disciplina bizantina, 2: Bulgari," CCO 8 (1932) 192-193. The translation of the *Syntagma xiv titulorum* is probably from the 11th cent.; see the edition of V. N. Beneshevich, *Drevne-slavyanskaya Kormchaya xiv titulov' bez' tolkovaniĭ* (Leningrad 1906), Greek and Old Church Slavonic text, the *Canons of Basil* (1-93 as in CPG 2901) at pp. 460-531. Both collections were incorporated into the *Kormchaya knyha* on which see below n. 332.

[331] All three florilegia — *Zlatostruĭ* = "Golden stream," *Izmaragd* = "Emerald," and *Zlataya Tsip* = "Golden Chain" — were done into Old Church Slavonic in Bulgaria in the 9/10th cent. See the study of V. A. Yakovlev, *K literaturnoĭ istorii drevne-russkikh sbornikov* (Odessa 1893). The author studies chiefly the *Izmaragd* from the MSS of the 14 to 16th centuries (five classes). It should be noted that from the literary point of view the *Izmaragd* is an expanded form of the *Izbornik* of 1076. For a good overview of the contents of this as it were lay manual of "normal Christian ethics" see G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind (ii). The Middle Ages. The 13th to the 15th Centuries* (Belmont, Mass. 1975) pp. 39-112. The *Pchela* = "Bee" (*μέλισσα*) is the Slavonic name for Ps.-Maximus' *Loci communes*, translated in Kiev during the 12th cent.; see in particular the edition of V. Semenov cited in P. J. Fedwick, "The Citations of Basil of Caesarea in the Florilegium of Pseudo-Antony Melissa," *OrChrP* 45 (1979) 33, n. 3. In other pre-fourteenth-century writers such as Kyryl Turovskiĭ (1130-1182), Serapion bishop of Vladimir (†1275), etc., the use of Basil is insignificant. On the painting of Basil by Feofan Grek (late 14th cent.) see *Ocherki russkoĭ kul'tury XIII-XV vekov, 2: Dukhovnaya kul'tura* (Moscow 1970) p. 326.

[332] The *Izbornik* of 1076, partly composed in Greek and partly written in Old Church Slavonic (in Kiev ?), has a quotation from *HEbr.* [14] under the name of prophet Joel, see V. Bobrov, "Fragmente Basilius' des Großen [des Propheten Joël] in der Handschrift Sbornik Svijatoslava vom Jahre 1076," *ArSlPhil* 26 (1904) 478-480. Another text, reproduced in Monomakh's "Instruction," is derived from the Pseudo-Amphilochius' *Vita*. For this quotation and its similarity with **SDisc.* see A. Vaillant, "Une source grecque de Vladimir Monomaque," *Byslav* 10 (1949) 11-15. See also V. P. Adriyanov-Perets, "Aforizmy Izbornika Svyatoslava 1076 g. i russkie poslovitsy," *TODRL* 25 (1970) 3-19, and the latest edition of V. C. Golyshenko, et al., edd. *Izbornik 1076 g.* (Moscow

v. *Liturgy and Letters in Canonical Collections*

In 1909 Orlov, a protoiereus and professor at the Spiritual Academy of Leningrad, published a bilingual, Greek and Old Church Slavonic edition of the *LBas. I* based on some twenty-two Slavic manuscripts of which several were from the twelfth to fourteenth century.[333] Orlov estimated that the first version of *LBas. I* was to be dated to the times of Cyril and Methodius (second half of the ninth century). Two or three centuries later this translation underwent revisions. In the various manuscripts collated for his edition Orlov identified two recensions, one from the end of the fourteenth century containing the revisions of the Metropolitan of Moscow Kiprian († 1407), the other, with those of Patriarch Nikon from 1654-1655.[334] More than simple revision, Nikon's recension was almost a completely new translation based no longer on the pre-existing Slavic translations (as was the case with Kiprian's recension) but on the Greek manuscripts.

Besides *EMon.* [295], which in Slavic appears continuously as part of Basil's ascetic corpus, a few other letters are featured in canonical collections antedating the fifteenth century. The three canonical letters to Amphilochius [188, 199, 217] with *EGreg. pb.* [55] appear in Moscow GIM

1965). On Monomakh's *Pouchenie dityam* ("Instruction for my children"), in addition to the above studies, see A. S. Orlov, *Vladimir Monomakh* (Moscow/Leningrad 1946) esp. pp. 111-118; I. U. Budovnits, "'Izbornik' Svyatoslava 1076 goda 'Pouchenie' Vladimira Monomakha i ikh mesto v istorii russkoĭ obshchestvennoĭ mysli," *TODRL* 10 (1954) 44-75, from whom p. 66, n. 3, I take the date 1117 against Vaillant's 1103; and G. P. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind (i) Kievan Christianity. The 10th to the 13th Centuries* (Belmont, Mass. 1975) pp. 244-260. The latest reprint of the text can be found in *PSRL* 1 (1962) 240-247. For the *Merilo pravednoe* ("Standard of Justice," a manual for judges) and the six quotations from Basil (only one authentic from the canonical epistles) see the photostatic reproduction of Moscow GBI, 15, 14th cent., published by the Russian Academy of Sciences (Moscow 1961). The *Kormchaya knyha* (lit. "Book of the rudder") is a rather curious collection of canonical and polemical (anti-Latin) writings composed entirely on Slavic soil but of works already existing in translation. Included were the two *Nomocanons* mentioned above; see n. 330. See I. Žužek, *Kormčaja kniga. Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (Rome 1964). The oldest MS is that of Novgorod from ca. 1280. See also p. 512, below.

[333] *Liturgiya svyatago Vasiliya Velikogo* (Leningrad 1909). For useful handlists of Slavic liturgical MSS see also Engberding, *Das eucharistische*, pp. xxxii, xliv-xlv, lx-lxii (critical value), and R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (Rome 1975) pp. 444-446.

[334] *Liturgiya*, p. xlix. On Kiprian see L. A. Dmitriev, "Rol' i znachenie mitropolita Kipriana v istorii drevnerusskoĭ literatury (k russko-bolgarskim literaturnym svyazam XIV-XV vv.)," *TODRL* 19 (1963) 215-254; see also G. I. Vzdornov, "Rol' slavyanskikh," pp. 173, 182-183. I omit citing works on Nikon as his activity falls outside the scope of this essay.

Khludov 118, 14th century. This codex is a *Trebnik*,[335] with entries from the *Kormchaya knyha*. Also as part of the *Kormchaya* (later recensions) is often featured *EGNaz*. [2].[336]

[335] Slavic for *εὐχολόγιον*, collection of prayers for various occasions.

[336] See above nn. 330, 332. For some of the prayers ascribed to Basil see the eleventh-century *Euchologion sinaiticum*, PO 24: 758-772 (exorcisms), PO 25: 606 (prayer of the *prothesis*).

15

Basil and the Early Medieval Latin Canonical Collections

Roger E. Reynolds
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

Collections of canon law compiled during the early Middle Ages in the West are well known for their paucity of canons drawn from the fathers. Unlike the Greek collections — one thinks especially of the Nomocanon, which fairly bristles with such texts — the Western collections are made up largely of the decisions of councils and papal decrees. Some twenty years ago Charles Munier in a widely acclaimed Strasbourg thesis investigated the use of patristic texts in the major collections down to the time of Gratian and found that patristic texts formed only a small proportion of the total legal statements. Of these the overwhelming majority, as one might expect, was from the Western doctors, Augustine, Ambrose, Gregory, Jerome, and Isidore. Only occasionally were the Eastern fathers used, and in several cases Basil ran a poor second or third to figures like John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzus.[1]

[1] Ch. Munier, *Les sources patristiques du droit de l'Église du VIIIe au XIIIe siècle* (Mulhouse 1957). The following table, based on Munier's lists, pp. 30-40, 126, gives an idea of the comparative numbers of patristic texts *in toto* with those of Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, and Basil.

COLLECTION	TOTAL PATRISTIC	GREGORY	JOHN	BASIL
Hibernensis	479	11	—	3
Ps.-Isidore	180	—	—	—
Regino	43	—	—	9
Burchard	247	—	5	11
Anselm of Lucca	180	—	—	2
Deusdedit	210	1	1	—
Ivo, *Decretum*	755	1	10	2
Ivo, *Panormia*	298	—	3	1
Polycarpus	254	1	4	2
Gratian	1200	—	14	14

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 513-532.

Given his monumental task of sifting through and identifying patristic texts scattered through thousands of canons in the collections, Professor Munier limited his research largely to the collections printed to his time, the *Collectio hibernensis*, Pseudo-Isidore, Regino, Burchard, Anselm of Lucca, Deusdedit, Ivo, and Gratian.[2] But if one goes to the manuscripts of early medieval Western collections, both major and minor, and some of the collections edited since Munier's thesis, an unexpected number of canons attributed to Basil can be found, enough to show that Basil's role in the formation of Western canon law was not quite as insignificant as a hasty look at the collections might seem to indicate. To anyone familiar with the hundreds of manuscripts of the scores of canonical collections written to the time of Gratian, it will come as no surprise that the present contribution is not based on a complete investigation of all the collections and their manuscripts. But it seems appropriate in a volume dedicated to making better known the influence of Basil on the culture of both East and West that a beginning be made in establishing the place of Basil in the canonical sources of Western Christendom.

Specialists in early medieval canon law collections generally introduce their studies by making a distinction in the types of collections they examine, and in an essay dealing with the appearance of Basil's texts in the scores of early medieval collections one may examine, it is useful to repeat this distinction. There are first the so-called chronologically or historically arranged collections, and second the systematically or topically arranged collections, within which is the subdivision of penitential collections.[3] In the historically arranged collections the decisions of councils and popes are ordered in the temporal sequence in which they were given. Hence, in the conciliar parts of these collections one starts with the Councils of Arles or Nicea, etc., and in the papal sections one begins with the "decisions" of Clement, Anacletus, Damasus, or whomever. On the face of it, it would seem that to look in a chronological collection for the texts of Basil (or any other Eastern father

[2] For the *Polycarpus* Munier used Paris BN lat. 3881. For his typed thesis, which contains extensive tables not reproduced in the printed version, Munier also used the *Collection in 3 Parts*, and the *Sententiae Magistri A*. See Ch. Munier, "À propos des textes patristiques du Décret de Gratien," in *Proceedings of the Third International Congress of Medieval Canon Law, Strasbourg, 3-6 September 1968*, ed. S. Kuttner (Vatican 1971) p. 43, n. 2.

[3] On the distinction between historical and systematic collections see H. Mordek, *Kirchenrecht und Reform im Frankenreich: Die Collectio Vetus Gallica, die älteste systematische Kanonessammlung des fränkischen Gallien: Studien und Edition* (Berlin/ New York 1975) pp. 2-4.

for that matter) would be futile. This type of patristic canon simply did not fit within the chronological arrangement of papal and conciliar texts. But as will be seen, texts of Basil did occasionally find their way into the chronological collections as supplements to provide doctrinal support for the decisions of councils and popes.

The second major type of early medieval canonical collection is the systematic collection in which a compiler has arranged the canons he has found in historically arranged collections according to topic. In these collections compilers felt little compulsion to use only papal and conciliar texts, and, moreover, little compulsion to copy a "pure" text of any canon. It is in this systematically arranged type of collection where one would expect to find patristic texts supplementing those from popes and councils and where one looks for and indeed finds a great many texts genuinely and not-so-genuinely Basil's.

Before the ninth century most Western canonical collections were historically arranged, but a survey of these collections shows that Basil citations were inserted not so much in the decisions of the councils and popes themselves, but in the florilegia of patristic citations that the canonistic compilers added to lend support to doctrinal statements. One of the first examples of this is in the so-called *Collectio Palatina* that Schwartz found represented in at least nine manuscripts, two of which have well-known ancient collections, the *Collectio Vaticana* and the *Collectio Hadriana*.[4] In the *Collectio Palatina* a text from *De Sp. S.* 8 is used once in the *Gesta Ephesena*[5] and is repeated in the *Florilegium of Cyril of Alexandria*.[6] The same text is cited in the *Florilegium of Eutyches* found in the *Collectio Novariensis* of Novara BC 30.[7]

In another florilegium, with a title *Incipiunt testimonia sanctorum patrum duas naturas in Christo confitentium*, a Basil text from *C. Eun.* 1 is connected with the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. Again this text

[4] Schwartz, *ACO* 1.51, based his edition of the *Collectio Palatina* on Vatican BAV Pal. lat. 234 (s. 6/7), Oxford BL 102 (s. 6/7), Berlin DSB 1743 (s. 8²); the *Collectio Vaticana* found in Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1342 (s. 8), Barb. lat. 679 (s. 8/9), Florence BLM Aedil. 82 (s. 9³/⁴); and the *Collectio Hadriana aucta* found in Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 5845 (s. 10¹), Munich Clm 14008 (s. 9²), Rome BV A.5 (s. 9³/⁴). On these collections and MSS see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 10, 43, 59.

[5] *ACO* 1.5.1 (p. 94): 21 [xv] Basilii sanctissimi episcopi Caesariae Cappadocie Primae. Neque tantum caelum et terra ... inpassibilitatem donaret. (= *De Sp. S.* 8, PG 32: 100.)

[6] *ACO* 1.5.1 (p. 141): Cyrillus Apologeticus contra Orientales (cf. CPG 522).

[7] *ACO* 2.2.1 (p. 75): Basilii episcopi Caesariensis primae Cappadociae. Neque enim tantum caelum et terra et magnitudo pelagi et cetera.

is incorporated into many ancient canonical collections and manuscripts, including Novara BC 30.[8]

Closely related in the Novara codex to the *Testimonia sanctorum patrum* with its Basil text is a florilegium of texts under the title *Incipit exempla sanctorum patrum*.[9] This florilegium is especially well known to Basil textual experts as containing extracts from Basil's *HFide* [15], ***EGNys.* [38], *De Sp. S.* 18.45, and a canon attributed to a *Sermo de incarnatione domini* of Basil but in reality from Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Peri archon*.[10] What has not been fully appreciated by the Basil textual experts is that this Novara manuscript is actually one of the great early medieval compilations of canonical collections and contains not only the third recension of the *Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana*, but also the ancient *Collectio Vaticana* and Spanish *Collection of Novara*.[11]

Another text attributed to Basil but again taken from Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Peri archon* is included in a letter of another participant in the events surrounding the Council of Chalcedon, Pope Leo I. In his *Ep.* 165, Leo used this Ps.-Basilian canon, and it came to be included in virtually all of the great chronological collections of canon law in the early Middle Ages, including the *Collectio Vaticana*, *Collectio Quesnelliana*, *Collectio Hadriana*, *Collectio Hispana*, and the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*.[12]

Another pope, Gelasius I, in a Latin florilegium on the two natures of Christ entitled *Testimonia veterum de duabus naturis in Christo* cited three

[8] *ACO* 2.3.3 (p. 119): Sancti Basilii ex his quae contra Eunomium scripsit. Ego enim et hoc quod est ... sine dubitatione commendat. (= *C. Eun.* 1, PG 29: 552.) The Basil text in the *Gestorum Chalcedonensium versio a Rustico edita* was found by Schwartz in large numbers of MSS including Paris BN lat. 16832 (s. 9), Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 1045, Vat. lat. 1319 (s. 12), Vat. lat. 1322 (s. 6 ex.), Milan BA E 147 Sup. (s. 7), Montpellier BEM 58 (s. 9), Novara BC 30 (s. 9), Leyden BRU Voss. 122, Verona BC 58 and 59 (s. 6/7).

[9] Cf. A. Reifferscheid, *Bibliotheca Patrum Latinorum Italica*, 2: 251 f.

[10] For the texts of these extracts see *Exempla sanctorum patrum quod "unum quemlibet" <licet> "Ex beata trinitate" dicere*, CCSL 85: 126 f.

[11] For the date of this MS see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 244; and E. Cau, "Osservazioni sul cod. lat. 1616 (sec. 8 ex.) della Biblioteca Nazionale di Vienna," in *Palaeographica diplomatica et archivistica* (Rome 1979) p. 90; and for the contents of the MS see G. Picasso, "I codici canonistici della biblioteca Capitolare di Novara nella recente storiografia," *Novarien* 5 (1973) 7-9, and literature therein. For the various collections in the MS see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 242; pp. 10 f., nn. 40 f.; p. 43, n. 32, and literature cited therein.

[12] *ACO* 2.4 (p. 125) (cf. PL 54: 1185): XIIII Item sancti Basilii episcopi Cappadocis. Cum ergo quaedam in Christo ... inlusa imaginibus aestimentur. (= Rufinus' translation of Origen's *Peri archon* 2.6.2, ed. P. Koetschau, GCS [Leipzig 1913] p. 141.) For the collections in which this canon is contained see *ACO* 2.4 (p. 125), and the *Decretales Pseudo-Isidorianae*, ed. P. Hinschius (Leipzig 1863) p. 590.

texts of Basil also used by Theodoret of Cyrus in the *Eranistes*.[13] Two were from the *HGrat.* [4] 5, and the other from *C. Eun.* 2.[14] Again, these canons are found in a well-known early ninth-century canon law manuscript from Corbie, Berlin DSB Phill. 1776.[15]

Basil's *C. Eun.*, which was unknown in a Latin translation in the early Middle Ages except in fragments in our canonical collections, is also found embedded in the *Edictum Iustiniani Rectae fidei*. This time, however, the extract is not from the genuinely Basil sections of *C. Eun.* but from book 4.[16] Moreover, the Latin text of the *Edictum* with its Basil text is not found in well-known early medieval canon law collections, but in the fairly obscure ninth-century canon law manuscript, Montpellier BEM 58 and Cambridge Pembroke Coll. 108 from Bury.[17]

It was perhaps from the *Edictum Iustiniani* that this same extract from ***C. Eun.* 4 entered the text of the acts of the Second Council of Seville (619).[18] The extract, which is also found in the *Florilegium of Leontius of Byzantium*,[19] was embedded into the florilegium associated with the canons of the Council[20] and was given wide broadcast in the early Middle

[13] 2.146, 3.244; ed. G. H. Ettlinger, *Theodoret of Cyrus Eranistes* (Oxford 1975) pp. 166, 239.

[14] *Testimonia veterum de duabus naturis in Christo*, ed. Schwartz, *Publiz. Sammlungen*, pp. 99, 104: Gelasius de duabus naturis.

21. Basilii episcopi Caesareae ex libro Eunomium. Qui vel modice considerat ... palam universis insinuans. (= *C. Eun.* 2, PG 29: 577.)

22. Eiusdem ex sermone gratiarum actionis. Quapropter deflens super amicum ... tristitiam insensate feramus. (= *HGrat.* [4] 5, PG 31: 228; and for the Latin translation of this homily see CPG 2848.)

51. Basilii episcopi Caesariae de gratiarum actione. Sicut ergo suscepit famem ... humectationis onus egreditur. (= *HGrat.* [4] 5, PG 31: 228 f.)

[15] A. Siegmund, *Die Überlieferung der griechischen christlichen Literatur* (Munich 1949) p. 50 dates this MS as s. 8 ex.

[16] Edictum Iustiniani Rectae fidei, ed. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians* (Milan 1973) pp. 142 f.: Sed et sanctus Basilius in quarto libro contra Eunomium interpretans hoc quod est Dominus creavit me ... utriusque naturam existimantes. (= ***C. Eun.* 4, PG 29: 704.)

[17] On the Montpellier codex see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 43, n. 32; and F. Maassen, *Geschichte der Quellen und der Literatur des canonischen Rechts* (Graz 1870) p. 745. The Cambridge MS, which Schwartz dates as s. 10, was one of the few pre-Conquest books at Bury. It is primarily a collection of patristic texts, but has several canonistic texts.

[18] *Concilios Visigoticos e Hispano-Romanos*, ed. J. Vives (Barcelona/Madrid 1963) p. 181: Sanctus quoque Basilius in quarto libro contra Eunomium ita scribit: Quid est: 'Dominus creavit ... in una persona ostenderet'.

[19] See R. Devreese, "Le florilège de Léonce de Byzance," *ReSR* 10 (1930) 566, n. 3; 560, nr. 22).

[20] On the florilegium of II Seville see J. Madoz, "El florilegio patrístico del II Concilio de Sevilla (a. 619)," in *Miscellanea Isidoriana* (Rome 1936) esp. 205 f.

Ages by its inclusion in the chronological canonical collections that contained the acts of this Hispanic council.[21]

We now move from the early medieval chronological collections to the systematic collections, where Basil texts are much more plentiful. Of the few extant systematic collections antedating the ninth century that served as vehicles for texts attributed to Basil, three stand out. One of these collections is Irish, another Frankish, and the third "Franco-Irish." Also there are the penitentials, both Insular and Continental.

The Irish systematic collection of canons is the *Collectio hibernensis*, the object of study of our Basilian father, Joseph Wey, for many years.[22] This collection, compiled in Irish circles in Europe ca. 700 is well known for its texts of the Eastern fathers, Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, and others. According to Professor Munier's computations there are only three texts belonging to Basil.[23] And if one looks at the nineteenth-century edition of Wasserschleben, there are indeed only three snippets from Basil, all neatly labeled *Basilius dicit* or simply *Basilius*.[24] Of the brief snippets two are from Rufinus' translation of the *Asc. 1r*, and one is from the Pseudo-Basil *Admon.* used earlier by Defensor of Ligugé in his *Liber scintillarum*.[25] In the manuscripts underlying Wasserschleben's edition of the *Hibernensis* four, perhaps five, additional snippets can be found from Basil's *Asceticon*.[26] These additional texts appear in a long version (the

[21] Vives' edition of the canon is taken from the *Collectio hispana* in the Codex Vigilanus, El Escorial RBSLEE d.I.2. For the text as it appears in the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals*, see PL 130: 607.

[22] See J. J. Ryan, "Observations on the Pre-Gratian Canonical Collections: Some Recent Work and Present Problems," in *Congrès de droit canonique médiéval, Louvain et Bruxelles, 22-26 juillet 1958* (Louvain 1959) 91; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 259.

[23] Munier, *Les sources*, p. 30.

[24] *Die irische Kanonensammlung*, ed. H. Wasserschleben (Leipzig 1885) pp. 37, 65, 109:

12.14: Modus et qualitas temperabitur cibi ... diversitatis existit. (= *Asc. 1r*, *EApokr.* 9; *Codex Regularum monasticarum et canonicarum*, ed. L. Holste and M. Brockie [Augsburg 1759], 1: 75 f. The text of the *Asc. 1r* printed by Holste and used throughout this paper may also be found in PL 103: 487-554.)

21.11b: Cum Dominus aliquando dicit ... de hoc iudicare. (= *EApokr.* 77, Holste, 1: 87.)

31.16 f.: Nam et parentes ... non sepultura illis debetur. (= ***Admon.* 3, Holste, 1: 456. The text of the *Admonitio* printed by Holste and used throughout this paper may also be found in PL 103: 683-700.)

[25] *Defensoris Locogiacensis monachi Liber scintillarum* 56.14, CCSL 117: 182.

[26] In Wasserschleben's MS 6 (Rome BV T. XVIII) there are the following canons:

f. 65v, 10.7: Vocis mensuram definivit ... quod est mutabile. (= *Asc. 1r*, *EApokr.*

so-called Form B) of the *Hibernensis* with clear ties in southern Italy.[27]

These snippets from Basil's texts in the *Hibernensis* — all dealing with modes of Christian behavior and fasting — were widely scattered in the early Middle Ages wherever the *Hibernensis* went and became especially popular in southern Italy in the tenth century and beyond, as will be seen.

Turning from the earliest Insular systematic collection to the Continent, it had not been known until a few years ago that Basil's texts from the *Asc. Ir* played a prominent role in the earliest and most widely diffused collection of the Frankish Church, the *Collectio Vetus Gallica*. In its last recension dating to the second quarter of the eighth century this ancient Lyonese collection originally directed to clerics was supplemented at the monastery of Corbie with long and almost complete *Interrogationes* from Basil's *Asceticon*, all dealing with the monastic life.[28] In his splendid edition of this collection, Professor Mordek suggests that the monastic redactor at Corbie may have used the famous Leningrad codex of Basil's *Asc. Ir* for his text.[29] It could also be that the compiler used a manuscript

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130. Holste. 1: 96 Cf. Wasserschleben, p. 27.)

f. 68ᵛ. 14.4: Ieiunii mensura non debet ... habuisse signantur. (= *EApokr.* 89, Holste. 1. 89 f.)

f. 89ᵛ. 28.30: Basilius interrogat Si is qui consentit ... Adam aequievit Eve. (= *EApokr.* 121, Holste, 1: 94.)

f. 136. 65.8: Omni [*sic*] sermo qui non ... otiosus est. (= *EApokr.* 40; Holste, 1: 83.)

Wasserschleben, p. 152, also notes that in Karlsruhe, BLB Aug. XVIII. p. 161, following 39.16, there are four capitula, the last of which is *De voce moderanda monachi (Basil.)*, which is like 10.7 of the Vallicelliana MS.

[27] On Rome BV T. XVIII see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 134 f., and on its ties with southern Italy, see below, pp. 526 f.

[28] Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 540-543:

46.28: Eorum vero qui etate ... quis orabit pro eo? (= *EApokr.* 7, Holste, 1: 74).

46.29: Interrogatio 80: Si oportit ire ... culpabile est. (= *EApokr.* 80, Holste, 1: 88.)

46.30: Interrogatio 81: Si hoc alicui ... sed tua fiat. (= *EApokr.* 81, Holste, 1: 88.)

46.31: Quantum autem habeat periculi ... irae sicut ceteri. (= *EApokr.* 88, Holste, 1: 89.)

46.32: Interrogatio 26: Quale iudicium esse ... mittatur in gehennam. (= *EApokr.* 26, Holste, 1: 81.)

The chapters from Basil in the *Collectio Vetus Gallica* are found in Mordek's MSS P_1 (Paris BN lat. 1603; s. 8-9 northeastern France); C (Cologne DB 91; s. 8-9, perhaps Burgundian); B (Brussels BR 10127-44; s. 8-9, northeastern France or Belgium); S_2 (Stuttgart WLB HB VI.109; s. $9^1/_4$, perhaps southwestern Germany); W (only 46.28) Würzburg UB M. p. th. q. 31; s. 8-9, probably western Germany); and P_2 (Paris BN Lat. 10588; s. 9^1, southwestern France [Burgundy?]).

[29] Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 89. On Leningrad F.v.I.2, see Lowe, *CLA* No. 1598 and *Suppl.*, p. 67.

somewhat like another famous early Basil codex, Laon BM 330, now known to have been written at Corbie.[30]

The third pre-ninth-century systematic collection containing Basil texts is the so-called *Collection of St.-Germain*. This collection includes both texts from the *Collectio hibernensis* and Frankish sources, and in the midst of the canons on penance the compiler has inserted canons from *Interrogationes* 15-28 of Basil's *Asc. 1r*.[31] The only "complete" manuscript of this collection, Paris BN lat. 12444, was written at Fleury in the late eighth or early ninth century,[32] and could the Basil texts there be compared with the now mutilated codex, Orleans BV 192, a southern French manuscript of the *Asc. 1r* that had come to Fleury by the late eighth century,[33] dependencies might be established.

Parts of the *Collection of St.-Germain* are found in at least eight other manuscripts,[34] and one of these, Munich BSB Clm 14508, a northern

[30] J. J. Contreni, *The Cathedral School of Laon from 850 to 930: Its Manuscripts and Masters* (Munich 1978) pp. 43 f.

[31] A. J. Nürnberger, "Über eine ungedruckte Kanonensammlung aus dem 8. Jahrhundert," in *25. Bericht der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft Philomathie in Neisse vom Oktober 1888 bis zum Oktober 1890* (Neisse 1890) 191 f.; and Paris BN lat. 12444, ff. 60-62v:

20.13b: Qui penituerit pro aliquo ... similis cura exhibetur. (= *EApokr*. 22, Holste, 1: 80.)

20.14: Quomodo quis debet poenitere in unoquoque ... contristati sunt. (= *EApokr*. 18, Holste, 1: 79.)

Qui sunt fructus ... contraria sunt peccato (= *EApokr*. 19, Holste, 1: 80.)

Qui se verbo ... ad peccatum suum. (= *EApokr*. 20, Holste, 1: 80.)

20.15: Qui vult confitere ... a quibus baptizabantur. (= *EApokr*. 21, Holste, 1: 80.)

20.16: Erga eum qui pro peccato ... inquiete ambulante. (= *EApokr*. 28, Holste, 1: 81.)

Quale iuditium esse ... ad simile provocat malum. (= *EApokr*. 26, Holste, 1: 81.)

Poenitentiam ex corde ... quam perdideram (= *EApokr*. 27, Holste, 1: 81.)

20.20: Peccantem quomodo corripiemus ... dubio ad mensa [*sic*]. (= *EApokr*. 16, Holste, 1: 79.)

20.21: Si quis autem in parvis ... diligenter corripit. (= *EApokr*. 17, Holste, 1: 79.)

20.22: Quid sentire de se debet ... pro amicis suis. (= *EApokr*. 15, Holste, 1: 79.)

20.23: Quali effectu quis debet ... videtur et gravior. (= *EApokr*. 24-23, Holste, 1: 80.)

Also in 20.10 (f. 59), *De confessione*, a "Basil" text, also in the *Liber scintillarum* 8.39, CCSL 117: 38, is used: Basilius dicit Melior est ... superba gloriatio.

[32] See B. Bischoff, "Centri scrittorii e manoscritti mediatori di civiltà dal VI secolo all'età di Carlomagno," in *Libri e lettori nel medioevo: Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. Cavallo (Bari 1977) p. 250, n. 192; and R. Reynolds, *The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Berlin/New York 1978) p. 74.

[33] On this MS see Lowe *CLA* No. 805, where it is noted that the fragment has a strange "Nota" sign resembling one in Orléans BV 154, which was in Fleury by the late eighth century, and the Fleury Fulgentius fragment, Vatican BAV Reg. lat. 267.

[34] Albi BR 38bis, ff. 38v-42, on which see R. E. Reynolds, "The *De officiis vii graduum*:

French manuscript of the third quarter of the ninth century,[35] draws heavily on Basil's texts.[36] The compiler of this Munich manuscript omitted several of Basil's texts in the *Collection of St.-Germain*, but he added one from the Pseudo-Basil *Admon.* not found in his model.[37]

Since at least the nineteenth century it has been widely recognized that one of the chief vehicles for the transmission of Basil's texts and ideas to the West were the penitential collections. Our knowledge of Western penitential literature is soon to be revolutionized by the circle of scholars working with Professor Kottje in Germany,[38] and hence it is perhaps premature to comment about the Basil texts found in the penitentials edited to date. But for our purposes a convenient distinction can be made between the penitentials that specifically cite Basil as the source of a particular canon and those that simply reflect his works. In both cases, however, the compilers of the penitentials seem to have known Basil's penitential discipline from Greek, perhaps Syriac, sources, especially the three *Canonical Epistles* to Amphilochius, epistles not translated into Latin until much after our period.[39]

Of the penitentials that cite Basil directly as an authority, several stand out. There are first the so-called Theodorian penitentials, including the *Canones Gregorii*, *Capitula Dacheriana*, *Canones Cottoniani*, and the

Its Origins and Early Medieval Development," *MS* 34 (1972) 137; St. Gall SB 40, p. 304; Florence BR 256, f. 126; and Albi BR 43 (15), f. 15v; on which see Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, pp. 70, n. 6, 71, n. 9, and 91; Albi BR 38, ff. 126v-127v; and El Escorial RBSLEE Q.III.10, f. 127v, on which see Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 145, n. 224, and 268-270; and Barcelona BU 228 (s. 10^2), f. 134v. For the extract of the *Collectio sangermanensis* in the early medieval liturgical commentary *Ordo missae a sancto Petro institutus cum expositione sua*, see Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 40, n. 19.

[35] On this MS, which early went to St. Emmeram in Regensburg, see P. Landau, "Kanonistische Aktivität in Regensburg im frühen Mittelalter," in *Zwei Jahrtausende Regensburg: Vortragsreihe der Universität Regensburg zum Stadtjubiläum*, ed. D. Albrecht (Regensburg 1979) pp. 63 f.

[36] Ff. 78-80. In these folios are extracts from the *Collection of St.-Germain*, 20.13b, 15, 16, 20-23.

[37] F. 95. Bassilius [*sic*] dixit Qui caritate plenus ... ambulat iracundus (Holste, 1: 457).

[38] See R. Kottje, "Die frühmittelalterlichen kontinentalen Bußbücher: Bericht über ein Forschungsvorhaben an der Universität Augsburg," *BMCL* 7 (1977) 108-111. In the bulletin, "Information für die Interessenten an der Bußbücher-Forschung," dated 22 May 1979 several projects that may have a bearing on Basil texts in the penitentials have been announced, including a dissertation by Franz Kerff on the transmission and sources of the *Collectio Quadripartita*, a study by Dieter Simon on Byzantine penitentials, and the recently published book of R. Kottje, *Die Bußbücher Halitgars von Cambrai und des Hrabanus Maurus: Ihre Überlieferung und ihre Quellen* (Berlin/New York 1980) p. 241.

[39] Cf. CPG 2: 162.

widely diffused *Collection of the Discipulus Umbrensium.* This last penitential, compiled probably in England ca. 680-690, contains no less than five canons that cite Basil directly as a source[40] and twenty-six more that may have been inspired by Basil's *Canonical Epistles.*[41] One of the canons that cites Basil's name specifically as a source was also used in the eighth-century *'Confessional of Egbert,'*[42] and two anonymous canons from the *Collection of the Discipulus Umbrensium* on menstruous women were placed under Basil's name in the *Penitential of Martène*, found in a ninth-century Fleury manuscript now in Florence.[43]

Other penitentials that cite Basil directly are the *Excarpsus Cummeani*, the *Poenitentiale Remense*, and the *Canones Basilienses*, recently studied and edited by Dr. Asbach. All of these repeat at least two canons found already in the Theodorian penitentials.[44] Most surprising are three manu-

[40] P. W. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones Theodori Cantuariensis und ihre Überlieferungsformen* (Weimar 1929) pp. 290, 301, 307, 322, 327:

1.2.7: Item hoc virile ... in consuetudine fuerit, ut Basilius dicit....

1.8.14: Basilius iudicavit puero ... I annum peniteat. (Cf. *Canones Gregorii* [G] 171; *Capitula Dacheriana* [D] 171; *Canones Cottoniani* [Co] 109.)

1.14.3: Trigamus et supra ... Basilius hoc iudicavit in canone autem IIII annos. (Cf. D 32; G 85; Co 178.)

2.7.3: Mulieres possunt sub nigro ... sacrificium ut Basilius iudicavit. (Cf. G 9; Co 181.)

2.12.6: Mulieri non licet virum ... Basilius hoc iudicavit. (Cf. G 67; D 164; Co 91.)

[41] Finsterwalder, *Die Canones*, p. 204, notes that the following canons may be based on Basil's works: 1.2, 3.4.17.19; 4, 6 (s. 2); 6, 1.2; (8, 6); 9, 1.10; 14, (2.3) 4.5.6.8; 2.2, 7.13; 7, 3.4; 12, 5.6.13.15.20.36.

[42] 37 (382-389), on which see J. T. McNeill and H. M. Gamer, *Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal Libri poenitentiales and Selections from Related Documents* (New York 1938) p. 248. Cf. Finsterwalder, *Die Canones*, p. 290.

[43] Florence BML Ashburnham 29 (Libri 82), on which see A. G. Martimort, *La documentation liturgique de dom Edmond Martène: Étude codicologique* (Vatican 1978) Nos. 121, 604. For the text see F. W. H. Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen der abendländischen Kirche* (Halle 1851) p. 300; and W. von Hörmann, *Bußbücherstudien I: Das sogenannte poenitentiale Martenianum* (Weimar 1911-1914) pp. 448, 468. Hörmann, pp. 209 f., notes that several other canons, 50.5, 15, 16, in the penitential may derive from Basil's *Canonical Epistles*.

[44] See F. B. Asbach, *Das Poenitentiale Remense und der sogen. Excarpsus Cummeani: Überlieferung, Quellen und Entwicklung zweier kontinentaler Bußbücher aus der 1. Hälfte des 8. Jahrhunderts* (Regensburg 1975 [1979]) (notes) pp. 167, 174; (text) pp. 36 f., 75, 83:

Excarp. Cum. 3.20: Trigamus ut superius ... Basilius hoc iudicavit, in canone autem iiii annos. (Cf. Wasserschleben, *Die Bußordnungen*, p. 473.)

14.9: Mulieres possunt sub nigro ... sacrificium. Basilius hoc iudicavit. (Cf. Wasserschleben, p. 492.)

Poenit. Rem. 5.45: Trigamus et superius ... Basilius hoc iudicavit. In canonum autem iii annos. (Cf. Asbach, notes, p. 154, for parallel citations from Theodore.)

scripts containing the whole of or the preface to the Irish *Paenitentiale Cummeani*, Oxford BL 311, Munich BSB Clm 14466b, and Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1349, ascribing the text to Basil.[45]

A rapid survey of the indices of Schmitz' study and edition of the Continental penitentials of the ninth century and beyond will show the large number of instances in which texts in Basil's *Canonical Epistles* appear to have influenced the Continental compilers.[46] Schmitz' citations are almost all to canons in the so-called *Penitentiale Vallicellanum I*, a penitential of the late eighth or early ninth century compiled in northern Italy,[47] but a close reading of other Continental penitentials will show the influences of Basil right through the early Middle Ages.

After the late eighth century the next large infusion of Basil texts into Western canonical collections was to come in the very late ninth century, but before dealing with this infusion an isolated ninth-century canonical manuscript should be mentioned as containing Basil's texts drawn from sources other than his *Asceticon* and *Canonical Epistles*. This codex, Paris BN lat. 1597A, a Rheims manuscript of the 880s, is our only source of materials relative to the Frankish Council of Paris of 825.[48] In one of the pieces, the *Libellus synodalis Parisiensis*, there are three texts attributed to Basil, one from the *De Sp. S.* 18.45,[49] another from the *HMart.* [19],[50] and the third from the Pseudo-Basil *EIuln.* [360].[51] The source of these Basil

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5.54: Mulieri non licet virum ... Basilius iudicavit. (Cf. Asbach, notes, p. 154, for parallel citations from Theodore.)

15.41: Mulieres possunt sub nigro ... sacrificium. Basilius hoc iudicavit. (Cf. Asbach, notes, p. 161, for parallel citations from Theodore.)

Canones Basil. (34a) 34: Trigamus vel supra ... Bassilius [*sic*] iudicavit in canone autem iii annis.

(40) 40: Mulieri non licet virum ... Basilius iudicavit.

[45] In Oxford BL 311, f. 33 (ascribed to a tenth-century Continental scribe by Asbach, p. 27) the title is "Incipit sancti Basilii penitentiale ad Comiani Longii" (on which cf. L. Bieler, ed., *The Irish Penitentials* [Dublin 1963] pp. 6 and 108). In Clm 14466b, f. 66^v (dated by Bischoff and Asbach, p. 230, to s. 9$^1/_4$, Regensburg) the title is "Incipit dicta sancti Basilii episcopi de xiiii remissionibus peccatorum." And Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1349, f. 193 (on which see below, n. 62, and Bieler, pp. 6 and 108) the title is "Incipit de remediis penitentiae. Expositus [*sic*] sancti Basilii inquisitio a Cumiani Longii."

[46] H. J. Schmitz, *Die Bußbücher und die Bußdisciplin der Kirche*, 1 (Mainz 1883) 252, 264, 265, 274, 285 f., 290 f., 295, 297.

[47] A new study of this penitential is being prepared by Günter Hägele.

[48] Ph. Lauer, *BN: Catalogue général des manuscrits latins*, 2 (Paris 1940) 82 f.

[49] MGH Conc. 2.510 f.

[50] Ibid., 511.

[51] Ibid., 511. On the spurious nature of this "Basilian" epistle see M. Bessières, "La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de saint Basile," *JThS* 23 (1922) 345.

texts was almost certainly the *Actiones* of the Second Council of Nicea, where all can be found.[52]

By the very late ninth century there appeared in northern France a collection that would have enormous influence in the diffusion of Basil texts in the great classical medieval collections of canon law, the *Collectio Quadripartita*.[53] In at least two of its books, 3 and 4, there is over a score of texts from or attributed to Basil. The great majority is taken from Rufinus' translation of the *Asceticon*,[54] but others reflect the shadowy "Smaragdus" text[55] and even the Greek *EApokr. fus.*[56]

[52] G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio* 12 (Florence 1758/1798) 1065; 13: 68, 70.

[53] For literature on the *Collectio Quadripartita* see R. Kottje, "Kirchenrechtliche Interessen im Bodenseeraum vom 9. bis 12. Jahrhundert," in *Kirchenrechtliche Texte im Bodenseegebiet*, ed. J. Autenrieth and R. Kottje (Sigmaringen 1975) p. 32; R. Kottje, "Eine Antwerpener Handschrift des Quadripartitus Lib. IV," *BMCL* 6 (1976) 65-67; Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, pp. 172 f.; and R. Pokorny, "Zwei unerkannte Bischofskapitularien des 10. Jahrhunderts," *DA* 35 (1979) 491, n. 14. There are two late ninth-century MSS of the whole or parts of the *Quadripartita*: Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1347 (on which see Mordek, p. 263, and V. Brown, *Hand-List of Beneventan MSS* [= 2nd ed. of E. A. Lowe, *The Beneventan Script*] [Rome 1980] p. 145), and Stuttgart WLB HB VII.62 (on which see J. Autenrieth, "Die kanonistischen Handschriften der Dombibliothek Konstanz," in *Kirchenrechtliche Texte im Bodenseegebiet*, p. 13). I have been unable to examine a complete manuscript of the *Quadripartita* and hence have used the edition in PL 112: 1337-98 for book 3 and Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1347 for book 4.

[54] PL 112: 1342-82:

[3.1] Aut quis crederet tristitiam ... ad saeculum Deum contristamur. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 50, Holste, 1: 84.)

[3.15] His enim iudiciis inanis gloria ... receperunt mercedem suam. (Cf. *EApokr*. 146, Holste, 1: 98.)

[3.17] ... Est etenim huius vitii medicina, prout sanctus Basilius episcopus ait, ut omnia propter Deum ... sectemur hominum laudes. (Cf. *EApokr*. 146, Holste, 1: 98.)

[3.23] Inter furorem autem ... iratus pro tempore concitatur. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 159, Holste, 1: 100 f.)

[3.47] Audiant hi qui non carnis corruptione ... sententiam sancti Basilii Caesariensis episcopi. Mulierem inquit ignoro et virgo ... integritatem cordis.

[3.53] Duo sunt enim genera tristitiae ... legem tuam. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 5, Holste, 1: 84.)

[3.61] Cognoscitur quidem hic nequissimus ... superiorem efficiat. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 61, Holste, 1: 85.)

Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1347, ff. 79^{v}, 152-169:

[4.2] Timorem quidem docet ... calicem domini percipit. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 134, Holste, 1: 97.)

[4.19] Hoc sit in iudicio positum ... facit differentium poenae. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 194, Holste, 1: 106.)

[4.24] Poenitentem ex corde ... ovem meam quam perdideram. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 27, Holste, 1: 81.)

Not too long after the *Quadripartita* was compiled, no less than eight of its Basil canons were included in the *Libri duo de synodalibus causis* of Regino of Prüm (ca. 906).[57] Most of these canons were later to find their

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[4.25] Affectum illum in se recipiat ... sicut Zacheus fecit. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 18. Holste. 1: 79.)

[4.26] Erga eum qui pro peccato ... tradidimus vobis. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 28. Holste. 1: 81.)

[4.32] Si quis semel notatus ... cura similis adhibetur. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 22. Holste. 1: 80.)

[4.42] Id [*sic*] omnimodis observari ... non est qui erigat eum. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 174. Holste. 1: 103.)

[4.109] Si quis preventus ... in irritum revocetur. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr. br*. 60. PG 31: 1121.)

[4.152] Apostolus dicit Omnia facite ... et opus eius abiciatur. (Attributed to Basil. *EApokr*. 71. Holste. 1: 87.)

[4.153] Si quis murmurans extiterit ... sacerdotis iudicio paeniteat. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 93. Holste. 1: 90.)

[4.157] Si quis detrahit ... detraxit Moysi poeniteat. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 43 f.. Holste. 1: 83.)

[4.210] Si is qui praeest ... evangelizavimus vobis anathema sit. (Attributed to Basil. Snippet from *EApokr*. 13. Holste. 1: 78.)

[4.211] Si quis prohibet nos facere ... qui diligunt Deum. (Attributed to Basil. Snippet from *EApokr*. 13. Holste. 1: 78 f.)

[4.212] Is qui praeest si praeter voluntate ... aut sacrilegus habeatur. (Attributed to Basil and similar to *EApokr*. 15. Holste. 1: 79.)

[4.221] Firma autem tunc erit ... deputari ac perfecta. (Attributed to Basil. Snippet from *EApokr*. 7. Holste. 1: 74.)

[4.225] Oportet tamen infantes ... excludatur hominum pessimorum. (Attributed to Basil. Snippet from *EApokr*. 7. Holste. 1: 74.)

[4.240] Qui consentit peccantibus ... culpabilem iudicandum. (Attributed to Basil. but on the source see n. 55.)

[4.251] Qui alterius consentit peccato ... consentit contrahat poenam. (Attributed to Basil.)

The texts of these canons are in E. L. Richter. *Antiqua canonum collectio, qua in libris de synodalibus causis compilandis usus est Regino Prumiensis*... (Marburg 1844) pp. 3-43.

[55] 4.240. Cf. *Smaragdi abbatis Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*. ed. A. Spannagel (Siegburg 1974) p. 329 (3.68.1 = *Regula Pachomii. Praecepta atque Iudicia*. clxxvi [*Pachomiana latina: Règle et épitres de s. Pachome. Épitre de s. Théodore et "Liber" de s. Orsiesius: Texte latin de s. Jérôme*. ed. A. Boon (Louvain 1932) p. 69] = *Concordia Regularum* 72.2. PL 103: 1360 f.).

[56] 4.78 (Vat. lat. 1347. f. 157. with no attribution): Si quis vult coniugatus ... voluntate castitatis consensum. The canon is taken from the *Regula Isidori* 4. as found in the *Codex Regularum* (Holste. 1: 189; PL 103: 559). But cf. PL 83: 872. where it is lacking. It may be based on the *EApokr. fus*. 12. PG 31: 948 f. In Regino and other collections this canon is often attributed to Basil.

[57] *Reginonis abbatis Prumiensis Libri duo de synodalibus causis et disciplinis ecclesiasticis*. ed. F. G. A. Wasserschleben (Leipzig 1840) pp. 91. 154 f.. 256 f.. 315:

way into Burchard, Ivo, and Gratian, but there are two other Basil canons, later added in the appendices to Regino, whose influence would have repercussions in theological debate even into the present century. These canons, dealing with the "secret tradition" of the church and studied a dozen years back by Dom Gribomont,[58] were drawn from Basil's *De Sp. S.* 27, 29.[59] We have already come upon fragments of the *De Sp. S.* in ninth-century manuscripts,[60] and hence cc. 27, 29 in Regino's appendix may well have come from a now lost early Latin translation of the tract, but it is also possible that a Greek source available in northern France in the early tenth century was used.

By the early eleventh century there were two flourishing traditions of Basil texts in our systematic canonical collections, one stemming from the *Collectio hibernensis* found especially in southern Italian manuscripts, and another in the *Quadripartita* and Regino's collection. The *Hibernensis* tradition as found in the Roman manuscript, BV T. XVIII, written in Beneventan territories,[61] quickly transmitted its Basil canons into the tenth-century Beneventan *Collection in Nine Books* of Vatican BAV Vat. lat.

1.166: Apostolus dicit Omnia facite ... opus eius abiiciatur. (= *EApokr.* 71, Holste, 1: 87.)

1.167: Si quis murmurans exstiterit ... sacerdotis iudicio peniteat. (Similar to *EApokr.* 93, Holste, 1: 90.)

1.168: Si quis detraxerit ... detraxit Moysi peniteat. (Similar to *EApokr.* 43 f., Holste, 1: 83.)

1.325: Penitentem ex corde ... ovem meam quam perdideram. (= *EApokr.* 27, Holste, 1: 81.)

1.326: Affectum illum in se ... et abominatus sum. (= *EApokr.* 18, Holste, 1: 79.)

1.328: Erga eum qui pro peccato ... quam tradidimus vobis. (= *EApokr.* 28, Holste, 1: 81.)

2.109: Si quis vult coniugatus ... castitatis consensum. (= *Quadripartitus* 4.78.)

2.259: Clericus vel monachus adolescentium ... deinceps iuvenibus coniungendus. (This canon, which Regino attributes to Basil, bears no attribution in the *Quadripartitus*, 4.81 [Vat. lat. 1347, f. 157v]. It derives from the *Regula Fructuosi* 16, Holste, 1: 205; PL 87: 1107.)

[58] See J. Gribomont, "Ésotérisme et tradition dans le Traité du Saint-Esprit de saint Basile," *Oecumenica* 2 (1967) 23.

[59] Wasserschleben, pp. 447 f.:

Append. 2.36: Ecclesiasticarum institutionum ... publicata scripto. (= *De Sp. S.* 27, PG 32: 188.)

Append. 2.37: Deficit me dies ... persuasibilius eruditis clarescat. (= *De Sp. S.* 29, PG 32: 200.)

[60] See above, pp. 515-523. The texts in Append. 2 are found in Wolfenbüttel HAB Aug. 83-21 (written in the late tenth century) and Stuttgart WLB HB VI.114 (written in the late tenth century), on which see Autenrieth, "Die kanonistischen Handschriften," p. 14.

[61] See Brown, *Hand-List of Beneventan MSS*, p. 131.

1349,[62] and then on to the eleventh-century southern Italian *Collection in Five Books*.[63] These latter collections also shared canons from penitentials perhaps inspired by Basil's *Canonical Epistles*.[64] They may have come from earlier Continental penitentials or Greek sources. That Greek sources were being used in some form in these collections is highly likely because the *Collection in Five Books* also contains an extract from the *Vita Basilii* of Amphilochius (the story of the Conversion of the Jew) in a recension quite unlike the only known Latin versions of the Amphilochian *Vita* listed by the Bollandists.[65]

During the course of the eleventh century the tradition in the *Collection in Five Books* with its Basil texts worked a significant influence on a number of minor southern Italian collections. Of these the *Collection of Vatican Vat. lat. 4977* was noted by Paul Fournier long ago[66] but he

[62] F. 126; 6.83: Cum Dominus aliquando ... de hoc iudicare. (= *Coll. hib.* 21.11b.)
f. 135; 6.189: Nam et parentes ... sepultura ei debetur. (= *Coll. hib.* 31.16f.)
f. 140v; 6.250: Omnis sermo ... otiosus est. (= *Coll. hib.* 65.8 in Vallicelliana T. XVIII.)
f. 171v; 7.198: Ieiunii mensura ... habuisse signantur. (= *Coll. hib.* 14.4 in Vallicelliana T. XVIII.)
On this MS see Brown, *Hand-List of Beneventan MSS.*, p. 145; and Mordek, *Kirchenrecht*, p. 138, n. 185, who points out that although the MS itself was written in the eleventh century, the collection seems, according to Fournier, to have been compiled in the early tenth century. There is also in this MS, f. 193, the preface to Cummean's Penitential ascribed to Basil, on which see n. 45 above.

[63] 1.220.3: Cum Dominus aliquando ... de hoc iudicare. (= *Coll. hib.* 21.11b.)
3.242.4: Omnis sermo ... otiosus est. (= *Coll. hib.* 65.8 in Vallicelliana T. XVIII.)
3.254.2: Scire debemus quia rationem ... opus Dei negligenter. (The text of these canons is found in *Collectio canonum in v libris [Lib. I-III]*, CCCM 6: 135, 433, 439.)
4.69: Si quis sacerdos palam ... peregrinando finiat.
4.99: Si his qui consentit ... Adam acquievit Evae. (= *Coll. hib.* 28.30 in Vallicelliana T. XVIII.)
4.176: Nam et parentes ... eis detur honor. (= *Coll. hib.* 31.16f.)
4.271: Plurimi namque homines ... vestra de celo debere. (= ***Admon.* 14, Holste, 1: 462.)
4.348: Modus et qualitas temperabitur cibi ... aliqua diversa existit. (= *Coll. hib.* 12.14.)
(The text of these canons in Lib. 4 may be found in Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 1339, ff. 181, 186v, 200, 215, 227; on which MS see *Manuscripta* 21 [1977] 13, and Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 92.)

[64] In the *Collection in Nine Books*, Vat. lat. 1349, ff. 197-205v, there are a number of penitential periods of fifteen years, a favorite in the works of Basil, on which see P. Fournier, "Un groupe de recueils canoniques italiens des Xe et XIe siècles," *MAIBL* 40 (1915) 153-155.

[65] 3.220.2: Quidam hebreus venit ... nostrum Ihesum Christum; CCCM 6: 421. Cf. the editions listed in BHL 1: 153 f. (Nos. 1022-1027).

[66] On this collection see Reynolds, *Ordinals of Christ*, p. 92.

missed its four Basil canons.[67] Less well known are three other collections with Basil texts, the *Collection of Vatican Arch. San Pietro H 58*,[68] the *Collection of Rieti*,[69] and the Farfa *Liber multiloquiorum*.[70] Of special interest in this last collection is a Basil text from a Greek *Vita Basilii* like the one Combefis edited in which the ages of the world are described.[71]

Much more important for the transmission of Basil texts in Western canon law than these southern Italian collections were the transalpine collections and their derivatives. From Regino, Basil texts passed into Burchard's *Decretum*,[72] and from Burchard they were filtered down to

[67] F. 44ᵛ: Scire debemus quia rationem ... opus Dei neglegenter. (=*Coll. VL*, 3.254.2.)
f. 47ᵛ: Si quis sacerdos palam ... peregrinando finiat. (=*Coll. VL*, 4.69.)
f. 52ᵛ: Si hisque consentit ... Adam acquievit Ævae (=*Coll. VL*, 4.99.)
f. 69ᵛ: Qui consentit peccatibus et defendit ... iudicandum et excommunicandum. (On this canon, which bears the attribution *Ex dictis Basilii episcopi*, see above, n. 54, and below, n. 77.)

[68] F. 52ᵛ: Vocis mensuram diffinit ... quod est notabile. (=*Coll. hib.* 10.7 in Vallicelliana T. XVIII.)
On f. 148ᵛ, there is a reference to Basil, "Basilius episcopus Cesariensis clarus Cappadocie babetur [*sic*] qui multa continentiae et ingenii bona uno superbiae malo perdidit." On this liturgico-canonical collection see R. E. Reynolds, "Excerpta from the Collectio Hibernensis in Three Vatican Manuscripts," *BMCL* 5 (1975) 4-9; P. Salmon, "Un 'Libellus officialis' du XIᵉ siècle," *RBen* 87 (1977) 257-288; idem, "Un témoin de la vie chrétienne dans une église de Rome au XIᵉ siècle: le *Liber officialis* de la basilique des Saints-Apôtres," *RSCI* 33 (1979) 65-73; Kottje, *Die Bußbücher Halitgars von Cambrai* esp. pp. 65-69; and for Professor Bischoff's dating of the manuscript see D. Sicard, *La liturgie de la mort dans l'église latine des origines à ia réforme carolingienne* (Münster 1978) pp. xiv, 115, n. 33.

[69] Rieti AC 5, f. 36ᵛ: Nam et parentes nostros ... sepultura ei debetur. (=*Coll. VL*, 4.176.)
f. 42: Plurimi namque homines ... vestra de celo debere. (=*Coll. VL*, 4.271.)
f. 73: Si quis sacerdos palam ... peregrinando finiat. (=*Coll. VL*, 4.69.)
On this collection, for which I am preparing a short study, see F. A. Ferretti, *L'archivio e l'antica Biblioteca della Cattedrale di Rieti: La Lipsanoteca Episcopale* (Rieti 1939) p. 23 with pl.; and Brown, *Hand-List of Beneventan MSS.*, p. 120.

[70] Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 4317, ff. 171ᵛ-172: XXXII. De etatibus mundi in vita sancti Basilii. Basilius. A primo plasto homine cui nomen ... ducenti nonaginta septem. Item Basilius. In prima vero die ... quadrupedia et reptilia.
f. 197ᵛ: Si quis sacerdos palam ... pergrinando finiat. (=*Coll. VL*, 4.69.)
On this MS see R. E. Reynolds, "The 'Isidorian' *Epistula ad Leudefredum*: An Early Medieval Epitome of the Clerical Duties," *MS* 41 (1979) 306 f.

[71] Ff. 171ᵛ-172. Cf. *Acta Sanctorum* 23: 420B.

[72] 3.127: Ecclesiasticarum institutionum ... publicata scripto. (Attributed to Basil in PL 140: 698.)
8.9: Monacho non liceat votum ... frangendum erit. (=*Coll. Disc. Umb.* 2.6.9 [Finsterwalder, p. 321]. Cf. Munier, *Les sources*, p. 213. In PL 140: 794 attributed to Basil.)
9.45: Si quis vult coniugatus ... voluntate castitatis consensum. (Attributed to Basil in PL 140: 822.)

Bonizo of Sutri's late eleventh-century canon law collection, *De vita christiana*.[73]

At the very end of the eleventh century the canonical collections that nearly supplanted all other earlier ones belonged to Ivo of Chartres, his *Decretum, Panormia,* and *Tripartita*. Of these three, the *Panormia* with its one Basil text[74] was the most popular, but it is in the other two that Basil texts are most heavily represented. In the *Decretum* there are at least nine.[75] While Munier in his published thesis on patristic sources

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10.52: Si quis murmurans ... sacerdotis iudicio peniteat. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 140: 852.)

10.54: Apostolus dicit: Omnia facite ... opus eius abiiciatur. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 140: 852.)

10.59: Si quis contristatus ... animo satisfactionem recipiat. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 140: 852.)

10.67: Si quis detraxerit ... detraxit Mosi peniteat. (Attributed to Basil in PL 140: 854.)

17.35: Clericus vel monachus adolescentium ... deinceps iuvenibus coniungendus. (Attributed to Basil in PL 140: 925.)

19.39: Penitentem ex corde ... ovem meam quam perdideram. (Attributed to Basil in PL 140: 987.)

19.64: Erga eum qui ... quam tradidi vobis. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 140: 998.)

19.79: Qui sub gradu peccat ... gradum venire difficile est. (= *Coll. hib.* 11.1b; falsely attributed to Basil in PL 140: 1001.)

[73] 4.130: Ecclesiasticarum institutionum ... publicata scripto. (= Burchard 3.127.)

6.16: Si quis vult coniugatus ... castitatus consensum. (= Burchard 9.45.)

8.46: Si quis vult coniugatus ... castitatis consensum (= Burchard 9.45.)

The texts of these canons may be found in Bonizo of Sutri, *Liber de vita christiana*, ed. E. Perels (Berlin 1930) pp. 173, 214 f., 265. For further examples of the use of the canon, Si quis coniugatus..., see Anselm of Lucca, *Collectio canonum* 10.20, ed. F. Thaner (Innsbruck 1906) p. 492; Cardinal Gregory's *Polycarpus* 6.4 (Paris BN lat. 3881, f. 127v); and the *Collectio Caesaraugustana* 10.65 (Vatican Barb. lat. 897, f. 196v). I am grateful to Professor J. T. Gilchrist for microfilm of this MS.

[74] 2.159: Ecclesiarum institutiones ... publicata scripto. (PL 161: 1119 f.)

[75] 4.69: Ecclesiasticarum institutionum ... publicata scripto. (Attributed to Basil in PL 161: 283.)

7.32: Monacho non licet votum ... frangendum erit. (Attributed to Basil in PL 161: 553.)

8.183: Si quis coniugatus ... castitatis consensum. (Attributed to Basil in PL 161: 622.)

13.53: Si quis murmurans ... iudicio peniteat. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 161: 814.)

13.55: Apostolus dicit Omnia facite ... opus eius abiiciatur. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 161: 814.)

13.60: Si quis contristatus ... animo satisfactionem recipiat. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 161: 814 f.)

13.67: Si quis detraxerit ... Moysi peniteat. (Attributed to Basil in PL 161: 815.)

15.55: Penitentem ex corde ... ovem meam quam perdideram. (Attributed to Basil in PL 161: 871.)

15.78: Erga eum qui pro peccato ... quam tradidi vobis. (Not attributed to Basil in PL 161: 880.)

specifically noted the Basil texts in the *Decretum*,[76] he did not deal with Ivo's third collection, the *Tripartita*. Yet here Basil is represented by almost a score of texts. Most are neatly grouped together in Part 2 and placed under a general rubric that attributes them to the Eighth Synod (although some are more specifically assigned to Basil or Isidore).[77] Given

[76] Munier, *Les sources patristiques*, p. 39.

[77] Cf. Alençon BM 135 (an incomplete MS of the *Tripartita*), ff. 86-87, 148v, 166v; and Paris, BN lat. 3858B, ff. 92v-93v, 146v, 162v:

2.14.8: Timorem quidem docet ... calicem Domini percipit. (= *Quadripartita* 4.2; here attributed to Basil.)

2.14.9: Hoc sit in iudicio ... differentiam paene. (= *Quadripartita* 4.19; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.10: Ut pro qualitate ... tempus impendatur. (= *Quadripartita* 4.20; not attributed to Basil by name, but within a larger group of canons under Basil's name. The text resembles the *EApokr. br.* 106, PG 31: 1155 f., but it is actually drawn from the canons of Laodicea, c. 2. In the *Quadripartita* 4.20 of Vat. lat. 1347, f. 152, the canon is attributed to the Council of Laodicea.)

2.14.11: Paenitentem ex corde ... ovem meam quam perdideram. (= *Quadripartita* 4.24; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.12: Affectum illum in se ... sicut Zacheus fecit (= *Quadripartita* 4.25; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.13: Erga eum qui pro peccato ... tradidimus vobis. (= *Quadripartita* 4.26; not attributed to Basil by name in the Paris MS, but specifically assigned to Basil in the Alençon MS.)

2.14.14: Si quis semel notatus ... cura similis adhibetur. (= *Quadripartita* 4.32; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.15: In omnibus observari ... non est qui erigat eum. (= *Quadripartita* 4.42; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.16: Si quis preventus fuerit ... in irritum revocetur. (= *Quadripartita* 4.109; attributed to Isidore.)

2.14.17: Oportet infantes cum voluntate ... sacerdotis iudicio peniteat. (= *Quadripartita* 4.221, 225; not attributed to Basil or Isidore by name.)

2.14.18: Si is qui praeest fecerit ... evangelizavimus vobis anathema sit. (= *Quadripartita* 4.210; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.19: Si quis prohibet nos facere ... qui diligunt Deum. (= *Quadripartita* 4.211; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.19 [*sic*]: Is qui praeest si praeter voluntatem ... aut sacrilegus habeatur. (= *Quadripartita* 4.212; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.21: Qui consentit peccantibus ... similmodo culpabilem iudicandum. (= *Quadripartita* 4.240; not attributed to Basil by name.)

2.14.22: Si quis vult coniugatus ... voluntate castitatis consensum. (= *Quadripartita* 4.78; not attributed to Basil by name.)

3.7.2: Ecclesiasticarum institutionum ... quam publicata scripto. (See above, nn. 58 f.; here attributed to Basil.)

3.12.9: Monacho non liceat votum ... frangendum erit (= Burchard, *Dec.* 8.9; Ivo, *Dec.* 7.32; *Polycarpus* 4.35.15 [Paris BN Lat. 3881, f. 99]; on which see U. Horst, *Die Kanonessammlung Polycarpus des Gregor von S. Grisogono. Quellen und Tendenzen* (Munich 1980) p. 158 here attributed to Basil.)

the peculiar readings, it seems clear that the primary source of the Basil texts in Ivo's *Tripartita* is L. 4 of the ninth-century *Quadripartita*.

Our survey of the diffusion of Basil's texts in early medieval Western canonical collections arrives finally at Gratian's *Decretum*. When Gratian uses a Basil text, it is rarely attributed to our Eastern doctor; more often it is Isidore or the Eighth Synod.[78] These attributions provide the clue to Gratian's major source. It was the *Tripartita* of Ivo. In only two cases of

[78] D. 11, c. 5: Ecclesiasticarum institutionum ... publicata scripto. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 3.7.2; here attributed to Basil.)

D. 47, c. 8: Sicut hi qui per insaniam mente ... prestare quod velis. (Extracts from Rufinus' translation of the *HDestr*. [6], PG 31: 1749-1752; cf. CPG 2850, and CPL 225a; here attributed to Ambrose.)

D. 81, c. 26: In omnibus observare ... qui erigat eum. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.15; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

D. 90, c. 4: Alienus sit a fratrum ... sacerdotis iudicio peniteat. (Drawn from Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.17; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

D. 90, c. 10: Si quis contristatus ... animo satisfactionem recipiat. (Similar to *EApokr*. 72, Holste, 1: 87: attributed here to Pope Fabian; cf. Ivo, *Dec*. 13.60, above, n. 75.)

C. 11, q. 3, c. 100: Qui consentit peccantibus ... simili modo culpabilem iudicandum. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.21; here attributed to Isidore.)

C. 11, q. 3, c. 101: Si is qui preest ... aut sacrilegus habeatur. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.18-19 [*sic*]; here attributed to Isidore.)

C. 20, q. 1, c. 1: Firma autem tunc erit ... deputari ac perfecta. (Drawn from Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.17; here attributed to the Ninth Synod.)

C. 20, q. 2, c. 4: Oportet infantes cum voluntate ... gratia excludatur hominum pessimorum. (Drawn from Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.17; here attributed to the Ninth Synod.)

C. 20, q. 4, c. 2: Monacho non licet votum ... frangendum erit. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 3.12.9; here attributed to Basil.)

C. 22, q. 4, c. 19: Si quis preventus fuerit ... in irritum revocetur. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.16; here attributed to Isidore.)

C. 26, q. 7, c. 7: Pro qualitate delicti penitenciae tempus inpendatur. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.10; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

C. 26, q. 7, c. 8: Hoc sit positum in iudicio ... haberi differenciam penae (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.9; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

C. 26, q. 7, c. 9: Penitentem ex corde ... ovem meam quam perdideram. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.11; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

C. 26, q. 7, c. 10: Affectum illum in se ... sicut et Zacheus fecit. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.12; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

C. 26, q. 7, c. 11: Erga eum qui peccata ... tradidimus vobis. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.13; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

C. 27, q. 2, c. 22: Si quis coniugatus ... castitatus consensum. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.22; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

De penit. D. 2, c. 1: Si quis semel notatus ... cura similis adhibetur. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.14; here attributed to the Eighth Synod.)

De consec. D. 2, c. 25: Timorem quidem docet ... calicem Domini percipit. (= Ivo, *Trip*. 2.14.8; here attributed to both the Eighth Synod and Basil.)

Gratian's nineteen or so Basil canons was the *Tripartita* not the source, and in one of these it was Ivo's *Decretum*.[79]

To conclude, several comments should be made about the Basil sources used by early medieval Western canonical compilers. The major source of Basil canons was the *Asc. 1r* in its Latin translation by Rufinus.[80] Which of the different manuscripts and Western recensions the compilers used must await critical editions not only of the Rufinus translation but in most cases critical editions of the canonical collections themselves. Beyond the *Asc. 1r*, the Western canonists used fragments from other Basilian writings for which there were Latin translations, among them being the *HMart.* [19], *HDestr.* [6], *HGrat.* [4], and the Pseudo-Basil *Admon.* Perhaps more interesting are the indications that Greek versions of several Basil texts were known and used by the canonists. The compilers of penitentials seem to have known the penitential discipline in the *Canonical Epistles*, and the compilers of the canonical collections had at hand at least parts of the *De Sp. S.*, *C. Eun.*, ***C. Eun.*, and one or more versions of the Amphilochian *Vita* unknown in Latin translation. Thanks to the canonists we have some of our earliest evidence of the transmission of Basil's texts into the West. It is not inconceivable that further searches through early medieval canonistic manuscripts will turn up unexpected evidence of other Basil texts hitherto unknown in the early medieval Latin West.

[79] D. 90, c. 10 (= Ivo, *Dec.* 13.60).

[80] On the intended wide distribution of Rufinus' translation of Basil's *Asc. 1r* see C. P. Hammond, "A Product of a Fifth-Century Scriptorium preserving Conventions used by Rufinus of Aquileia," *JThS* 29 (1978) 370 f.

16

Notes on the Iconography of Saint Basil the Great

Wilma Fitzgerald
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies

For the occasion of the Saint Basil Symposium sponsored by the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies and the Congregation of Saint Basil of Toronto, I elected to find representations of Saint Basil which could be obtained from published sources, that is without visiting museums, manuscript collections or art galleries, but relying solely on immediate library information. The wealth of material available indicated that whereas few minor and no comprehensive studies have yet appeared of the iconography of Basil the Great, a future major study would be beneficial to both the historian of hagiographical art and to the scholar seeking an understanding of Basil's not inconsiderable moral influence. Compliance with a time restriction encouraged me to make the Symposium presentation of Basil images, although chronologically arranged, general, and vastly simplified without specific consideration for type, school, national origin or genre. To discuss the spiritual, historical, and artistic motivation behind each image was not possible. The purpose of this paper is to reconstruct the outlines of that presentation, indicate areas for future studies and provide a bibliography of sources.

Images of Basil in both Eastern and Western art exist in such abundance in every genre ranging from the larger than life apse programmes of church mosaic and fresco through manuscript illuminations, icons, embroideries, metalwork, ivories, postal stamps,[1] and

[1] Two postal stamps known to me are those of the Greek National Government, 21 August 1959, honouring the Red Cross by showing St. Basil, one of the earliest

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 533-563.

popular holy pictures that in order to accommodate a small percentage of these likenesses some classification had to be designed. A convenient division, offering broad categories, was to arrange the images under the terms Official Basil and Popular Basil. In the first division would be portrait-type images to be associated with Basil's writing; the liturgy, primarily the Liturgy ascribed to St. Basil; supplementary liturgical texts such as menologia, homilies; liturgical vestments; Basil in the role of Church Father; and the occasional icon for a specific festal occurence or liturgical theme. In the second division would be biographical *vitae* images for Basil was fortunate in having Gregory of Nazianzus compose a detailed funeral encomium[2] and perhaps less fortunate in having a demotic miraculous life emerge shortly after his death.[3]

How did Basil appear? In his letters, Basil tells us that he was frail and subject to illness. His brother, Gregory of Nyssa, describes him as an ascetic. Gregory of Nazianzus, fellow student in Athens and constant friend, writes that while Basil was "still young and had not yet tamed his flesh by philosophy"[4] he was the equal of others in strength, beauty and size. At the same time he emphasizes that Basil's beauty was of virtue, strength of character, and moral excellence.

Basil's known iconography from the seventh century has been remarkably constant in depicting a slight man with brown pointed beard, brown hair combed low over a high, often furrowed brow; he is dressed in bishop's vestments according to current or archaized fashion and is accorded, where applicable, the position of Church Father. This type of image is affirmed by two artists' guide books which delineate the way Basil is customarily to be depicted. Dionysius of Fourna (ca. 1670) advises in the late Byzantine *Hermeneia* that painters show Basil as a bishop, (gray haired) with a long beard and pointed eyebrows.[5] He further states that by custom in churches with a dome, the holy Bishops Basil on the right, John

champions of organized charity, and that of the Vatican City, 25 July 1979, honouring the sixteenth centenary of the death of St. Basil. Dr George Kustas contributed the Greek stamp to our collection and Dr Paul J. Fedwick, the Vatican.

[2] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 493-606.

[3] Ps.-Amphilochius, *Vita Sancti Basilii*, in *SS. Patrum Amphilochii Iconiensis, Methodii Patarensis et Andreae Cretensis Opera omnia*, ed. F. Combefis (Paris 1644) pp. 155-177.

[4] *Or.* 43.10. The translation is that found in P. McCauley, et al., tr. *Funeral Orations by St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Ambrose* (New York 1953). In this context "philosophy" means the discipline which comes in the practice of Christian perfection.

[5] P. Hetherington, *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fourna* (London 1974) p. 54.

Chrysostom on the left, accompanied by Gregory Theologus (Nazianzenus), Athanasius and Cyril of Alexandria, and Nicholas of Myra are to be painted in the sanctuary in a circle around the altar, and that in monastic refectories below a representation of the Mystic Supper the same bishops in ecclesiastical robes are to be depicted with scrolls in their hands. Dionysius suggests the text for Basil's scroll: the good soul will be guarded safely: God will seek it among mortal men.[6]

A twentieth century Western volume, compiled to explain ecclesiastical art productions for craftsmen, instructs us that Basil is portrayed as a bishop with church in hand, or behind him; with a dove perched on his arm, and a hand giving him a pen; or with a column of fire beside him and a dove flying near his head.[7]

A. Official Basil

A consideration of the first division: official Basil must begin with the oldest known image of the saint, a portrait icon from St. Catherine's Monastery in the Sinai dated from the seventh century, the period of iconoclasm.[8] A thin wooden panel, the left wing of a now lost triptych, shows two bust portraits, the upper St. Athanasius of Alexandria, the lower St. Basil. The portraits are named to give greater authenticity to the exactness of the images. The dark hair, the furrowed brow, the long beard are the prototypes of later images. Basil wears a carmine phelonion (chausable) and a short omophorion, the garment resembling the Western pallium. This is adorned with one surviving thin spiked cross on the right shoulder. Basil holds a closed book ornamented with red and white stones in a thick square format with his covered left hand supporting its weight

[6] Ibid., pp. 85-86. It would be well to note that the inscribed texts pictured with St. Basil have varying messages. In the refectory of the Stavronikita monastery of Ayion Oros (1546), SS. Basil and Nicholas appear clad as monks; see G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, 1: *Les peintures* (Paris 1927) pl. 166.

[7] M. and W. Drake, *Saints and Their Emblems* (London 1916) p. 17. An excellent representation of Basil with all these symbols is a seventeenth-century engraving found in Oxford, Christ Church gr. 48, containing *Nili epistolae*. In the foreground is St. Basil in western episcopal garb holding an open book, his right hand raised in blessing; above his head a dove hovers; over his left shoulder a pillar of fire rises from a cloud; in the background to his right stands a church (perhaps a monastery church) surrounded by a wall with open gate. On his left an angel offers an episcopal headdress and on his right another offers a baculus.

[8] The icon is reproduced in K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of Saint Catherine at Mount Sinai: The Icons*, 1: *From the Sixth to the Tenth Century* (Princeton 1976) pp. 48-49, pl. xx, lxxii-lxxiii, No. B-24.

with his right hand. Not only the physical type, but the attributes to be associated with Basil as an orthodox church leader are present here, the ecclesiastical robes, the Gospels indicating a defender and teacher of Christ's teaching without exception.

Portraits of writers whose works are preserved in manuscript are often found, lending an aura of authenticity and authority, as frontispieces to their writings. The custom can be traced to pagan antiquity; one of the oldest examples is that of a fifth-century portrait of Vergil seated near copies of his writings.[9] These secular portraits of classical times with the author holding his written roll or codex, or in the act of writing, or reading became first the model Christian artists used for depicting evangelist portraits which in turn provided the model for other Christian writers. Basil is not, despite the numerous manuscripts extant of his works, very frequently portrayed in this manner. An Oxford frontispiece to a manuscript of Basil's homilies[10] written at Constantinople in the tenth century shows the saint in the author portrait manner. He is seated, his body turned toward the left, his feet resting on a footstool, he faces forward, with his left hand he supports a closed Gospels on his knees and his right hand is raised in an attitude of teaching for at Basil's left is a group of attentive young men. This model scene of evangelist has been enlarged to include disciples whom Basil is obviously teaching and who listen in a spirit of reverence.

At Tiflis in Georgia, USSR, a later (fourteenth-century) addition to a ninth-century manuscript of Basil's homilies[11] shows the saint in bishop's attire, seated before a desk, holding an open book on his knees and a pen in his right hand. Basil is not concentrating on writing, although the pen by conventualized symbolism indicates an author, but on the people who come before him. The crowd includes men, women, clerics, dignitaries, wise men, and humble people, some of whom kneel in reverence while others stand. The scene depicted in this badly flaked miniature is similar in style and spiritual content to that found in a frescoed pendentive of Archangels Church, Lesnovo, Yugoslavia. In the four vaulting sections, images of the Three Hierarchs, Basil, John Chrysostom, Gregory of

[9] Vatican BAV Vat. lat. 3867, f. 3v.

[10] Oxford BL Canon. gr. 77, f. 2. Reproduced in I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* (Stuttgart 1977), frontispiece.

[11] Tiflis SMA gr. 48. For a description see S. Y. Rudberg, *L'homélie de Basile de Césarée sur le mot "Observe-toi toi-même"* (Stockholm 1962) pp. 120-125 [and now also E. E. Granstrem, "Neizvestnyĭ grecheskiĭ sbornik besed Vasiliya Velikogo," *MATSNE* 1 (1971) 173-178; slightly different foliation from Rudberg's (*Ed.*)]. The MS bears the arms of the Tsereteli family.

Nazianzus are joined by one of Athanasius. Each dressed as a bishop is seated before a lectern supporting an open book, at the feet of each is a cruciform fountain, emblematic of the living water of truth embodied in the teaching of these four holy men of the Church. The attention of each bishop is on the people, monks, learned men, people, who await their turns to draw water of salvation. G. Millet calls this subject the "Enseignement de l'Église."[12] Irina Danilova terms this "A Doctrine of the Three Church Fathers" scene[13] and writes that in the three lunettes over the south, west, and north arches supporting the drum of Pherapont, Nativity of the Virgin Cathedral are frescoed figures of the Three Hierarchs surrounded by figures of people accepting true doctrine, drinking from goblets, while the heretics stand about holding scrolls and arguing.

Basil's ascetical treatise found in a Copenhagen manuscript[14] has a frontispiece in which Basil is depicted clothed as a bishop with monks to the left and right, in the foreground the scribe, also clad as a monk, prostrates himself holding out his hands in a gesture of supplication.

Frontispieces from two printed volumes ought to be considered for their historical value although one does not appear as an author portrait while assuming that particular status. An engraving of Basil brought before the Prefect Modestus appears in Julian Garnier's 1721 Greek and Latin *Opera omnia* of Basil.[15] In this Basil stands before the prefect elevated on a throne and surrounded by his councilors and two lictors with fasces. Basil garbed in flowing episcopal robes carries a gospel in his left hand and gestures as if teaching with his right arm. The scene is of an event in Basil's life described by Gregory of Nazianzus[16] when Basil was

[12] G. Millet, *La peinture du Moyen Âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)* (Paris 1954) p. 36. See also on the "Fountain of Life" theme T. Velmans, "L'iconographie de la 'Fontaine de vie' dans la tradition byzantine à la fin du Moyen Âge," *Synthronon* 2 (1968) 119-134.

[13] I. Danilova and A. Simonov, *Freski Ferapontova monastyrya Dionisiya Ferapontovskogo* (Moscow 1970). V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics from the 11th to the 16th Century* (London 1966) p. 206 designates this treatment as "conversations of three bishops." See also V. Georgiyevsky, *Freski Ferapontova Monastyrya* (Leningrad 1911), and I. Danilova, "Ikonograficheskiĭ sostav fresok Rozhdestvenskoĭ tserkvi Ferapontova Monastyrya," in *Iz istorii russkogo i zapadnoevropeĭskogo iskusstva* (Moscow 1960) p. 120.

[14] Copenhagen KB Gl. Kongl. Saml. 1343. See description in Ch. Walter, "Biographical Scenes of the Three Hierarchs," *REB* 36 (1978) 233-260, at 243.

[15] J. Garnier and P. Maran, edd. *Basilii Caesareae archiepiscopi Opera omnia* (Paris 1721-1730).

[16] *Or.* 43.48-50.

brought before the prefect on a charge of not honoring the emperor's Arian belief. The second frontispiece is an author portrait[17] ultimately derived from an evangelist model. Basil is shown turning the pages of an open book on a reading stand before him. Unlike other representations this one shows Basil wearing a turban in Arabian style. This portrait engraving by André Thevet reappears in what would seem a most unlikely place, the medallion frieze of the Picture Gallery in the Bodleian Library Upper Reading Room. Basil, head and shoulders only, occupies the fifth position from the left on the north wall in a total scheme of two hundred painted portraits representing saints, Fathers, scholars, reformers, and schoolmen according to the scheme of Thomas James, librarian until 1620.[18]

If only rarely portraits of Basil accompany his own writings, any neglect is rectified by the proportion of illuminations found in manuscripts containing the *LBas. I*, one of the three great Byzantine liturgies, most probably the oldest and the only one to have an author ascribed in the manuscripts. Individual liturgies were written on scrolls for the use of the celebrant, a few of these from the ninth century have survived. When collected together, the format for the three liturgies was that of the codex. Frequently an "author" frontispiece was included either as a full page illumination or as a headpiece above the initial words. The majority of these are simple portraiture of a standing bishop wearing phelonion, omophorion and holding a gospel in the left hand, the right either supporting this volume or raised in blessing. Occasionally an opened scroll replaces the gospel. The figure may be enclosed in an ornamental frame, may be half-figure or full length.

Whereas the oldest representations show Basil clothed in the simplest garments in the model of the Mt. Sinai portrait with the omophorion

[17] In S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociales de saint Basile* (Paris 1941), but taken from A. Thevet, *Pourtraits et vies des hommes illustres, grecs, latins et payens* (Paris 1584) p. 3.

[18] The two-foot high medallions, restored in 1949, were begun after 1615; see W. D. Macray, *Annals of the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford 1890) p. 55 which states that the Convocation Register for 25 November 1615 records an outlay of pounds sterling 2497 and 10s. for the building of the third story of the Schools Quadrangle, called "the Picture Gallery." See also J. N. L. Myres, "The Painted Frieze in the Picture Gallery," *BodlR* 3 (1950) 82-91; idem, "Thomas James and the Painted Frieze," *BodlR* 3 (1952) 30-51; E. C. Rouse, "The Repair of the Painted Frieze in the Picture Gallery," *BodlR* 3 (1951) 201-207; J. N. L. Myers and E. C. Rouse, "Further Notes on the Painted Frieze and Other Discoveries in the Upper Reading Room and the Tower Room," *BodlR* 5 (1956) 290-308. I am indebted to P. Osmund Lewry OP, Blackfriars, Oxford, for confirming my suspicion that the Bodleian portrait and the Thevet engraving were related and for providing me with the proper references.

being the most significant garment, the majority of portraits preserved in liturgical works show the saint in the attire of a post twelfth-century bishop or in current even splendid vestments, that is, he will be wearing not a phelonion but the *polystaurion*. Once the exclusive dress of the patriarch, this chasuble embroidered or woven with a quantity of crosses was then the vestment of the metropolitan, and finally adopted for all bishops. Sometime before the thirteenth century, sleevelets were added to the liturgical vestments for the celebration of the eucharistic sacrifice.[19] Liturgical manuscripts will also show Basil wearing in addition to the garments mentioned an *enchirion* (shown in bishops' attire from the eighth century), a rectangular cloth hung over the belt and extending down to the right knee, which often is replaced by the *epigonation*, a diamond shaped, decorated square of cloth which hung at the knee. This last, a vestment reserved to bishops in 1193, according to the vesting prayer typifies the two-edged sword of Christ and is a mark of authority. Its mystical signification is that of the almsbag used by the apostles. About the same time the *epitrachelion*, the Western stole, began to be worn about the neck beneath the *phelonion*. Customarily its two decorated ends show below the *phelonion* hem.[20]

When the *polystaurion* ceased to be the exclusive garment of the patriarchs, a short tunic, sleeveless or with half-sleeves, slit at the sides, and often highly embroidered, was introduced for patriarchs. In origin it was the emperor's tunic who first permitted it to patriarchs and later to bishops deserving special honor. Sometime about the fourteenth century, this *sakkos* became a vestment for worthy archbishops and the right to wear it was extended to all bishops after the Turkish conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Basil does appear in the *sakkos* to which is attributed the mystical meaning of the purple robes of Christ's passion.[21] These the episcopal vestments worn by Basil in manuscript illumination are the same garments worn in images of other genre of the same place and period of time.

[19] An example of such attire may be seen in Ayion Oros MI 1436, f. 135. Reproduced in S. M. Pelekanidis, et al., edd. *The Treasures of Mount Athos*, 2 (Athens 1975) 134.

[20] For liturgical MS miniatures see illuminations in Jerusalem PB Taphou 334 and Staurou 109; London BL Add. 40755, f. 21; London BL Egerton 2392, f. 23^v and Egerton 3155, f. 21^v; Ayion Oros MD 438, f. 32^v; Meteora MM 221, f. 54^v; Meteora MM 298, f. 21^v (here Basil holds a scroll rather than a book as he does in Meteora MM 223, f. 26^v and Ayion Oros MD 471, f. 25^v). For the Ayion Oros MSS see reproductions in Pelekanidis, *The Treasures*, and for the Meteora MSS see N. Bees, *Τὰ χειρόγραφα τῶν Μετέωρων* (Athens 1967). The others I have examined either from the codex or on microfilm.

[21] Ayion Oros MI 1424, f. 20^v; Meteora MM 223, f. 26^v.

In several liturgical rolls surviving, Basil is portrayed in the act of celebrating the divine liturgy as in the headpiece of an Athenian National Library manuscript[22] where Basil is portrayed officiating with John Chrysostom. They are attended by four deacons and they stand at an altar over which is a ciborium illustrated in a church section. Marble slabs cover the iconostasis; above the corners are busts of the apostles Peter and Paul. A representation of the Virgin decorates the apse. Five cupolas crown the architectural section which has birds perched on outside spirelets. Another roll of the thirteenth century at Patmos[23] shows Basil in a sanctuary celebrating the liturgy at an altar without ciborium. He is assisted by two deacons with fans. In the apse a half-figure of the Virgin is shown. Square roofed, windowed structures replace the cupolas depicted in the preceding roll. A lavishly decorated altar with four columns supporting a conical roof showing enshrined on the altar an icon image of St. Basil is the headpiece for a Mt. Athos roll.[24] In a different liturgical context and representing Basil more as Church Father than liturgy author is an image in an *Exultet* roll from South Italy. In the border near the central Wind Rose figure are medallion busts of Basil with the other Greek Fathers John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus and Nicholas.[25]

Supplementing the liturgical texts of the eucharistic sacrifice, other para-liturgical volumes came to be: menologia, synaxaria, the Psalter as distinct from the Old and New Testament readings, collections of homilies and moral sayings. For the hagiographic writings, the menologia and synaxaria especially, individual portraits began to be placed at an early (tenth-century examples survive) date before each saint's life. Representative of a majority of these images would be that found in a Vatican Euchologion manuscript[26] where the saint is shown dressed in the customary bishop's attire holding in his left hand a gospel which he supports with his right or raises in blessing. This is the typical, constant image and will abide even into the biographical scenes. In general the

[22] Athens EB 2759; see *Byzantine Art, 9th Exhibition of the Council of Europe* (Athens 1964) No. 358 and the bibliography included there.

[23] Patmos MHITh 707 (roll 1); see *Byzantine Art*, No. 359 with bibliography.

[24] Ayion Oros MD 105. Reproduction in Pelekanidis, *The Treasures*, 1: 137.

[25] Reproduced in G. Cavallo, *Rotoli di Exultet dell'Italia meridionale* (Bari 1973) pl. 7.

[26] Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1554, f. 22^{v}; see A. Grabar, *Les manuscrits grecs enluminés de provenance italienne (IXe-XIe siècles)* (Paris 1972) fig. 282. Two other representations are found in a Synaxarion at Tiflis SMA A-648; see G. Alibegachvili, *Miniatures des manuscrits géorgiens des XIe début XIIIe siècles* (Tiflis 1973) and in a Leningrad Menologion, Leningrad AN gr. 1 described by V. Likhacheva, *Iskusstvo knigi* (Moscow 1976) pp. 79-81.

miniatures, about two inches in height, are enclosed in simple frames. The portrait may be half-figure as in the margin of a Paris *Sacra Parallela* manuscript[27] where Basil is shown with other authors of spiritual texts.

The excellence of Basil's commentaries on the psalms[28] makes it appropriate that his image be included among the narrative elements found in the margins of several of that select group of manuscripts known as the Marginal Psalters because of the miniatures appearing in their margins. Again in size a scant two inches, one of the finest of these images appears in the British Library's Theodore Psalter.[29] In the lower margin Basil is painted standing before a lectern on which reposes an open book. He appears in an attitude of teaching with one hand raised. Behind him is the form of a church building. This psalter has two other images of Basil, one (f. 20ᵛ) showing him standing before a clepeus image of Christ the author, source and inspiration of Basil's teaching, the other (f. 35ᵛ) in company with John Chrysostom and Gregory Theologus: the Three Hierarchs. A recently identified marginal psalter at Baltimore Walters Art Gallery (with folia missing at the beginning) also shows (f. 14ᵛ at Ps. 39) Basil standing, hands raised in prayer toward an image of Christ and (f. 3ᵛ) an image of Basil in the Three Hierarch grouping.[30]

A Septuagint manuscript has in the portion of psalms, before Psalm 93 (f. 294) full length portraits of Basil together with Nicholas, John Chrysostom and the two Gregories.[31] In the same manuscript at the introduction of Psalm 11, Basil and John Chrysostom head two groups of hierarchs facing each other. In other psalters, Basil is pictured with John Chrysostom and Nicholas of Myra, which grouping George Galavaris[32]

[27] Paris BN gr. 923, f. 159ᵛ; see Grabar, *Les manuscrits*, fig. 21.

[28] *Homiliae in Psalmos*, PG 29: 209-494; 30: 71-118.

[29] London BL Add. 19352, f. 4; see D. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des psautiers grecs du Moyen Âge*, 2: *Londres Additional 19352* (Paris 1970).

[30] Baltimore WAG W-733; see D. Miner, "The 'Monastic' Psalter of the Walter Art Gallery," in *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of A. M. Friend*, ed. K. Weitzmann (Princeton 1955) pp. 232-253. This monastic psalter closely resembles Leningrad GPB 1252 F VI (ca. 1397); London BL Add. 19352 (a. 1066) and Vatican BAV Barb. gr. 372 (ca. 1092).

[31] E. de Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, 3: *Psalms and Odes*, 2: *Vaticanus graecus 752* (Princeton 1942) pl. xli, xix.

[32] G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton 1969) p. 26. See Berlin SM 3807, f. 1 described by G. Stuhlfauth, "A Greek Psalter with Byzantine Miniatures," *ABull* 15 (1933) 311-326; and Washington, DC, DO gr. 3 (olim Pantokrator 49) discussed by S. Der Nersessian, "A Psalter and New Testament Manuscript at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 19 (1965) 153-185. The form of these representations is similar to that found in Paris BN gr. 550, f. 4, and Mount Sinai MHAi 418, f. 2, a MS of the works of John Climacus.

writes may be attributed to the diptychs of the κεκοιμημένων in the liturgy mentioning all three saints.

A great number of Basil images are found in the manuscripts containing the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, particularly in the special liturgical collection of sixteen homilies which includes *Oration* 43, the encomium of Basil by his friend. The miniatures occuring here are of two types, the illustrative miniatures of events in the text and the funeral scene. I prefer to discuss the illustrative miniatures with the *vita* representations rather than at this point, although strictly speaking the funeral scene also belongs with the life sequence and not with liturgical books.

Gregory delivered his eulogy of Basil two years after his death a fact which provided the miniaturist opportunity to depict two scenes of Basil's death, one with Gregory of Nyssa (Basil's brother) present, the other without this Gregory but with friend Gregory speaking in praise of their long friendship. The artist of a Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale manuscript[33] in a full page illumination shows two scenes. In the upper register is the funeral of Basil. On a bier below a baldachin or ciborium, Basil's body lies; his brother Gregory prostrates himself at Basil's feet. Bishops attend at head and foot of the bier. In the lower register, Gregory of Nazianzus delivers his funeral oration before a sarcophagus sheltered below a ciborium. He also is attended by bishops.

More frequently the miniaturist solved the problem of two scenes by conflation, that is by combining the two events and having both Gregories present. Such a scene is found in an Oxford manuscript from eleventh-century Constantinople.[34] Before a background of an ornamented ciborium supported by three columns, three figures only are shown. Gregory embraces his dead friend's body and Gregory of Nyssa kneels in what must be recognized as a traditional position at Basil's feet. A Florence manuscript[35] depicts the bier of Basil attended at head and foot by ecclesiastics and dignitaries. Two angels hover above the bishop figure on the bier. Architectural forms frame the scene on both sides. Two Gregories are present, the brother standing near the saint's feet, the friend in reverence at Basil's head. In a Jerusalem manuscript,[36] a similar scene is found. A ciborium with pointed roof replaces the angels and the

[33] Paris BN gr. 543, f. 130.

[34] Oxford BL Canon. gr. 103, f. 90^v;

[35] Florence BML Plut. VII.32, f. 70.

[36] Jerusalem PB Taphou 14, f. 114.

architectural forms are simplified. Gregory embraces his friend and Gregory of Nyssa also is shown bending low in an embrace of his brother's feet. Attendent are dignitaries and clerics. The illumination of a twelfth-century manuscript on Ayion Oros[37] is in a certain way more accurate in showing only one Gregory who is painted embracing the dead saint's body. But this by type is Gregory the friend who was not present for the death and burial. The artist has chosen to picture Gregory's encomium rather than the fact recorded by history. This is the scene of another manuscript[38] where the saint's body lies on a bier before a ciborium flanked by two architectural structures, flat roofed with windows. In the foreground Gregory of Nazianzus embraces his friend's body. Two stiffly erect bishops stand one at the head, one at the foot of the bier. Both hold gospels. The one at the foot extends his free hand toward the bier. Only the one bishop, Gregory, is nimbed.[39]

In another type of manuscript illumination,[39] Basil may be pictured in an Oecumenical Council scene where rather than attempting historical accuracy the artist frequently commemorates a council event by depicting the most famous Church Fathers.[40] This is the case in a Pierpont Morgan Lectionary (f. 42) of the eleventh century from Studion Monastery where illustrating the lection of the sixth Sunday after Easter commemorating the Nicaean Fathers and the Council of 325, eight busts of bishops form the letter "T." Four from their distinctive types may be identified as John Chrysostom, Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil and Athanasius. Below the initial, two figures are shown in *proskynesis* and identified by inscription as Arius and Nestorius who belong properly and historically to the Councils of Nicaea (325) and of Ephesus (431).

[37] Ayion Oros MHP 6, f. 100; see Pelekanidis, *The Treasures*, 2: 352-358, pl. 306-308.

[38] Tiflis SMA A-109; see Alibegachvili, *Miniatures*, fig. 44. The *κοίμησις* illuminations cited by Galavaris, *The Illustrations*, include the following: Athens EB 2254, f. 69v; Istanbul PB 16, f. 89v; Milan BA G 88 sup., f. 105; Moscow GIM VI.146, f. 81; Ayion Oros MD 61, f. 35; Ayion Oros MV 107, f. 135v; Oxford BL Roe 6, f. 38; Oxford BL Selden B-54, f. 36; Paris BN Coislin 239, f. 74; Paris BN gr. 550, f. 94v; Paris BN gr. 533, f. 91; Mount Sinai MHAi 339, f. 109; Mount Sinai MHAi 346, f. 61; Turin BN C.I.6, f. 89v; Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 463, f. 22; Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1947, f. 52v.

[39] Such representations are not restricted to MS illumination. The church cycle of paintings featured scenes of the major Councils on walls of churches; see Ch. Walter, *L'iconographie des Conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris 1970); S. Salaville, "L'iconographie des 'Sept Conciles Œcuméniques'," *EO* 25 (1926) 144-176.

[40] New York PML M-639; see K. Weitzmann, "The Constantinopolitan Lectionary Morgan 639," in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle d'Costa Greene*, ed. D. Miner (Princeton 1954) pp. 358-374, fig. 306. Basil appears again in the menologion portion of this MS in frontal pose as the stem portion of the letter "T."

A miniature designed to represent the Sixth Oecumenical Council (680) is found in a Vatican Lectionary and Menologion.[41] On folio 253, the illuminator shows a fine disregard for history joined with respect for the great fathers of the church by painting a group of bishops, six in the first row, five in the second. Easily recognized are the four fathers mentioned above. A similar although more elaborate gathering is found in a Mt. Athos manuscript.[42] Four bishops with gospels and two fathers with crosses are in the first row. In the second row stand five figures, one of whom is dressed in bishop's attire and has dark hair and a dark pointed beard (perhaps Gregory of Nyssa), the others wear the dark garments associated with fathers. Three additional rows of halos complete the group portrait.[43]

It is a short step from representations of Basil in liturgical books to images of Basil on the objects devoted to liturgical use: embroidered vestments and veils, vessels for the sacrifice, covers for liturgical books, reliquaries, processional crosses, festal and private devotional icons. These are too numerous for other than a notation of their existence[44] and a

[41] Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 1156.

[42] Ayion Oros MD 587, f. 126.

[43] See reproduction in Pelekanidis, *The Treasures*, 1: 197. Walter, *L'iconographie*, p. 40 includes in this type a miniature in Ayion Oros MKout 412, f. 250^v. J. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden 1976) adds Vatican BAV Vat. gr. 666, f. 1^v and Moscow GIM gr. 387, f. 5^v. In the first (Spatharakis, fig. 78) nine named Church Fathers appear. Among them are John Chrysostom, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzus, and Athanasius, and in the second row, between his brother Basil and the other Gregory, appears Gregory of Nyssa. The second illumination (fig. 83) shows the same nine Fathers not in frontal pose but turned slightly to their left.

[44] One has only to examine books such as the following to realize the wealth of this material. *Byzantine Arts*, lists: Plaque of an ivory casket border, Bologna MC 787, 10th cent., containing portraits of SS. Basil, John Chrysostom, Nicholas, Gregory of Nazianzus, Cosmas and Damian; a silver cross in Athens MB B-799, 10th cent., in which Basil is portrayed in the looped terminals with other saints; Reliquary of Venice, Treasury of San Marco 4, on the ten enamel medallions on inside of case represents Basil among other saints; *Epitrachēlion* (stole) of Patmos MHITh (?), 15th cent., has bust portraits in embroidery of Christ, the Virgin, John Baptist, SS. Peter and Paul, the Three Hierarchs and St. Nicholas; Gospel cover, Venice BNM gr. I.55, 13th cent., contains on the back cover twelve enameled silver plaques and in the centre the *Hetoimasia* surrounded by prophets and the great bishops, among them Basil, and the archangels Gabriel and Michael. Furthermore, S. Amiranashvili, *Georgian Metalwork from Antiquity to the 18th Century* (London 1971) pl. 57, has an eleventh-century Martvili Processional Cross, a silver repoussé work, with busts of John Baptist, Basil and Gregory of Nazianzus. Again, a Sion with bust of Basil on the dome is shown in G. N. Bocharov, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Novgoroda Velikogo* (Moscow 1969) pl. 5, 6, 7. Eucharistic veils from Khilandari monastery are among the embroideries described by G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris 1947) pl. clviii, clix. The one shows Christ between two angels

reminder that the majority include Basil either as author of the liturgy or Church Father.

Byzantine liturgy, text and implements occasioned numerous representations of Basil; his own writings furnished more. These examples of the Official Basil we might call the Liturgical Basil and the Magister Basil as it were and from their fusion find the origin for Basil in a Church Father iconography specifically found on the walls of many Byzantine churches. This is not the Oecumenical Council Father although surely magister, nor the author of Liturgy portrait but, in developed form, an official human representative embodying man's acceptance and obedience to the creation and Christ's redemptive sacrifice. If a type name be given, this would be Officiant Basil.

A common-place of art historians is the dictum: Cathedrals are the *Biblia pauperum*. Eastern rite churches no less than Western are *Biblia* and from the fourth century church walls were decorated. Early Greco-Roman landscape art was replaced by *Orant* figures; then as the need to instruct a growing catechumenate pressed, a tradition grew up of portraying narrative events from biblical history. St. Nilus[45] wrote to the Prefect Olympiodorus that in decorating a church he "should fill the holy place on both sides with pictures from the Old and New Testaments executed by a Master painter, so that the illiterate, unable to read the Sacred Scriptures, might by contemplating the pictures become mindful of virtuous deeds and be roused to emulate those glorious feats." Gradually the repertoire of paintings became standardized and a precise formulation of a theory and practice of religious iconography was confirmed during the iconoclastic period. The Seventh Oecumenical Council[46] decreed that the "composing of religious images is not the privilege of painters but depends on the approved legislation of the church. ... Art is for the painter, arrangement and theme for the fathers." Moreover, an image

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blessing SS. Basil and John Chrysostom. The other depicts Christ the *Amnos* worshipped by two saints. Fine liturgical veils from Russian collections in Moscow, Leningrad and Zagorsk museums with medallions of Basil among them are described by N. Maiassova, *Drevnerusskoe shitye* (Moscow 1971). One must not ignore the vestments from the Stavronikita monastery in the book of Ch. Patrinelis, et al., edd. *Μονὴ Σταυρονικήτα. Ἱστορία, εἰκόνες, χρυσοκεντήματα* (Athens 1974). At San Marco in Venice, Basil is portrayed in one of the panels of the south portal door of St. Clement made in Constantinople ca. 1080; see M. Frazer, "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy," *DOP* 27 (1973) 145-163.

[45] PG 79: 577-580.

[46] G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, 13 (Florence 1767) 252.

regarded as a symbol reproducing by virtue of resemblance the person of the model allowed of little change from a recognized prototype.

The narrative cycle of the Old Testament magnificently depicted at Palermo and Monreale gradually yielded to the more liturgically conscious narratives of the New Testament emphasizing the mysteries of Christ and the Virgin. The feasts of the ecclesiastical calendar year directed man's attention to the act of redemption signified by the Eucharistic Sacrifice, commemorated at the altar and expressed pictorially by the Pantocrator of the dome above the altar, the Christ offering himself in the Mystic Supper as Victim and Redeemer, the Virgin as intercessor, the last sinner in the judgment scene. Near the altar, the place of sacrifice, it was natural to depict great priests of the Old Dispensation — Abraham, Melchisedech — and the bishops of the New — Gregory of Nazianzus, John Chrysostom, Basil and the holy Deacons Lawrence and Stephen.

Before the pictorial theme of Officiant Bishops in the lowest range of the bema at the altar level became frequent, images of the great Eastern prelates had no fixed position in churches. At Phocian Hagios Loukas, they, and Basil, occupy positions in arches. At Palermo, in the Capella Palatina, probably the most famous of all Byzantine mosaics of Basil, finds him in company with two Gregories, John Chrysostom and Nicholas in the lower register of the north wall of the north transept[47] and at Monreale the apse window is adorned with medallions set between scrolls containing busts of Basil, Lycurgus, Saturninus, Gregory and Vincent. Cefalu Cathedral Presbytery (ca. 1130) has Bishops Nicholas, Basil, John Chrysostom and Gregory Theologus below mosaics of the Warrior Saints. At both Cefalu and Palermo the bishops are pictured on foot, in formal frontal pose holding books in their left hands, the right either raised in blessing or supporting the volume. The Cefalu Basil figure is clothed in a gray tunic, brown pehlonion, omophorion, sleevelets, and enchirion. At Palermo, the end of the omophorion is tucked under the book Basil holds and an ornamented edge of the epitrachelion shows below the phelonion. Kiev's Hagia Sophia (ca. 1037) shows in the lowest, fifth, row of the apse one of the earliest examples of Church Fathers portrayed in the apse position now commonly associated with them. Basil occupies the second place on the right beside the Deacon Lawrence who holds with his left hand a pyx resting on a cloth. Basil wears a dark phelonion; his other vestments are as at Cefalu and Palermo. Even without the inscriptions accompanying the mosaics, there is no doubt of Basil's identity. The

[47] O. Demus, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily* (London 1949) p. 43.

iconographic type for the major Greek Fathers by this century was fixed not only for the Byzantine world but for those areas under its influence.

Lydie Hadermann-Misguich[48] discusses at length the chronological development of a new thematic type of apse decoration which beginning in the eleventh century is demonstrated in churches such as Kurbinovo, St. George, Perachorio in Cyprus and far away at Spas Nereditsa in Russia. In this new liturgical era, the Church Fathers are no longer exclusively authority figures of orthodox doctrine; they are portrayed as taking an active part in the Liturgy and its symbolism depicted on the walls of churches.[49] Veljusa in Yugoslavian Macedonia is one of the transition churches (ca. 1080). Frescoed images in the apse present Basil and John Chrysostom in standing position but inclined toward the empty throne of the Hetoimasia; in place of books they hold rolls inscribed with the words of the liturgy. Beside them Gregory of Nazianzus and Athanasius are depicted in full frontal attitude.

At Nerezi, St. Panteleimon Church (1164) shows eight prelates inclined toward the apse center toward the throne of the *Hetoimasia*, the Dove of the Spirit, the closed gospels and the Passion symbols. Two deacon angels with ceremonial fans flank the throne. Within the short space of less than a century the transition from full frontal to inclined pose was completed. The object worshipped might be the final judgment throne or the Virgin Intercessor between man and the final judge. In the Enkleistra Church of St. Neophytus at Paphos the officiant bishops turn toward a Virgin *Orans*, symbol of the Incarnation[50] and Redemption. The same theme is existant at Eski Gümüş[51] in Cappadocia but for an earlier date, most probably eleventh century, for the apse fathers — ten in number — are posed in strict frontal view. Moreover, while Basil is easily identified by type, the gathering of Fathers here is an unusual one representing more a local than a universal cult. The identified fathers are: George, Blaise, Amphilochius,

[48] L. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo, Les fresques de saint Georges et la peinture byzantine du xiie siècle*, 1 (Brussels 1975) 67-90.

[49] G. Babić, "Les discussions christologiques et le décor des églises byzantines au xiiie siècle. Les évêques officiant devant l'Hetimasie et devant l'Amnos," *FMSt* 2 (1968) 368-386.

[50] See C. Mango and E. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966) 119-206, pl. 60, 69, 70, 107. In the tomb chamber of the monastery a small niche shows a seated Virgin supporting the Child with her left hand. A bishop to her left, John Chrysostom, faces away from her to a representation of the crucifixion. St. Basil painted at her right faces an Anastasis scene.

[51] M. Gough, "The Monastery of Eski Gümüş. A Preliminary Report," *AnSt* 14 (1964) 147-164.

Gregory of Nazianzus, Basil, Athenogenes, Jason Epiphanius and Nicholas. Basil is at the left of the Virgin. His counterpart on the right side is totally destroyed. One would expect it to be John Chrysostom from its position and the customary schema.

Towards the beginning of the thirteenth century, a painted altar appears between the two files of bishops, Liturgical vessels appear painted on the altar table. At Castoria, Saints Anagyres Church (12-13th cent.), the fathers bend toward the altar, showing liturgical vessels, in their hands they have scrolls.[52] A further developed mystical iconographic formula for the officiant bishops is that in which, displaying scrolls inscribed with the silent sacerdotal prayers of the Eucharistic celebrant, they turn[53] toward the altar (painted) on which reposes the *Amnos*, the Lamb of God in the guise of Christ-Infant. Kurbinovo, St. George Church[54] is among the first dated churches to display this mystical theme. Eight bishops, Basil and John Chrysostom the first on either side of the altar, adore the Christ-Infant clothed in a single cloth lying on the altar table. A similar disposition is found at the Church of the Virgin, Radoslav Narthex in Studenica (ca. 1235) where Basil and John Chrysostom with rolled scrolls in their left hand extend their right hands in benediction over an *Amnos* figure on the altar. A vessel with bread before Basil, one of wine before John Chrysostom adds to the symbolism of the scene.[55] In its most extravagant form, the Adoration of the *Amnos* extended to an actual piercing of the Infant with a liturgical lance. The scene designated Melismos occurs at Ljuboten (fourteenth century) and at Castoria, Saint John the Theologian Church (1552).[56]

The Church Father theme is continued in almost every decorated Eastern rite church from the age of iconoclasm to the present time.[57]

[52] S. Pelekanidis, *Καστορία*, 1: *Βυζαντιναὶ τοιχογραφίαι* (Thessalonike 1953); Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 2: 24, 25, 28.

[53] The figures are actually never turned more than a quarter way and faces are only slightly less than full frontal.

[54] Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*, 1: 69.

[55] M. Maletić, *Studenica* (Beograd 1968) pl. 81, 84.

[56] Pelekanidis, *Καστορία*, pl. 204a.

[57] For someone wanting to examine reproductions of earlier paintings the following books may be of use. For Bačkovo, Monastery church, V. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin 1967); for Istanbul, Khora monastery, K. Papaioannou, *La peinture byzantine et russe* (Lausanne 1965); for Istanbul, Kariye, P. Underwood, "The Frescoes in the Kariye Camii," *DOP* 11 (1957) 211-215, pl. 45, 48, and idem, *The Kariye Djami* (New York 1966), v. 1-4; for Ayion Oros, Khilandari Katholikon, Lavra Katholikon and St. Nicholas church, G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos*, 1: *Les peintures* (Paris 1927) pl. 62.4,

By the fifteenth century it had already long been customary to have an iconostasis, a screen, frequently bearing icons separating the people from the place of sacrifice. When the celebrants entered the sanctuary after the preliminary didactic parts of the liturgy, they did so by way of the Royal, center doorway of the screen. An image of the Virgin as Mother of God was often placed on these doors, recalling the mystery of the Annunciation in salvation history. Accompanying the Annunciation scene might be images of the four evangelists, announcers of the Mystery of Salvation, or Basil and John Chrysostom, chief formulators of the liturgy and representatives of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. The two fathers are customarily shown partially inclined toward each other out of reverence for the mystery of the altar behind the doors and the Angelic Visitation pictured above them.[58]

Perhaps as early as the fifth century the icon in the sense of image, any image, even in the later Russian *ikona* sense of a religious picture of a portable kind, became popular. Certainly the early fathers of Cappadocia approved Christian art as a didactic aid. Religious, political and economic climates of the ninth and following centuries after the period of iconoclasm favored the development of art and although a wider distribution of wealth often curtailed the building of fabulous structures it allowed for the fabrication of privately owned pieces of value. Smaller, poorer churches and monasteries as well as individuals could secure these lesser art forms, and, as Festal occasions in the ecclesiastical calendar occured, selected images could be honored by public display in prominent positions. In this form of icon, although the themes are not restricted to the portable, Basil appears for the occasion celebration. Two types may be considered: the Circumcision of Christ, and the Three Hierarchs.[59]

257.2, 118.2; for the church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, see A. H. S. Megraw and E. J. W. Hawkins, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Perachorio, Cyprus, and Its Frescoes," *DOP* 16 (1962) 279-348, pl. 2, 26, 27; for Trebizond, Cave chapels of St. Savas (ca. 1411), G. Millet and D. T. Rice, *Byzantine Painting at Trebizond* (London 1936) pl. xxiv, xxxii, xxxix; for Vatra Moldavita, see P. Henry, *Les églises de la Moldavie du Nord* (Paris 1930) pl. 21; finally, for Volotova, church of the Dormition in the Field and Staraya Ladoga, and St. George church, see V. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics from the 11th to the 16th Century* (London 1966).

[58] See M. Alpatov, *Kraski drevnerusskoĭ ikonopisi* (Moscow 1974) pl. 92; M. Alpatov and O. Dacenko, *Art Treasures of Russia* (New York 1968) and H. P. Gerhard, *The World of Icons* (London 1970) p. 139 for fifteenth-century Russian examples of Royal Doors.

[59] Although the feast icons include the portrait type such as the Mount Sinai, St. Catherine monastery one, I will not include a discussion of them because of their great number. Where available a portrait icon of Basil would have been displayed on his 1 January feast day.

Whereas the Western Church honors Basil on June 14, the Eastern Church celebrates his death day, i.e., his nativity into heaven on January 1 which traditionally is a major feast day commemorating Christ's circumcision and first presentation to the Jewish community. Festal icons for this day, particularly in recent centuries, will often have a representation of Basil included. An elaborate icon in Olympiotissa Monastery (nineteenth century)[60] near Elassona, Greece, shows a group gathered around a table altar on which the Child lies, at the left stands the high priest Simeon and at the right Joseph and Mary. Curtains form a background over the altar and a pillar divides the scene marking a separation from church interior to exterior. On the right of the pillar, Basil is shown full length before a church. He is dressed in a gold sakkos, carries the customary gospels and blesses with his right hand. At Venice, a St. George of the Greeks icon portrays a mitred priest Simeon surrounded by other ministers. The Child is presented on the altar by his parents Joseph and Mary. Basil is shown at the bottom of the icon, half-figured in an inset.[61]

January 30th offers another feast day celebrating the Three Hierarchs or Oecumenical Doctors, Basil in company with Gregory of Nazianzus and John Chrysostom. Metropolitan Johannes Mauropus is considered the founder of this feast. Tradition records[62] that in the reign of Emperor Alexius Commenus about the year 1100, a great dissension arose in Constantinople among learned men regarding which one was the greatest of the three doctors. Eventually the quarrelers came before Johannes whom the three saints advised in a vision that they were equally great before God and that one feast should be established for them to indicate their oneness. Johannes established the feast and an icon was made for the occasion portraying an ascetic John, an austere Basil and a mild Gregory. So true to their type images is this representation of the Three Hierarchs that they are recognizable and symbolic of all the great fathers, doctors, and bishops of the church whenever they need to be portrayed. This is evident in a Russian theme called the Virgin's Protection or the Intercession of the Virgin. The center of interest in these icons is the Virgin as intermediary between man and God. A typical one is that in Moscow's Tretyakov Gallery[63] where the Virgin is pictured standing on a

[60] See E. Skouvaras, Ὀλυμπιώτισσα (Athens 1967) pl. 5.

[61] See M. Chatzidakis, *Icônes grecques à Venise: Icônes de saint Georges des Grecs et de la collection de l'Institut* (Venice 1962).

[62] PG 29: cccxc-ccccxciii, and *Menaion* 30 January.

[63] E. Trubetskoï, *Icons: Theology in Color* (Evanston 1973).

cloud above the Royal doors in an architectural section of a five domed church. Over her head two angels hold a veil which covers and shelters all those within the church below. At the lower level of the galleried church outside the Royal doors are gathered holy people and in the first gallery above, right, are two angels worshipping the Virgin. In the left gallery the Three Hierarchs representatives official of the church stand behind an altar on which are shown the vessels of the Sacrifice. They raise their hands in an act of petition as does the Virgin to the Christ portrayed in the church dome.[64]

Representations of the Three Hierarchs are also portrayed in some Last Judgment scenes which are commonly pictured on church walls or in icons after the eleventh century. In its matured form, evolving from catacomb symbolic paintings, allegorical representations[65] and simple compositions with Christ as Judge, the fully grandiose compositions of the twelfth century reflected a strong Byzantine influence even in some Western churches.[66] Patristic literature, the Apocalypse, eschatological writing, lives of the saints added detailed materials to the theme of Christ Judge. The artist's model included the Advent of the Christ-Judge; erection of the Throne of Judgment; the accounting of bishops, kings, queens, dignitaries, religious, and laity; on one side the bliss of heaven, on the other side the torments of sinners in hell.

In these compositions the Three Hierarchs often precede the great fathers and doctors and may replace them altogether. A not well known but marvelous fragmentary icon is that from the church in Krajná Bystra.[67] At the top a chorus of elect approach the Hetoimasia on which the Dove or Holy Spirit reposes. Adam and Eve, Mother and Father of mankind, kneel beside the throne. Near Eve stands Moses slightly removed from the figures of unbelievers behind him. After Adam are the Hierarchs led by the great Three, the prophets, martyrs, and Paul the

[64] Similar icons are described from Novgorod and Leningrad collections in E. Smirnova, *Zhivopis Velikogo Novgoroda* (Moscow 1976) and idem, *Zhivopis drevneĭ Rusi* (Leningrad 1970).

[65] At Ravenna, Galla Placidia mosaics show a resurrected Christ with lambs and rams about him. A century later the sixth-century San Apollinare Nuovo represents Christ as judge.

[66] In western art the judgment scene was more commonly portrayed by sculpture especially on the tympana of great cathedrals. A notable exception to this practice is found in Apocalyptic MSS such as the Beatus of St. Sever, Paris BN lat. 8878, and the Gerona Beatus at Gerona Ct. 7.

[67] Now preserved at Svidník, Museum of Ukrainian Culture 1141/60, 16th century; see H. Skrobucha, *Icons in Checoslovakia* (London 1971) pl. 15.

Apostle. Below in a second tier are monks, nuns, female martyrs; below them, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob caressing in their laps the souls of the just, sit in a walled Paradise. Beneath the throne, God's hand with righteous souls in His palm holds a scale for weighing out good and evil. A fiery river within which can be found the damned souls issues out of the base of the throne.

B. Popular Basil

In the eschatological order, Final Judgment sets a public and permanent seal of approbation or condemnation on a man's life. In that spirit we turn to the second major category of Basil images: the Popular Basil, that is, the peoples' Basil, the one delineated for us in Gregory of Nazianzus' funeral homily and the one described in the marvelous life. This latter, drawing heavily on miraculous, even superstitious events probably originated in fifth-century Cappadocia and was encouraged by monastic and devout Christian groups in the East and West. At one time portions of the life were attributed to Helladius, who followed Basil in the see of Caesarea; later other portions were attributed to Amphilochius, a younger contemporary friend and bishop of Iconium. Modern hagiographers insist that neither man was responsible for this composite life[68] which in Latin translations was made available to the Western world before the ninth century. Gregory's homiletic life is most frequently illuminated in the manuscripts by a burial scene. Several famous and early manuscripts of the homilies have more extensive biographical cycles. The best of these manuscripts include Paris, BN gr. 510 from ninth-century Constantinople written between the years 880-886 for Basil I the Macedonian which has forty-one full page miniatures of which one full page and several scenes on others are devoted to Basil. Another — the second Paris manuscript — also from Constantinople but of the twelfth century is Paris, BN Coislin 239. At Mount Athos Panteleimon Monastery is a twelfth-century manuscript (no. 6) with excellent miniatures, and at Milan's Ambrosian Library is the eleventh-century manuscript E 49-50 inf. Also at Paris, BN gr. 923 — the third Paris manuscript — containing John Damascene's *Sacra Parallela* written in ninth-century southern Italy has one miniature.

Gregory relates that Basil's parents during the persecution of Maximinus took refuge in the mountains of Pontus.[69] There, despite

[68] See Combefis, *SS. Patrum*, pp. 155-177.
[69] Gregory of Nazianzus, *Or.* 43.5-8.

hardhips, they fared well on wild game which abounded in the surrounding forests. The initial scene in the first Paris manuscript[70] with a full page tiered illumination shows Basil with his parents Emmelia and Basil of Neocaesarea in a mountain cave. Nearby are hinds. Another variation of this scene found in the Milanese manuscript shows only his parents nourished by wild birds[71] in their exile.[72] The family returned home in a more peaceful time and Basil having been instructed at home by his father was then sent off to school at Antioch and Athens. One of his schoolmates in Athens was Gregory of Nazianzus who says that although he knew him before, they became fast friends at Athens. The first Paris manuscript shows, against an architectural background decorated with statues, the two youths, labeled, and their teacher.[73] Gregory notes that several of Basil's sisters became consecrated virgins, an event commemorated by the Milanese manuscript illuminator showing Basil's parents standing before two clipea portraits of Virgins.[74]

Basil on his return from Athens was ordained priest and advanced to the episcopate. In both these offices he wrote explaining and confirming orthodox doctrine, particularly against the Arian heresy from whose advocates he was to suffer greatly.[75] The first Paris manuscript depicts this scene.[76] Basil is shown dressed as a bishop seated on a cushioned bench before a writing desk. An ink pot is set at his feet. Unfortunately, Basil's defense of orthodoxy did not rest well with the prefect during the Arian Emperor Valens' reign and the bishop was summoned for questioning. This same manuscript has two scenes showing Basil brought by a servant before the prefect. The prefect, unconverted but impressed, related the results of his interview with Basil to the emperor. An illuminator in the second Paris manuscript pictures the emperor where he stands outside his palace door waiting to greet the prefect.[77] In his turn the emperor was impressed and, Gregory continues,[78] went so far as to approach Basil at

[70] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104. See BN, *Byzance et la France médiévale* (Paris 1958) pp. 5-7, pl. iv-vi.

[71] Milan BA E 49/50 inf., p. 220; see A. Martini and D. Bassi, *Catalogus codicum graecorum Bibliothecae Ambrosianae*, 2 (Milan 1906) 1084-1086.

[72] A third variation shows only a marginal display of hinds at this paragraph, see Ayion Oros MHP 6, f. 105, Pelekanidis, *The Treasures*, 2: 352-358, pl. 306-308.

[73] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104; *Or.* 43.13-24.

[74] Milan BA E 49/50 inf., p. 221; *Or.* 43.9.

[75] *Or.* 43.25-37.

[76] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104.

[77] Paris BN Coislin 239, f. 101ᵛ.

[78] *Or.* 43.52.

the feast of the Epiphany. With his retinue he entered the church and even approached the altar to offer gifts. Such a meeting of Basil and the emperor is found in the second tier of the illumination in the first Paris manuscript[79] where Basil assisted by a deacon holding a censer stands at the entrance of a church (that is, by convention, within the church), and the emperor attended by one servitor approaches him. However, the reconciliation did not endure and exile was decreed for Basil at the insistence of his enemies.[80] In the Athos manuscript a scene does show Basil crowded into a small boat with five oarsmen being rowed into exile.[81]

But this time exile was deterred for, as Gregory tells us,[82] the emperor's hand was stayed by his son's fever. The father distraught by the sickness of his son sought the child's health through Basil's faith. Basil presented himself at the sickbed and the child grew better, but because, as Gregory also says, the emperor mixed salt water with fresh by petitioning Arian prayers with orthodox succor the child died. In the Athos manuscript just below the voyage into exile we find Basil pictured beside the child's bed while his father watches anxiously from a window at the head of the bed. The first Paris manuscript[83] has a curious juxtaposition of events pictured. Immediately after the Epiphany scene we find the child lying on a bed and at the right his father, not in an attitude of concern, but busily writing a scroll on his lap. His pen is broken. At his left a servant strips Basil of his mantle. Gregory tells us only that the hand of the emperor was stayed in the order of exile by the child's illness. The sequence is abrupt although correct: the sick child, the stopping of the exile despite an attempt being made. The broken pen must have an explanation outside Gregory's homily.[84] Later, Gregory says, the prefect himself became ill and Basil was summoned to pray for his recovery. This scene is depicted in the customary sick bed manner in the Athos manuscript.[85]

[79] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104; see K. Weitzmann, "Illustration for the Chronicles of Sozomenos, Theodoret and Malalas," *Byzantion* 16 (1942/1943) 87-134.

[80] *Or.* 43.53.

[81] Ayion Oros MHP 6, f. 138.

[82] *Or.* 43.54.

[83] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104.

[84] Weitzmann, "Illustration," pp. 121-122 believes that this episode of the broken pen derives from a miniature from an earlier historical work and identifies it closely with Theodoretus, *Hist. eccl.* 4.17, PG 82: 1159-1163, where the emperor's pen breaks three times before the signing is complete. In Latin works the account of the pen is found in Cassiodorus, *Hist. trip.* 7.36, PL 69: 1095-1097, and in both the Pseudo-Amphilochian Greek and Latin texts, chapter 10.

[85] Ayion Oros MHP 6, f. 138^{v}.

Basil was well known for his personal virtue and for his willingness to assist those in need. A widow being compelled to marry against her wishes sought refuge in Basil's church. This event was well appreciated by spiritual writers and was excerpted by St. John Damascene for inclusion in the *Sacra Parallela*. This third Paris manuscript pictures the scene thus: Basil standing before a church addresses her and his accusers, while the woman gazes from an upper window with great anxiety on the scene below.[86]

The second attempt at exile in the Gregorian account follows this episode of the widow.[87] Basil is again brought before the prefect and in this questioning the exasperated official demands that Basil's mantle be torn from him. Basil offered his tunic also. The second Paris manuscript shows Basil, the emperor and the attendant grasping the mantle.[88] The first Paris manuscript[89] depicts the emperor seated and writing the decree of exile while an attendant attempts to remove the mantle. However, official behavior against Basil outrages the populace and they take up sticks, torches, stones and the women their brooch pins against him.[90]

The final earthly episode in Basil's life, the burial scene is most frequently portrayed with the variations as discussed above.

One event attributed to the life of Basil and depicted in the first Paris manuscript but not described in Gregory's homily refers to the death of the Emperor Julian.[91] In the upper register of three, the Emperor Julian the Apostate sets off with his army to attack the city of Ctesiphon. In the middle register, Basil, another Bishop (Gregory?) and the populace are shown in prayer before a church. In the lower register the fleeing emperor is unhorsed and slain by Mercurius. There is considerable discussion[92] on

[86] Paris BN gr. 923, f. 300; see BN, *Byzance*, pp. 34-37, pl. xxi. There is an abbreviated scene in an initial letter in Turin BN C.I.6, f. 89^{v} and a full scene in Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104. Here Basil stands behind an altar in a church, the woman outside kneels at his feet and her aggressor grasps her cloak with one hand.

[87] *Or*. 43.57.

[88] Paris BN Coislin 239, f. 104^{v}.

[89] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 104.

[90] Ayion Oros MHP 6, f. 140^{v} shows the prefect seated before a building being attacked by two groups of people. In Paris BN Coislin 239, f. 105 there is only one group of angry citizens.

[91] Paris BN gr. 510, f. 409^{v}.

[92] The miniature precedes Gregory's second *Invectiva contra Iulianum*, although it has no historical relation with the text. Weitzmann, "Illustration," p. 114 believes this is a migrated miniature from one of the historical chronicles, most likely Johannes Malalas, *Chronographia*, PG 97: 65-717, c. 13. It may also have been developed for the Pseudo-Amphilochian life which in chapter nine describes how Basil saw in a dream the Virgin

this event which may reasonably have developed from the Pseudo-Amphilochian life (chapter nine) describing how Basil saw in a dream the Virgin summon St. Mercurius against the Emperor Julian on his campaign. Basil awakening took Eubulus with him into the city to the martyr Mercurius' shrine and found the saint's arms gone. Then summoning the people, he told them of his dream and exhorted them to give thanks for their newly found freedom.

For the Pseudo-Amphilochian life, although there are hundreds of manuscripts with the Greek text and in the translations attributed to Ursus, Euphemius, and Anastasius, no recorded pictorial cycles for these exist. And while the so called *vita* icons showing a figure of a saint surrounded by biographical miniatures of his life are common for many saints, of Basil *vita* icons I know about four only. To manuscript and icon representations based on the Pseudo-Amphilochian life may be added frescoed scenes from five churches.

Two of the churches are in Cappadocia, Basil's homeland, near Goremé.[93] After an early twentieth-century expedition, de Jerphanion described his findings at Tokali Kilise II in great detail. Although only traces remained of the pictures on the exterior wall, the lettering still intact indicated five scenes were present representing the quarrel between the Arians and the Orthodox Christians over the church at Nicea, the meeting between Basil and Ephraem the Syrian, and the episode of the Woman Sinner. In a 1978 article, Walter[94] published for the first time the description of three scenes from nearby Balkan Dere 4 which were wholly or partially intact at the time of de Jerphanion's expedition. In one scene, Basil standing to the left baptizes a man standing naked in a font. The man is attended by one person, perhaps the acolyte who would carry his garments. In Pseudo-Amphilochian Basil baptizes two Jews, one[95] who wished to become a Christian with his entire family after he secretly attended the liturgical sacrifice and saw the bread and wine changed into

summon St. Mercurius from the heavenly throng to defend her Son from the Emperor. Basil awakening took Eubulus with him into the city to the martyr's shrine and found the arms placed there gone. Then summoning the populace, he told them of his dream and exhorted them to give thanks for their deliverance.

[93] G. de Jerphanion, *Les églises rupestres de Cappadoce*, 1.1 (Paris 1925-1934) 262-265. In ibid., 2: 358-365 he discusses Tokali Kilise 2. All my later information on Balkan Dere 4 (de Jerphanion vol. 3) is from Walter, "Biographical Scenes." See also G. de Jerphanion, "Histoires de saint Basile dans les peintures cappadociennes et dans les peintures romaines du Moyen Âge," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 535-538.

[94] Walter, "Biographical Scenes," pp. 245-247.

[95] Ps.-Amphilochius, *Vita* 7, pp. 177-178.

real body and real blood, the other the physician Joseph who while attending Basil in his last illness vowed that if Basil did not die that very night he would become a Christian.[96] Basil rising from his bed in the morning accompanied the man to church and baptized him. The second scene represents a death: Basil lying in state, figures behind the bier as well as at head an foot. The foreground is partially deteriorated and whatever figures were once there, if any, are missing. Scene three shows Basil's body being carried out for entombment. Regarding these two scenes, Walter[97] observes that for this period two death scenes are not common in the same cycle and, therefore, the second scene is conceivably that of the Woman Sinner.

Pseudo-Amphilochius[98] records that a repentant woman brought Basil a scroll listing all her sins. Basil after prayer, absolved her of all but one sin, the most grievous, which remained inscribed on the roll, and sent her off to the hermit Ephraem. While she was journeying to Ephraem, who sent her back to Basil, the saint died. Arriving home she met the funeral cortege at the city gates and in desperation threw the scroll onto the bier. A cleric motivated by curiosity picked it up, only to find the scroll blank. This probably is the scene at Balkan Dere 4 and is the one found at Santa Maria in Gradellis (Rome, ninth century) in two frescoes.[99] In the first the woman kneeling at the left kisses Basil's foot. Basil holding a book with his left hand extends his right in blessing. Attendants accompany him at the right. A small portion of the funeral procession is the only part surviving of the second scene.

In the sanctuary of Ochrid, St. Sophia Church (ca. 1056),[100] Basil is shown before an altar beneath a ciborium on which are the eucharistic vessels. He holds a scroll and is pictured at the Proskomide prayer. At the altar to the right before Basil are two deacons with ceremonial fans. Behind Basil is a group of people, heads bowed in prayer, and again behind them in the church entrance another newcomer group of people in an attitude of respectful awe. The scene recalls the revelation of Christ to Basil of the words for the liturgy, Basil's celebration of the eucharist, and

[96] *Vita* 17, pp. 220-225.

[97] Walter, "Biographical Scenes," p. 247.

[98] *Vita* 16, pp. 215-220.

[99] J. Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome* (Brussels 1959) pp. 35-40, pl. xi, xii.

[100] R. Hamann-MacLean, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen 1963) pl. 24, 25; D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (London 1971) pl. 12.

his reservation of a portion of the sacred species against the time of his death.[101]

Basil's visit to the holy priest Anastasius is found painted on the Diaconicon wall of Annunciation Cathedral, Moscow (ca. 1508).[102] In the *Life*, Basil takes his clerics for a walk to the home of the priest Anastasius who knowing of the impending visit sends his wife Theognia to greet his bishop. Basil celebrates the liturgy with Anastasius and then compels him to admit that the holy couple have secretly cared for an invalid in their home for years. Basil after spending the night in prayer miraculously heals the man. In the Cathedral fresco which represents the greeting after Theognia has summoned her husband to meet his bishop, Basil is attended by deacons at the left, Theognia kneels in the right foreground at Basil's feet, her husband bowing stands beside her.

At Sanok, Poland[103] is a fifteenth-century Ukrainian *Vita* icon of Basil, showing the saint in the center and four miniature scenes at each side. The icon is damaged at the bottom and the saints' feet and the lower portion of two scenes is missing. The saint portrait shows Basil in tunic, polystaurion cut short in front to the waist (or at least gathered up) to allow the arms to extend free in an *orans* gesture, omophorion, sleevelets, epitrachelion and an epigonation swinging freely at the belt. The scenes shown are standard *vita* events for almost any bishop saint except the last two scenes which refer definitely to events recorded in Pseudo-Amphilochius. Scene one, left top, is a nativity, the mother reclining on a couch, the child being washed by a single attendant. At the top right, Basil wearing a white phelonion and omophorion is ordained bishop by a fellow bishop clad in a polystaurion. Below the nativity is Basil's baptism in a river before a rocky cliff. In the *Life*, Basil is baptized in the river Jordan. Here the figure of the candidate for baptism stands naked without any attendant and is represented smaller in size than the other figures. Unless the artist supposed Basil to be baptized as a youth, the size must refer to the lesser status of the unbaptized.[104] Below the ordination, Basil is shown healing a sick man lying on a mattress and covered with a single cloth. A demon

[101] *Vita* 6, pp. 175-177.

[102] G. Sokolova, *Rospis' Blagoveshchenskogo sobora* (Leningrad 1971); *Vita* 12, pp. 197-202.

[103] H. Lohvyn, et al., *Ukraïnskyĭ seredn'ovichnyĭ zhyvopys* (Kiev 1976) pl. xxxiv.

[104] *Vita* 4, pp. 172-173. A sculptured treatment of this scene (although there is some question that perhaps it represents the baptism of Christ) can be found on the tympanum of the twelfth-century crypt chapel of St. Basil in the church of the Precious Blood in Brugge.

issues from the sick man's mouth. The reference may be to the healing of the emperor's son, of the prefect, or of the invalid cared for by Anastasius. It may also commemorate Basil's known concern for the poor and infirm. Below the baptism a death scene with, at the foot of the bier, a single nimbed figure wearing a white tunic and a red deacon's stole. At the head a single nimbed bishop figure holds a scroll. Gregory of Nazianzus or Gregory of Nyssa? The type portrait for this bishop is unclear; and who is the saintly deacon? Facing this miniature is one in which two tunic clad attendants carry a coffin out for entombment. In the lower left corner is found a half figure bishop clearly recognizable as Basil. Facing him in the framed right corner a winged black devil unfurls a scroll. This could only refer to the story of the youth who exchanged his soul's salvation for the opportunity to marry a senator's daughter. The contract written out on a scroll was returned by the devil with great annoyance into Basil's hands after the youth fasted and Basil and the populace prayed.[105] The matching scene in the left corner shows Basil placed in a coffin. At his head a gray haired nimbed bishop with scroll stands watching a tunic clad figure close the coffin lid. Apparently there are on the icon two death scenes. Does Gregory of Nyssa preside at one and Gregory of Nazianzus at the other or does one of them preside at both? The last is obviously a burial scene and not an anniversary of death picture. Perhaps it is the real burial and the Woman Sinner was meant to be in the missing half miniature thus balancing the miraculous event portrayed in the frame opposite.

Walter[106] describes a biographical icon of Basil of about the twelfth century in the Eric Bradley Collection, England. There are twelve scenes, three at top and bottom with three on each side between them. Because the icon is badly damaged, Walter identifies only four scenes and two of these tentatively. They are two (center top), Basil's ordination and five (right top side), Basil's consecration as bishop. He tentatively designates eight (lower left side), a bishop figure before an altar with a second figure to the right as Basil reciting the Proskomide Prayer and ten (left bottom row), with a bishop before an altar as Basil giving thanks for Julian's death. I should like to suggest that the first miniature is a nativity scene. Both the position in the sequence is right for such a scene and the heads which are visible seem correctly placed.

[105] *Vita* 9, pp. 188-197. The story is turned into Latin verse by the German nun Hrotsuita (ca. 935-1002), PL 137: 1109-1116.

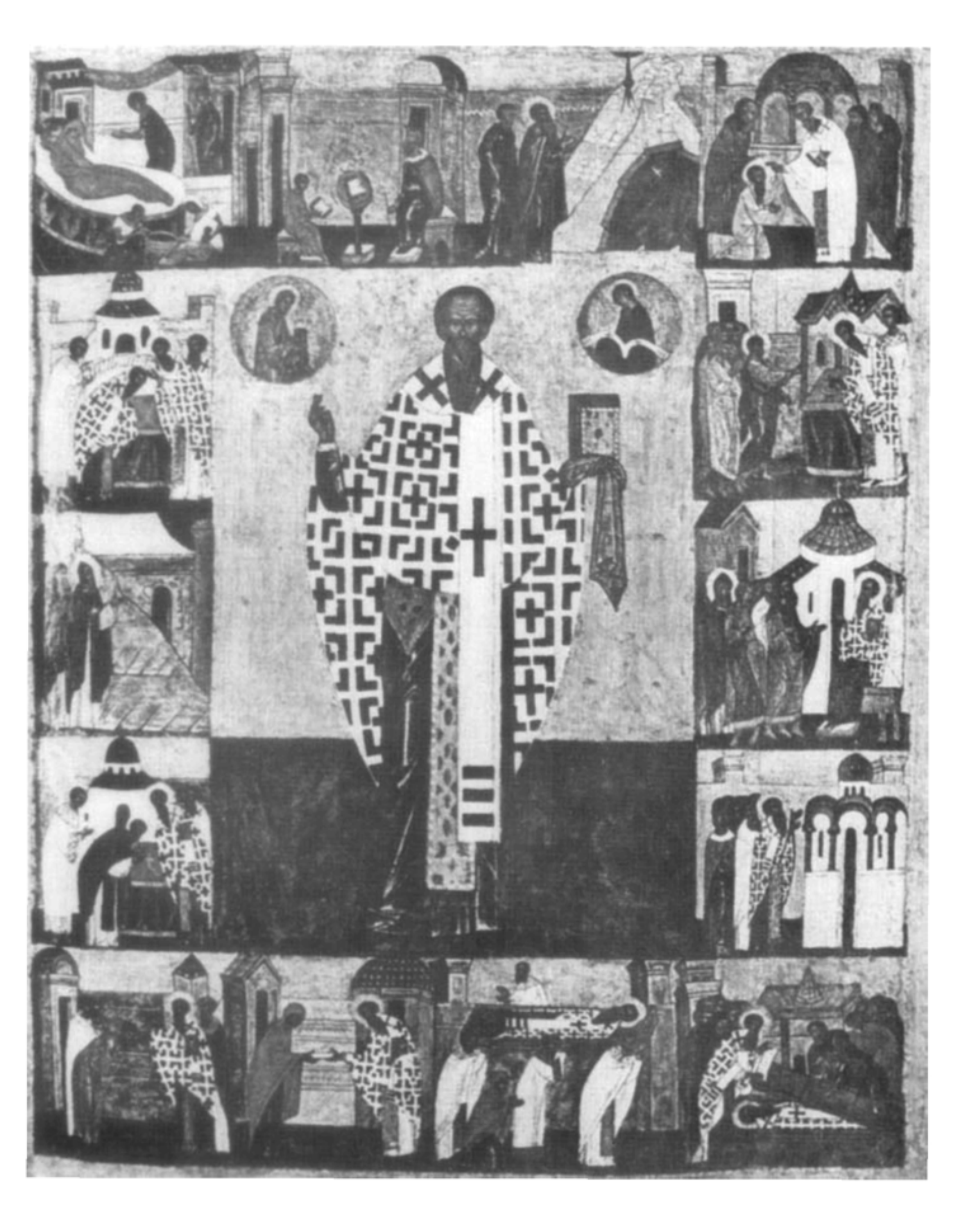
[106] Walter, "Biographical Scenes," pp. 248-250 and plate.

George C. Hann's collection in Pennsylvania has a late fifteenth-century icon which Tamara Talbot Rice is tempted to ascribe "to a Novgorodian artist working in the capital at a time when the Muscovites were being influenced by the art of the Vladimir-Suzdalian area."[107] (See plate 1.) The center full length portrait of Basil, arms raised in *orans* position shows the saint clad in polystaurion, omophorion, sleevelets, epitrachelion, and epigonation. He holds a closed gospels in his left hand and his right hand is raised in blessing. Near his head at left and right are small medallions of Christ and the Virgin. The icon miniatures are well conceived and the scenes, fourteen in number, move easily one into the other without hesitation even when on opposite sides of the center panel. There is sufficiant differentiation from the typical biographical miniatures to indicate that this sequence was chosen for Basil's life and that most probably a model existed before this icon came to be.

In the first miniature, Basil's mother wrapped in a red covering lies on a bed. She is attended by a female assistant while another waits in a separate room in the background. In the foreground two women sit beside the child's bath; the one at the right holds the infant on her lap. The next scene shows the young Basil seated, his feet on a footstool, holding an open book. Another open book on a lectern is between the youth and his teacher also seated and holding a wand in his right hand. The third scene shows two dark clad travelers (only Basil is nimbed) who stand before a mountain cave in which hovers a dove and above which is a flash of lightning;[108] a river issues from the cave mouth. According to the *Life*, Eubulus the Sophist accompanied Basil to Jerusalem and baptism. A flash of lightning occurred and a dove appeared from the heavens at the moment of Basil's baptism recalling the event of Christ's own baptism by John in the river Jordan.[109] The last scene in the top row shows Basil kneeling, clad in a tunic, being ordained. He is accompanied by Eubulus. The bishop clad in white holds a book open in his right hand and extends his left to touch Basil's brow. He has two dark clad fathers standing behind him.

In the next miniature on the left, Basil clad in a polystaurion bends in a reverent attitude before a church and monastery walls. A scroll is held over his head by a deacon on the left and a bishop, attended by another bishop, on the right. The miniature commemorates Basil's consecration as

[107] T. T. Rice, *Russian Icons* (London 1963) p. 35, pl. xxviii.
[108] *Vita* 4, p. 172.
[109] *Vita* 4, p. 173.



bishop.[110] The next right miniature portrays Christ accompanied by his apostles instructing Basil in the words of the liturgy. Basil with one deacon stands bowed over an altar on which a eucharistic plate lies.

The two scenes shown next, one on each side of the central panel, refer to the story of Ephraem the Desert Father. Ephraem is shown in his traditional dark attire and headcovering; near him are two other desert hermits. In the background there is a mountain and a monastery wall. To the right is a fiery colored pillar[111] for the holy hermit in a vision saw Basil as a fiery pillar reaching up to the heavens. Inspired by the vision to visit Basil, Ephraem set out for Basil's church where he watched the saint from a distance. Basil sent for him to come, and their meeting is recorded in the next picture. Basil seated before a church has one deacon beside him. He extends his right hand in greeting toward Ephraem who approaches from a position behind his followers.

Back on the left side, the scene is again before a church at an altar. Basil and the holy priest Anastasius, each accompanied by a deacon greet each other over the altar table. Basil's contention with the Arians concerning the church in Nicaea is the subject of the next, right-hand, miniature. Basil accompanied by another bishop, clerics, and laity stands before a church, arms raised in prayer. The scene represents the debate in which Basil intervened to secure a church Valens had taken from the orthodox and given to the Arians. By the agreement, the church doors were locked and the Arians were to be allowed three nights and days of prayer to get them opened. Should they be successful the church was theirs. Should they not, then the orthodox Christians had one day and night to attempt the same feat.[112]

In the first episode of the bottom row of pictures, a deacon pours oil over the head of a young man in an attitude of reverence. Basil with one companion dressed in dark attire extends his hand to touch the young man's head. The scene is perhaps an ordination; it may be a baptism. And possibly it is a greatly simplified version of the youth who bartered his soul because the next scenes are of the Woman Sinner. A respectful but upright woman hands Basil the scroll containing the list of her sins. In the following miniature she is shown kneeling as Basil's bier is carried out by two bishop figures and a deacon while a third bishop figure is behind the bier, his hands extended before him. The final scene which in its simplest

[110] *Vita* 4, 5, pp. 173-175.
[111] *Vita* 13, pp. 202-206.
[112] *Vita* 14, pp. 206-211.

form resembles the Sanok icon shows a tunic clad figure placing the cover on Basil's coffin. There are people gathered both at head and foot of the coffin, one of whom, a dark bearded bishop at the head, reads from a scroll. This dark bearded bishop is closer to the iconographic type of Gregory of Nyssa who was present for his brother's death, but it may be the other Gregory who hastened to come at his friend's death according to the *Life*.[113]

Semyon Spiridonov in 1674 painted the fourth *vita* icon that I know about.[114] In this elaborate, highly detailed icon it is interesting to note that figures of the nativity scene are in approximately the same position as in the Pennsylvania icon. The mother lying on a bed is served by one woman, two female servants wash the child in the foreground. The second background figure in the separate room is no longer of a woman but that of a seated man, surely the child's father. In the second scene more details are added than other of the education episodes show. The child Basil is introduced by his parents to an elderly school master seated at the left. In the center before a series of buildings is a table on which are books and at which two other youths study. The third scene shows Basil, dressed in episcopal robes seated on a bolster pillow before a desk, writing. These are the only episodes of Spiridonov's icon I have seen, nor do I know which others are represented.

Latin translations of the Pseudo-Amphilochian life may also have a picture cycle. This seems to be limited to one image appearing at the beginning or end of the manuscript texts. For example, the Stuttgart Passionale[115] contains the translation according to Euphemius[116] and has a marvelous representation of a sectional church with a youthful, beardless Basil vested, wearing a round mitre, holding a crozier in his right hand and grasping with his left the wrist of a young man standing in the vestibule of the church. A hairy devil, naked, with slightly webbed feet and a short tail seizes the youth's left shoulder. The devil's right hand grasps his own beard and his donkey head opens its mouth wide in frustration.

Jacobus de Voragine in the thirteenth century wrote lives of the saints for admiration and emulation. His *Legenda aurea* drawn from many

[113] *Vita* 17, p. 225.

[114] S. I. Maslenitsyn, *Yaroslavskaya ikonopis'* (Moscow 1973). No. i.648 in the Jaroslavian Art Museum. Three scenes only are shown in reproduction.

[115] Stuttgart WLB 57 (56, 58), f. 183; see A. Boeckler, *Der Stuttgarter Passionale* (Augsburg 1923) pl. 11.

[116] BHL 1023 printed in Surius, *Vitae Patrum*, 1 (Paris 1570) 4-19.

sources has selected episodes from the Pseudo-Amphilochian life for the account of Basil. He chose the tales of Ephraem, the contest with the Arians, Valen's attempt to send Basil into exile and the broken pens (from Cassiodorus *Historia Tripartita*), the young man and the devil, the Woman Sinner, and Joseph the Physician. A *Legenda aurea* manuscript in California of English origin has[117] (f. 25) a single miniature showing Basil baptizing the Jew Joseph in a font. Joseph wears the traditional cap associated with representations of Jews in the Middle Ages. The beardless and tonsured Basil pours water over Joseph's head. A second bishop figure lies, arms crossed, on the ground at the left of the font. Perhaps this recumbant figure represents the almost lifeless Basil who recovered for the time required for the baptism.

Of all the existing images of Basil the Official and Basil the Popular only a surface reporting has been made here. Omissions are numerous. Among them must be noted the frescoed Basil in eighth-century Santa Maria Antiqua in Rome;[118] the bas-relief sculpture at Jurjev;[119] the Prado Basil, School of El Greco; the Louvre's Basil of Francisco de Herrera and the Harbaville Ivory;[120] Ivan Monidze's Shemokmedi portrait;[121] Greco-Italian frescoes in southern Italy;[122] and icons in many churches and museum collections.[123]

It is my hope that this listing may be of inspiration for someone to continue the search, document the findings and ensure that the spirit of Basil of Caesarea remain a compelling and inspiring power for as Basil himself said regarding the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste and the use of images: "Orators and painters often express the brave deeds accomplished in war, the former by word, the latter by painting and both excite not a few. For what is presented to the ears by a story is placed before the eyes by a picture in silence. Thus we recall the virtues of men and having seen their deeds, the more generous will emulate them."[124]

[117] San Marino HL HM-3027.

[118] W. de Grüneisen, *Sainte Marie Antique* (Rome 1911) pl. ic-xxi-A, ic-xxxi.

[119] J. Maksimović, "La sculpture byzantine du XIIIe siècle," in *L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani 1965* (Beograd 1967) pp. 23-34, fig. 10.

[120] D. T. Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London 1959).

[121] Amiranashvili, *Georgian Metalwork*, pl. 48.

[122] A. Medea, *Gli affreschi delle cripte eremitiche pugliesi* (Rome 1939); C. D. Fonseca, *Civiltà rupestre in terra jonica* (Milan 1970).

[123] *Ikonen 13 bis 19 Jahrhundert* (Munich 1970); *Les icônes dans les collections suisses* (Stein am Rhein 1968); *Icônes Melkites. Exposition organisée par Le Musée Nicolas Sursock du 16 mai au 15 juin 1969* (Beirut 1969).

[124] *HMart.* [19] 2, PG 31: 510.

17

P. Antin. 111

Un testimone ignorato delle *Erotapokriseis brevius tractatae* di Basilio

Sever J. Voicu
Rome

Barns e Zilliacus,[1] nel pubblicare il papiro Antinoopoli 111, lo attribuiscono, con formula dubitativa, a Crisostomo. La loro ipotesi, ripresa dal prezioso repertorio di van Haelst,[2] mi ha incuriosito, poiché mi è parso singolare che si potesse ragionevolmente assegnare un frammento adespoto all'arcivescovo di Costantinopoli senza però riuscire ad identificarlo, e senza nemmeno segnalare dei paralleli convincenti tratti dalle sue opere.

In realtà, l'unico argomento avanzato in merito dagli editori è la presenza di una citazione neotestamentaria (Mt 12.47-48p; cf. frammento 1 [a] ii) la cui esegesi crisostomiana sarebbe caratteristica. Ma il contesto della citazione non si ritrova né fra le opere autentiche, né fra quelle spurie, e nemmeno in un brano pseudo-crisostomico che gli editori non potevano ancora conoscere.[3]

Un tentativo di identificare il papiro al difuori del corpus crisostomico è stato coronato da successo: non è stato difficile rintracciare alcune delle numerose citazioni bibliche del papiro nelle *Erotapokriseis brevius tractatae* di Basilio.

[1] J. W. B. Barns e H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoopolis Papyri*, Part 3 (London 1967) 1-7.

[2] J. van Haelst, *Catalogue des papyrus littéraires juifs et chrétiens* (Paris 1976) p. 632, no. 633.

[3] S. J. Voicu, "Il florilegio crisostomico del Vat. gr. 790," in *Studia codicologica*, ed. K. Treu (Berlin 1977) p. 496 § B.

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 565-570.

Ma l'aspetto più interessante di questo testimone del s. VI-VII è che non rappresenta la "Volgata" (V), trasmessa dalla maggior parte dei codici greci, bensì l'ordine della cosiddetta collezione X,[4] quasi del tutto scomparsa in greco e tramandata soprattutto da alcune antiche versioni. La successione stessa dei frammenti basta per rendere sicuro questo fatto, anche se non ho trovato tracce di un qualsiasi sistema di numerazione delle regole, che sono indicate semplicemente da una coronis, posta entro le linee di scrittura accanto al testo della domanda.

Dei 24 frammenti del papiro, 18 sono stati identificati e ci restituiscono parzialmente 10 fogli di un codice scritto a 30 righe piene per pagina, con una media di 23-26 lettere a riga (ma, apparentemente, con oscillazioni molto forti di quest'ultimo valore).

Due dei fogli superstiti sono isolati. Gli altri appartengono a tre diverse sequenze, di varia consistenza. Abbiamo così cinque gruppi di fogli: A (4 ff.), B (2 ff.), C (un f.), D (un f.) ed E (2 ff.). Da notare peraltro che probabilmente vi è un solo foglio completamente perso fra le serie D ed E.

Non tutte le identificazioni proposte sono certissime.[5] In altri casi il tenore del testo edito mal si concilia con quello del papiro.[6]

Nell'analizzare il contenuto di ogni frammento abbiamo tentato di delimitarne accuratamente l'inizio e la fine. Poiché la recensione X è tuttora inedita, tutti in rinvii sono stati fatti alla "Volgata," pubblicata su PG 31. Una apposita tabella permette di passare senza particolari difficoltà da un ordine all'altro.

Abbiamo altresì segnalato le varianti di rilievo rispetto al testo della PG (notevoli i due omoioteleuti a ff. A/2^r e B/1^r), e anche tutti i casi in cui questo fa presumere un errore di lettura da parte degli editori (il che, ovviamente, non suona a critica del loro operato: è ben noto quanto sia difficile districarsi tra fibre scurite di papiro, inchiostro sbiadito, sporcizia e mutilazioni di vario genere, soprattutto se non si ha avuto modo di identificare preventivamente il testo in questione).

Se un presunto errore degli editori riguarda la prima o l'ultima linea leggibile di un frammento, il fatto viene sottolineato dall'aggiunta di un asterisco (*); quando l'integrazione di una parola potrebbe appartenere ad una riga diversa da quella in questione, il passaggio da una riga all'altra viene indicato con un tratto diagonale (/).

[4] J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de saint Basile* (Louvain 1953) pp. 165-170.

[5] Vedi i frammenti 7, 8, 9.

[6] Vedi il frammento 12 (a) a f. A/4^v.

Un'ultima avvertenza: tutti i rinvii al volume 31 della PG riguardano l'edizione del 1857, che, seppur meno diffusa, ha il pregio di essere leggibile. Le differenze possono talvolta essere sensibili rispetto alla ristampa del 1885.

Concordanza tra i Fogli del Papiro, l'Ordine X (Gribomont, pp. 165-170) e l'Ordine V (PG 31)

A/1-4v: X 11-28 (= V 289, 99, [158], 159, 7, [8-9], 85, [86], 187, 188, 189, 21, 22, 160, 161, [162], 163);
B/1-2v: X 71-77 (= V 121, [199], 166, [167], 200, 97, 128);
C/1r-v: X 106-107 (= V 10, 89);
D/1r-v: X 112-114 (= V 16, 204, 205);
E/1-2v: X 116-123 (= V 207, 17, 90, [151], 152, [153], 122, 172).

Contenuto del Papiro

A/1 (= fr. 16, 10, 13)

1r (⟵; qq. 289, 99):
— 16 (a), inc. *εὐτελε]στερο[ις*, des. *θεραπευσ]αι* (1285B 13-14);
— 10 (a), inc. *μηκ]ε[τι*, – 2 *προειρη]μενα τ[ης*, des. *δ[ιαθέσει* (1285C 2-1152A 12);
— 13 (a), inc. ?, des.* *τους επ[ιτιμωμένους* (1152B 2).

1v (↓; qq. 159, 7):
—16 (b), inc.* *κι]νδυν[ον*, des. *και μ[αλιστα* (1185C 11);
— 10 (b), inc. *ε[ι]πο[ντι*, des. *παι]δευ[σει* (1185C 13-D 2);
— 13 (b), inc. *αμαρτανον]τας*, – 2 *οιμαι πε[ρι*, des. *ονικο]ς π[ερι* (1085C 7-11).

A/2 (= fr. 1)

2r (↓; q. 85):
— 1 (b) ii, inc. *π]ρα[ξεσιν*, – 4: *ιδ[ιον*: *ιδιον-ιδιον* PG, – 5 *αλλο]/τριον της*, – 7 *δι]/δαξαντος*, des.* *εκ]τος* (1144A 4-11).

2v (⟵; q. 187):
— 1 (a) i, inc. ?, – 2 *διαφερει[ν* ?, – 3 *επαρσε/[ως* ?: *πολλακις* add. PG, – *προσελ]θοντων*, des. *πιστ]ος και φ[ρο/νιμως* (1208B 7-13).

A/3 (= fr. 11, 1)

3r (⟵; qq. 187, 188, 189):
— 11 (a), inc. *φρο/νι]μως οικ[ονομειν*, des. *των εν ται[ς* (1208B 14-15);

— 1 (a) ii, inc. *απηγγ]ελη*, – 12 *απα[γαγειν*, – 15 *μεν δια οι[κοδομην*, des. ?* *ο δυν[αμενος* (1208c 12-1209a 5).

3ᵛ (↓; qq. 189, 21):

— 11 (b), inc. *πεμπεσθ[ω*, – 3 *πρ]ος τον ειποντ[α*, des. ? (1209a 6-8);

— 1 (b) i, inc. ?, – 2* *α]πο αρ[γιας]νου*, – 5 *εταζοντα*, – 6 *επ[ιστευε]ν*, – 7 *προειρημενον*: *ειρημενον* PG, – 10 *ο δε τ[ο]υ[το* ? ... *το[υ/τω*, – 14 *αγα[θον*, des. *αρε]σκοντ[ων* (1097b 8-c 5).

A/4 (= fr. 24 + 12 + 17, 21)

4ʳ (↓; qq. 22, 160):

— 24 (b) + 12 (b) + 17 (b): è sembrato più semplice ripubblicare insieme i tre frammenti, che occupano pressappoco la stessa porzione di testo; 12 (b) è il fr. di sinistra (linn. 2-5); al centro si sovrappongono 24 (b) (= linn. 1-2) e 17 (b) (= linn. 3-5). Il testo differisce solo in due punti dalla edizione del papiro: – 2 *αι*, – 3 *των*:

ποθεν αι]νυκ[τεριναι φαντασιαι
αι α[πρε]πεις γινο[νται
γινοντα[ι με]ν εκ τω[ν μετα ημεραν
αλλοκοτ[ων] της ψ[υχης κινημα
5 *των εα]ν δ[ε εν τ]η σχο[λη των του θυ*
(1097c 8-12);

— 21 (b), inc. *σπουδ[αιοτερον*, – 2* *φιλοσ]ωματ[οι*, des. ? (1188a 11).

4ᵛ (⟵; qq. 161, 163):

— 24 (a) + 12 (a) + 17 (a): come già per il recto, i tre frammenti vengono presentati insieme; 12 (a) è a destra (linn. 1-5); al centro si sovrappongono 24 (a) (= lin. 2) e 17 (a) (= linn. 3-5). In 12 (a) la lin. 3 (*προ]σειπω αμ[...*) è assolutamente incompatibile con il tenore di PG (*του κυ υπηρετουντος*); nemmeno lo *ξ* alla prima linea dello stesso frammento ha una corrispondenza soddisfacente nel testo edito:

ξ̇
Ως δουλος παρα] δεσπ[οτο]υ και οιαν [ε
δειξε πετρος]ο αποστ[ολος ? ? ? ? ? ? ?
? ? ? ? ? ? ? ?*]εφ ου [και] τον κιν[δυ*
5 *νον των μη κα]ταδεχ[ομε]νω[ν*
(1188b 5-7);

— 21 (a), inc. *δυνηθ]η τι[ς*, – 2 *π]ρος το[ν*, des. ? (1188c 9).

B/1 (= fr. 4)

1r (⟵; q. 121):

— 4 (a), inc. *αυτος τ[ω*, – 6 ...*]ομενος*: *επιλανθανομενος-επεκτεινομενος*PG, des. *εχ[ων* (1164C 14-1165A 1).

1v (↕; q. 166):

— 4 (b), inc. *παιδ[ιον*, – 8 *ζ]ωη*, des. ? (1192B 11-C 3).

B/2 (= fr. 2, 9, 7, 18)

2r (↕; qq. 200, 97):

— 2 (b), inc.* *προσωπ]ω* (*και* add. PG) *παν[τι*, – 3 *πληροφ]οριαν τη[ς*, des. *πα]ντα στ[εγει* (1216A 15-B 8);

— 9 (b): le linn. 9-12 del fr. 2 (b), a sinistra, potrebbero essere contigue alle linn. 3-6 del fr. 9 (b), a destra, ma di quest'ultimo la sola lezione compatibile con PG è: – 6* *π]αντα*.

— 7 (b), ?;

— 18 (b), – 2 *ε]κβαλω* (1149B 8).

2v (⟵; qq. 97, 128):

— 2 (a), inc.* ? *τω βιω*, – 5 *αλλοιοτερα]ς ισως π[ερι*, des. *ωφε]ληθησεται η* (1149C 2-8);

— 9 (a): le linn. 1-3, a sinistra, potrebbero essere contigue alle linn. 10-12 del fr. 2 (a): inc.* *αδια]φο[ρι]ας*, des. *ωφε[ληθησεται*;

— 7 (a), inc. *πε[ποιημενον*, – 2 *ου//]κ εν*, des. ? *ι//]διων* (1168C 13-D 3);

— 18 (a), inc. *αναχω[ρησει*, des. *θελημ]ατω[ν* (1168D 3).

C/1 (= fr. 5)

1r (⟵; q. 10):

— 5 (a), inc. ? *π]ρ[οτερον*, – 2 *αυτ]ης* (*αυτην* PG) *σικχαι//[νουσαν*, – 7 *απειλ]ην της*, des. ? *καιρο]ν* (1088C 3-9).

1v (↕; q. 89):

— 5 (b), inc. *ει μεν*, des. *α//]φη[καμεν* (1144C 13-D 2).

D/1 (= fr. 3)

1r (⟵; q. 16):

— 3 (a), inc. ?, – 4 *προ]ς α βουλεται ελευ//[θεριαζειν*, – 5 *επιτ]ρεπομενην*, – 7 ?, des. *πε]πρα[μενος* (1093A 7-10).

1v (↕; qq. 204, 205):

— 3 (b), inc.* *εντ]ολα[ς*, des. *εγω* (1217B 12-C 5).

E/1 (= fr. 6)

1r (⟵; qq. 207, 17):

— 6 (a), inc. ? *επ]α[γγελλομενου*, des. *μνη//]μη* (1221A 10-1093B 12).

1ᵛ (↕; q. 90):

— 6 (b), inc. *ταπειν]ωσεω[ς*, – 2 *κτη]σεως*, – 6 *εκαστο]ς εαυτω*, des. ? (1145A 14-B 2).

E/2 (= fr. 8)

2ʳ (↕; q. 152):

— 8 (b), inc. ?, – 3 *με]ντοιγε*, – 4 *αντιλεγε*: *αντιλεγειν* PG, des.* *θα]νατου εχ[ει* (1181D 1-2).

2ᵛ (⟷; qq. 122, 172):

— 8 (a), inc. ? *συνα//]π[τει*, – 2* *π[οταπω*, des. ? (1165B 7-1196A 7).

Concordanza tra i Frammenti del Papiro e i Fogli a cui Appartengono

1 (a) i	: A/2ᵛ	8 (b)	: E/2ʳ	17 (a)	: A/4ᵛ
1 (a) ii	: A/3ʳ	9 (a)	: B/2ᵛ	17 (b)	: A/4ʳ
1 (b) i	: A/3ᵛ	9 (b)	: B/2ʳ	18 (a)	: B/2ᵛ
1 (b) ii	: A/2ʳ	10 (a)	: A/1ʳ	18 (b)	: B/2ʳ
2 (a)	: B/2ᵛ	10 (b)	: A/1ᵛ	19 (a)	: non id.
2 (b)	: B/2ʳ	11 (a)	: A/3ʳ	19 (b)	: non id.
3 (a)	: D/1ʳ	11 (b)	: A/3ᵛ	20 (a)	: non id.
3 (b)	: D/1ᵛ	12 (a)	: A/4ᵛ	20 (b)	: non id.
4 (a)	: B/1ʳ	12 (b)	: A/4ʳ	21 (a)	: A/4ᵛ
4 (b)	: B/1ᵛ	13 (a)	: A/1ʳ	21 (b)	: A/4ʳ
5 (a)	: C/1ʳ	13 (b)	: A/1ᵛ	22 (a)	: non id.
5 (b)	: C/1ᵛ	14 (a)	: non id.	22 (b)	: non id.
6 (a)	: E/1ʳ	14 (b)	: non id.	23 (a)	: non id.
6 (b)	: E/1ᵛ	15 (a)	: non id.	23 (b)	: non id.
7 (a)	: B/2ᵛ	15 (b)	: non id.	24 (a)	: A/4ᵛ
7 (b)	: B/2ʳ	16 (a)	: A/1ʳ	24 (b)	: A/4ʳ
8 (a)	: E/2ᵛ	16 (b)	: A/1ᵛ		

18

Repertorio dei manoscritti della versione armena di S. Basilio di Cesarea

Gabriella Uluhogian
University of Bologna

Il centenario basiliano, che ricorre quest'anno, ci offre l'occasione per mettere a punto lo stato degli studi sulla versione armena e, in particolare, per presentare aggiornati i dati della tradizione manoscritta.[1]

Già nelle prime ricerche su questo tema,[2] era apparsa chiara l'opportunità di distinguere nettamente, da una parte preghiere, liturgie e canoni, che devono essere studiati nell'ambito della complessa tradizione liturgica e canonica della chiesa,[3] dall'altra le opere più strettamente letterarie.

Noi intendiamo occuparci di queste ultime, che, come è noto, sono state tramandate in armeno con i seguenti titoli:

(1) *Yałags Vec'ōreay Awurc'n Ararč'ut'ean* (= "Dei sei giorni della creazione"): sono le nove omelie sui primi capitoli del Genesi, universalmente note col nome di *Hexaemeron*.[4]

[1] Importantissima è, a questo proposito, la voce "Barseł Kesarac'i," in *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun (dd. 5-18)* (Erevan 1976) 2: 1344-1405 di H. A. Anasyan, che ha, tra l'altro, il merito di descrivere minuziosamente il contenuto dei codici del Matenadaran di Erevan, che risulta invece assai stringato nell'attuale Catalogo (v. sotto).

[2] Cf. I. W. Driessen, "Les recueils manuscrits arméniens de saint Basile," *Mus* 65 (1953) 65-95.

[3] I canoni sono stati pubblicati in *Kanonagirk' Hayoc'* (a cura di V. Hakobyan) (Erevan 1964) pp. 329-362.

[4] Il testo completo dell'*Hexaemeron* armeno ha avuto una sola edizione: *Srboy Barsłi episkoposi Kesaru Kapadovkac'voc' Čark' vasn vec'ōreay ararč'ut'eann* (a cura di A. Bagratuni) (Venezia 1830). Alla preparazione dell'edizione critica è da tempo impegnato, a

Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic, ed. Paul J. Fedwick (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1981), pp. 571-588.

(2) *Girk' Harc'ołac'* (= "Libro delle domande"), che comprende, in una serie unica, le 361 o 362 domande e risposte, corrispondenti alle *Erotapokriseis fusius* e *brevius tractatae*, cui si accompagnano di norma i **Asc. Pr5* e *Asc. Pr3* e un numero variabile di *Epitimie* finali. Seguendo l'esempio di J. Gribomont,[5] noi chiameremo questa sezione *Asceticon*.[6]

(3) *Girk' Pahoc'* (= "Libro del digiuno"), raccolta che trae il nome dalla *HIeiun.* 1.[7] Questo libro comprende una serie di omelie, alcune lettere e dialoghi, dall'attribuzione non sempre sicura,[8] che costituiscono un blocco unico, un vero e proprio *corpus*, che citeremo per brevità *Pahoc'*, termine restrittivo in apparenza, ma più significante del troppo generico *Homiliae*. Di questo fanno parte i "pezzi" dei codici veneziani ampiamente descritti dal Driessen,[9] che si ritrovano, pur con qualche diversità di disposizione o di numero (variabile da 26 a 35) in altri documenti della tradizione armena.[10] Lo studio della formazione di questa

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Erevan. K. Muradyan, che ha fatto conoscere alcuni risultati delle sue ricerche nel volume *Barseł Kesarac'i ew nra "Vec'ōreayn" hay matenagrut'yan mej* (Erevan 1976), preceduto da una nutrita serie di articoli, a carattere più generale, anche su S. Basilio e i suoi rapporti con l'Armenia, fra i quali citiamo: (1) "Barseł Kesarac'in ew Hayerə," *Lraber Hasarakakan Gitut'yunneri* 9 (1968) 49-61; (2) "Barseł Kesarac'u 'Vec'awrean'," *Lraber Has. Git.* 1 (1970) 79-88; (3) "Barseł Kesarac'u 'Vec'ōreayi' ew Anania Širakac'u oroš erkeri tek'stabanakan aṙnč'akc'ut'yunə," *Lraber Has. Git.* 3 (1971) 99-107; (4) "Srbagrut'yunner Barseł Kesarac'u 'Vec'ōreay'-um," *Banber Matenadarani* 10 (1971) 43-53; (5) "Grč'agir vkayut'yunner Kesarac'u gorceri hayeren t'argmanut'yunneri masin," *Lraber Has. Git.* 10 (1972) 49-57; (6) "'Vec'ōreay'-i hayeren t'argmanut'yan žamanakn u bnagir," *Patma-banasirakan Handes* 3 (1973) 161-173; (7) "ənt'hanur hatvacner u srbagrut'yunner Kesarac'u ew Širakac'u gorcerum," *Lraber Has. Git.* 1 (1975) 55-72; (8) "Kesarac'u 'Vec'ōreay'-n Širakac'u tiezeragitakan ašxatut'yunneri ałbyur," *Lraber Has. Git.* 3 (1975) 95-114; (9) "Barseł Kesarac'u 'Vec'ōreayi' nor srbagrut'iwnner," *HA* 1-12 (1976) 577-590.

[5] J. Gribomont, *Histoire du texte des Ascétiques de saint Basile* (Louvain 1953).

[6] Il testo armeno dell'*Asceticon* è tuttora inedito: chi scrive, ha già collazionato i più importanti codici, in vista di una futura edizione.

[7] A designare le singole omelie e le altre parti del *Pahoc'*, useremo, anche in seguito, il titolo latino come in PG 30-31.

[8] Già G. Zarbhanalean, *Matenadaran haykakan t'argmanut'eanc' naxneac'* (Venezia 1889) p. 330, osservava che il dialogo intitolato *Tesut'iwn i marmnaworut'iwn P'rkč'in, Barsli episkoposi ew Apolinari herjuac'oli* corrisponde, nella tradizione greca, a Ps. Atanasio, *Dialoghi* 4 (= PG 28: 1249) (cf. anche Driessen, "Les recueils," p. 79). Aggiungiamo che la lettera *Ewsebi episkoposi*, incipit: *Yoržam aṙ irsn hayimk' ew zdžuarut'iwns tesanemk'*..., corrisponde all'*EAth.* [82] (= PG 32: 457), incipit: *Ὅταν μὲν πρὸς τὰ πράγματα βλέψωμεν καὶ τὰς δυσκολίας κατίδωμεν...*

[9] Cf. "Les recueils," pp. 70-86.

[10] Cf. ancora Driessen, "Les recueils," tabella riassuntiva p. 86. Ai codd. 924 e 907 di Ējmiacin corrispondono attualmente i codd. 1500 e 822 di Erevan. A titolo di esempio elenchiamo i "pezzi" del *Pahoc'* del cod. 5595 di Erevan (cf. G. Uluhogian, "Contributi allo studio della tradizione manoscritta del Basilio armeno: 1) Il mscr. 5595 di Erivan,"

raccolta, non ancora affrontato nella sua interezza,[11] sembra promettere risultati particolarmente interessanti in ordine all'epoca della traduzione in armeno e all'identità del/dei traduttore/i. L'indagine potrà portare utili chiarimenti anche sui rapporti con un eventuale analogo *corpus* greco e sulla relazione intercorrente tra alcune omelie, inserite nel *Pahoc'* e le stesse o altre diverse che, sempre sotto il nome di S. Basilio, sono state invece trasmesse isolatamente, in omeliari e codici miscellanei.[12]

In questo contributo, che deriva dallo spoglio dei cataloghi[13] dei manoscritti armeni e dall'esame diretto di una parte di essi,[14] noi ci proponiamo di classificare tutti i manoscritti dell'*Hexaemeron*, dell'*Asceticon* e del *Pahoc'*, distribuendo il materiale in due capitoli.

Nel primo capitolo presenteremo i codici in ordine cronologico, partendo dai *corpora* completi delle tre opere, fino a quelli che comprendono una sola opera o anche soltanto una consistente parte di essa; nel secondo capitolo elencheremo invece i testimoni di ciascuna opera e per quel che riguarda il *Pahoc'*, anche dei singoli pezzi in esso contenuti.[15]

RILSL 109 [1975] 210-225): (i) *HIeiun.* 1; (ii) *HIeiun.* 2; (iii) *HEbr.* [14]; (iv) *HAtt.* [3]; (v) *HPaen.* [28]; (vi) *HDestr.* [6]; (vii) *HDiv.* [7]; (viii) *HIra* [10]; (ix) *HPs. 14b*; (x) *HInv.* [11]; (xi) *HPs. 1*; (xii) *HPs. 59*; (xiii) *HPs. 61*; (xiv) *HPs. 114*; (xv) *HPs. 115*; (xvi) *HFide* [15] (in arm. "De Trinitate"); (xvii) *HVerb.* [16]; (xviii) *HChr.* [27]; (xix) Ps.-Athanasius, *Dial.* 4 (= PG 28: 1249 sgg.); (xx) *Ad Gregorium theologum* (non identificato); (xxi) *EOpt.* [260]; (xxii) *EAth.* [82] (in arm. "Ad Eusebium praedecessorem suum"); (xxiii) *EGNaz.* [2]; (xxiv) *Ad Gregorium theologum* (passi dalle *ETheod.* [173] e *De perf.* [22]); (xxv) *EDiod.* [160]; (xxvi) *HGrat.* [4]; (xxvii) *HIul.* [5]; (xxviii) *HMart.* [19]; (xxix) *HGord.* [18]; (xxx) *HMal.* [9]; (xxxi) *HBapt.* [13]. Queste sono le parti che, più o meno, si ritrovano nei codici che citiamo con il nome di *Pahoc'*, senza alcun'altra specificazione.

[11] Il *Girk' Pahoc'* è inedito; delle sue parti sono state pubblicate soltanto: (i) *HFide* [15] e Ps. Atanasio, *Dial.* 4 in *Knik' Hawatoy* (a cura di Kar. Tēr Mkrtč'ean) (Ējmiacin 1914) pp. 78-98; (ii) *HChr.* [27] (a cura di P. Tēr Pōłosean), in *HA* 82 (1968) 419-438; (iii) *EDiod.* [160], in Hakobyan, *Kanonagirk'*, 1: 620-621. [Cf. also above p. 478, n. 193. *Ed.*]

[12] Su questo problema, così come sul resto della tradizione manoscritta armena di S. Basilio, cf. lo studio di P. Tēr Pōłosean, "S. Barseł Kesarac'i ew ir grut'iwnnerə hayerēn t'argmanut'eamb," *HA* 10-12 (1968) 385 sgg.; 4-6 (1969) 129 sgg.; 7-9: 259 sgg.; 10-12: 385 sgg.

[13] E' forse opportuno ricordare che i cataloghi sono compilati con criteri molto differenti e mentre alcuni sono accurati e minuziosi nella descrizione dei codici e del loro contenuto, altri sono, per cause diverse, molto concisi e vaghi. In questi casi o è possibile integrare con altre fonti bibliografiche (cf. Anasyan, "Barseł") oppure ci si deve accontentare di qualche dato incompleto o insicuro.

[14] Abbiamo esaminato direttamente o in microfilm i MSS dell'*Asceticon* del Matenadaran di Erevan e, in generale, i codici basiliani di S. Lazzaro. Al Direttore del Matenadaran e ai PP. Mechitaristi di Venezia va il nostro più vivo ringraziamento per la liberalità e la cortesia con cui hanno facilitato la nostra ricerca.

[15] Nel presente lavoro non teniamo conto dei numerosi brevi frammenti di codici

A

I codici vengono presentati in quest' ordine: (i) codici contenenti le tre opere; (ii) codici contenenti due opere; (iii) codici con una sola opera. All'interno di ogni sezione, i codici completi precedono quelli antologici o frammentari.

Nella doppia numerazione, il primo numero si riferisce alla posizione del codice nella sezione, l'altro, tra parentesi, numera progressivamente tutti i codici presi in esame.

1 (1). Erevan Maten. 5595, ch., 170 × 120 mm, 400 ff., a. 1279, script.: Ełiazaru vank'; scr.: Step'anos, Esayi (?); bolorgir.[16]

ff. 1-107: *Hexaemeron*; ff. 108-228ᵛ: *Asceticon*; ff. 229-398ᵛ: *Pahoc'*.

2 (2). Erevan Maten. 1500, ch., 357 × 265 mm, 1189 ff., s. 13, script.: Gełarday vank'; scr.: Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i; bolorgir.[17]

Omeliario. ff. 879-936: *Pahoc'*; ff. 936-976: *Asceticon*; ff. 976-?: *Hexaemeron*.

3 (3). Gerusalemme SVH 406, ch., 230 × 160 mm, 382 ff., a. 1319, script.: Sis; scr.: Israyēl Arewelc'i; bolorgir.[18]

f. 1: *Hexaemeron*; f. 99: *Asceticon*; f. 183: *Pahoc'*.

4 (4). Gerusalemme SHV 470, ch., 230 × 170 mm, 946 pp., a. 1683, script.: Sebastia (?); scr.: Mik'ayēl; nōtragir.[19]

pp. 9-235: *Asceticon*; pp. 276-?: *Pahoc'*; pp. 621-814: *Hexaemeron*.

1 (5). Erevan Maten. 1924, ch., 250 × 195 mm, 351 ff., a. 1653, scr.: Awēt, Abraham; bolorgir.[20]

Miscellanea. ff. 2ᵛ-126ᵛ: *Asceticon*; ff. 127-?: *Pahoc'*.

2 (6). Galata MH 84, ch., 213 × 160 mm, 898 pp., a. 1675-1684, script.: S. Giacomo (Gerusalemme); scr.: Eremia erēc'; nōtragir.[21]

Miscellanea. pp. 482-590: *Asceticon*; pp. 591-793: *Pahoc'*.

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basiliani, risalenti ai secc. 10-11, che non compaiono con regolarità nei cataloghi e abbisognano quindi di un'indagine tutta particolare.

[16] Cf. Uluhogian, "Contributi."

[17] Cf. Ō. Eganyan, *C'uc'ak jeṙagrac' Maštoc' anvan Matenadarani* (Erevan 1965-70) 1: 568 (= Eganyan, *Erevan*).

[18] Cf. N. Połarean, *Mayr c'uc'ak jeṙagrac' Srboc' Yakobeanc'*, 8 vv. (Jerusalem 1966-1977) 2: 338 (= Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*).

[19] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 2: 456.

[20] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 676.

[21] Cf. Babgen Kat'ołikos (Kiwleserean), *C'uc'ak jeṙagrac' Łalat'ioy azgayin Matenadarani Hayoc'* (Antilias 1961) 1: 555 (= Babgen, *Galata*).

3 (7). Gerusalemme SHV 619, ch., 215 × 160 mm, xvi, 252, 4, 432 pp., a. 1721, script.: Costantinopoli; nōtragir.[22]

pp. 1-236^{v}: *Pahoc'*; pp. 175 (nuova numerazione)-?: *Asceticon*.

4 (8). Erevan Maten. 436, ch., 280 × 205 mm, 390 ff., a. 1790, script.: Costantinopoli, Ējmiacin (?); scr.: Brabion, Geōrg; nōtragir.[23]

Miscellanea. ff. 167^{v}-211^{v}: *Pahoc'*; ff. 212-271: *Asceticon*.

5 (9). Venezia BSI. 1209,[24] ch., 220 × 154 mm, 242 ff., s. 14, bolorgir.

ff. 12-225^{v}: *Asceticon*; ff. 227-240: *Pahoc'* (due omelie).

6 (10). Erevan Maten. 1330, ch., 285 × 220 mm, 239 ff., a. 1711, script.: Šōrōt'; scr.: Sargis; bolorgir.[25]

Miscellanea. ff. 142-229^{v}: *Asceticon*; ff. 229^{v}-237^{v}: *Pahoc'* (due omelie).

7 (11). Galata MH 54, ch., 245 × 170 mm, 484 ff., s. 17 (?); bolorgir.[26]

Miscellanea. ff. 264-275: *Pahoc'* (antologia); ff. 275-280: *Asceticon* (antologia).

1 (12). Gerusalemme SHV 1801, ch., 255 × 165 mm, ii, 560 pp., a. 1187, script.: Hoṙomosi vank'; scr.: Yovhannēs k'ahanay; bolorgir.[27]

pp. 1-387: *Hexaemeron*.

2 (13). Erevan Maten. 5353, ch., ? mm, 231 ff., s. 13, scr.: Awag (?) sarkawag; bolorgir.[28]

Miscellanea. ff. 154-231: *Hexaemeron* (manca *Hex.* 9).

3 (14). Erevan Maten. 620, ch., 217 × 160 mm, 298 ff., a. 1494, script.: Erznka; scr.: Małak'ia Baberdac'i; bolorgir.[29]

Miscellanea. ff. 213-298^{v}: *Hexaemeron*.

4 (15). Leningraado (?) AN IV 7 (cod. arm. iii.5.7), ch., 190 × 125 mm, 290 ff., s. 15 (?); bolorgir.[30]

ff. 1-290 (?): *Hexaemeron*.

5 (16). Erevan Maten. 1243, ch., 200 × 135 mm, 466 ff., a. 1681,

[22] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 3: 19.

[23] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 319.

[24] I codd. di Venezia vengono citati col numero antico, cui si accompagna, tra parentesi, il nuovo numero, se già siano inseriti nel catalogo a stampa: B. Sargisean e G. Sargsean, *Mayr c'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Matenadarani Mxit'areanc' i Venetik*, vv. 2-3 (Venezia 1924, 1966) (= Sarkisian, *Venezia*).

[25] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 527.

[26] Cf. Babgen, *Galata*, col. 323.

[27] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 6: 161.

[28] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 89.

[29] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 365.

[30] Cf. H. Oskean, *C'uc'ak jeṙagrac' or i Handēs Amsoreay* (Vienna 1976) p. 159 (= Oskian, *H.A.*).

1721, script.: Zmiwrnia (I), T'omay Aṙak'eali vank' (II); scr.: Pōłos C'łnec'i (I), Step'anos C'łnec'i (II); nōtragir.[31]

Miscellanea. ff. 337-463 (I): *Hexaemeron*.

6 (17). Erevan Maten 3457, ch., 150×101 mm, 321 ff., s. 17; nōtragir.[32]

Miscellanea. ff. 1-182: *Hexaemeron*.

7 (18). Erevan Maten. 5032, ch., 200×150 mm, 221 ff., s. 17; nōtragir, : bolorgir.[33]

Miscellanea. ff. ?: *Hexaemeron*.

8 (19). Venezia BSL 177, ch., 228×168 mm, 102 ff., s. 17/18; nōtragir.

ff. 4-97ᵛ: *Hexaemeron*.

9 (20). Venezia BSL 1459, ch., 252×185 mm, 80 ff., s. 17/18; nōtragir.

ff. 1-80: *Hexaemeron*.

10 (21). Bzommar VM (Fondo Antoniani) 429, ch., 287×212 mm, 279 ff., a. 1701, script.: Amida; scr.: Pōłos k'ahanay; nōtragir.[34]

Miscellanea. ff. 123-179ᵛ: *Hexaemeron* (lacunoso *Hex.* 9).

11 (22). Vienna MB 249, ch., 245×190 mm, 320 ff., a. 1720, script.: Costantinopoli; nōtragir.[35]

Miscellanea. ff. 1-86ᵛ: *Hexaemeron*.

12 (23). Gerusalemme SHV 68, ch., 330×210 mm, xxiv, 880 pp., a. 1729-1735, script.: Cesarea; scr.: Yarut'iwn Trovat'ac'i; bolorgir.[36]

pp. 145-251: *Hexaemeron*.

13 (24). Erevan Maten. 1939, ch., 213×157 mm, 99 ff., a. 1758, script.: T'eodopolis; scr.: Yakob sarkawag; nōtragir.[37]

ff. 1-99 (?): *Hexaemeron*.

[31] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 508.

[32] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 1016.

[33] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 20.

[34] Cf. N. Akinean e Y. Oskean, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Zmmari vank'i Matenadaranin* (Vienna 1971) 2: 14 (= Akinian, *Bzommar*).

[35] Y. Tašean, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Matenadarani Mxit'areanc' i Vienna* (Vienna 1895) p. 638 (= Dashian, *Vienna*). Vale la pena di ricordare che nel 2 vol. del Catalogo di Vienna, H. Oskean, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Mxit'arean Matenadaranin i Vienna* (Vienna 1963) (= Oskian, *Vienna*), a p. 742, a proposito del cod. 1075, si dice che non si tratta di un vero manoscritto dell'*Hexaemeron*, ma di una copia della edizione veneziana del 1830, sulla quale, a mano, sono state riportate le varianti di un codice ricopiato nel 1720, che sembra di poter identificare appunto col cod. 249 (cf. anche Muradyan, *Barseł*, p. 139).

[36] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 1: 220.

[37] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 679.

14 (25). Erevan Maten. 7028, ch., 145 × 100 mm, 202 ff., a. 1761, scr.: Yakob Kesarac'i; bolorgir.[38]

ff. 1-202 (?): *Hexaemeron*.

15 (26). Bzommar VM (Fondo Antoniani) 605, ch., 107 × 79 mm, 292 pp., s. 18; nōtragir.[39]

p. 8: *Hexaemeron*.

16 (27). Erevan Maten. 5819, ch., 210 × 150 mm, 38 ff., s. 18; bolorgir.[40]

ff. 1-38: *Hexaemeron* (le prime quattro omelie e parte della 5).

17 (28). Erevan Maten. 5686, ch., 240 × 192 mm, 94 ff., a. 1820, script.: Costantinopoli; nōtragir.[41]

ff. 1-94 (?): *Hexaemeron*.

18 (29). Erevan Maten. 10258, ch., 246 × 190 mm, 90 ff., a. 1820, scr.: Serovbē Petrosean Aknec'i; nōtragir.[42]

ff. 1-90 (?): *Hexaemeron*.

19 (30). Vienna MB 612, ch., 240 × 185 mm, 91 ff., a. 1821, script.: Costantinopoli; scr.: Serovbē Petrosean Aknec'i; nōtragir.[43]

ff. 3-91: *Hexaemeron*.

20 (31). Vienna MB 1121, ch., 240 × 200 mm, 102 ff., s. 18/19; nōtragir.[44]

ff. 4-102: *Hexaemeron*.

21 (32). Gerusalemme SHV 1062, ch., 200 × 140 mm, 196 ff.; nōtragir.[45]

ff. 15-181^{v}: *Hexaemeron*.

22 (33). Gerusalemme SHV 1093, ch., 195 × 150 mm, 214 pp.; nōtragir.[46]

pp. 1-212: *Hexaemeron*.

23 (34). Venezia BSL 352, ch., 260 × 165 mm, 397 ff.,[47] s. 12, script.: Hałbat; scr.: Grigor; bolorgir.

Miscellanea. ff. 6-61^{v}: *Hexaemeron* (antologia).

[38] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 445.
[39] Cf. Akinian, *Bzommar*, p. 212.
[40] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 190.
[41] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 164.
[42] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 1080.
[43] Cf. Oskian, *Vienna*, p. 82.
[44] Cf. Oskian, *Vienna*, p. 784.
[45] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 4: 89.
[46] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 4: 139.
[47] Qualche discordanza, tra i dati del Driessen e i nostri, dipende dal fatto che recentemente è stata fatta una nuova numerazione dei ff. dei codici da inserire nel prossimo catalogo, alla quale noi ci atteniamo.

24 (35). Vaticano BAV Chis. Or. 1 m., 175 × 125 mm, ii, 128 ff., s. 12/13.[48]

Lezionario. ff. 2-28: *Hexaemeron* (antologia).

25 (36). Erevan Maten. 1657, ch., 170 × 125 mm, 305 ff., s. 14, script.: Glajor; scr.: Grigorēs Erznkac'i, Barseł erēc'; bolorgir.[49]

Miscellanea. ff. 1-227v (?): *Hexaemeron* (lacunoso).

26 (37). Erevan Maten. 8352, m. palinsesto, 167 × 115 mm, 282 ff., s. 14; bolorgir.[50]

ff. ?: *Hexaemeron* (lacunoso).

27 (38). Erevan Maten. 6731, ch., 200 × 154 mm, 305 ff., a. 1614, script.: Lvov; scr.: Grigor Tomažirski, K'ristap'or Mrguz, Yovhannēs Mokac'i; nōtragir.[51]

Miscellanea. ff. ?: *Hexaemeron*.[52]

28 (39). Erevan Maten. 4001, ch., 200 × 150 mm, 121 ff., a. 1720, script.: Costantinopoli; scr.: Esayi; nōtragir.[53]

Miscellanea. ff. ?: *Hexaemeron*.

29 (40). Galata MH 87, ch., 207 × 153 mm, 750 pp., scr.: Łrimc'i Sargis.[54]

Miscellanea. pp. 592-599: *Hexaemeron*.

1 (41). Parigi BN arm. 109, ch., 260 × 170 mm, 48 ff., s. 11/12; erkat'agir.[55]

ff. 1-48v: *Asceticon* (*EApokr. br.* 227-325).

2 (42). N. Giulfa AV 390, ch., 235 × 148 mm, 283 ff., a. 1173, script.: Cilicia (?); scr.: Atom krōnawor; bolorgir.[56]

ff. 5-281v: *Asceticon*.

[48] Cf. E. Tisserant, *Codices armeni Bybliothecae Vaticanae Borgiani Vaticani Barberiniani schedis Frederici Cornwallis Conybeare adhibitis* (Romae 1927) p. 357 (= Tisserant, *Vaticana*).

[49] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 602.

[50] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 726. Si tratta senza dubbio del cod. 89 della Biblioteca dell'Istituto Sanasarean di Karin (cf. Oskian, *H.A.*, p. 22), che, come molti altri codici provenienti da località diverse (Tiflis, Nor Naxijevan, ecc.) venne portato in Armenia RSS, dopo il 1922, a costituire il cosiddetto Fondo di Erevan, che passò poi al Matenadaran nel 1938 (cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 147 sgg.).

[51] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 382.

[52] Muradyan, *Barseł*, p. 144, avverte che questo e il codice successivo (n. 4001 Erevan) presentano un testo dell'*Hexaemeron* abbreviato: il copista ha trascelto frasi o periodi perfettamente coincidenti col testo tradito, trascurandone altri.

[53] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 1128.

[54] Cf. Babgen, *Galata*, col. 577.

[55] Cf. F. Macler, *Catalogue des manuscrits arméniens et géorgiens de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris 1908) p. 48 (= Macler, *Parigi*).

[56] Cf. S. Tēr Avetisean, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Nor Jułayi Amenap'rkič' vank'i* (Vienna 1970) p. 591 (= Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*).

3 (43). Gerusalemme SHV 336, ch., 250 × 180 mm, 287 ff., a. 1298, script.: Gayl vank΄; scr.: Sargis sarkawag, Yovhannēs krōnawor, Markos hayrapet, Ewdok΄s-Ewt΄im k΄ahanay; bolorgir.[57]

Miscellanea. ff. 3-154: *Asceticon*.

4 (44). Erevan Maten. 707, ch., 147 × 110 mm, 126 ff., s. 13, scr.: Kirakos; bolorgir.[58]

ff. 1-124ᵛ: *Asceticon* (mutilo all'inizio, con qualche lacuna).

5 (45). Erevan Maten. 2811, ch., 245 × 162 mm, 165 ff., a. 1348, scr.: Yovhannēs; bolorgir.[59]

ff. 1-147ᵛ: *Asceticon*.

6 (46). Venezia BSL 590, ch., 165 × 120 mm, 178 ff., s. 14; bolorgir.

ff. 1-165ᵛ: *Asceticon* (153 *EApokr.* e *Asc. Pr3*).

7 (47). Erevan Maten. 4145, ch., 250 × 190 mm, 340 ff., a. 1621, 1655, script.: Norašēn anapat (I), Tat΄ew (II); scr.: Mkrtič΄ (I), Grigor dpir (II); bolorgir.[60]

Miscellanea. ff. 1-126: *Asceticon*.

8 (48). Roma BC 2053, ch., 410 ff., a. 1625; bolorgir.

Miscellanea. ff. 315ᵛ-409ᵛ: *Asceticon*.

9 (49). Erevan Maten. 829, ch., 196 × 125 mm, 416 ff., a. 1657, script.: Sałmosavank΄; scr.: Karapet; bolorgir.[61]

Miscellanea. ff. 1-244ᵛ: *Asceticon*.

10 (50). Erevan Maten. 524, ch., 248 × 175 mm, 188 ff., s. 18; nōtragir.[62]

Miscellanea. ff. 110-183: *Asceticon*.

11 (51). Bzommar VM 139, ch., 236 × 180 mm, 128 ff., a. 1829, script.: Roma; scr.: Tēr Yovsēp΄ Pahtiarean; corsivo.[63]

ff. 1-128: *Asceticon*.

12 (52). Bzommar VM (Fondo Antoniani) 474, ch., 220 × 160 mm, 84 ff., a. 1829, script.: Roma; scr.: Yovsēp΄ vardapet; corsivo.[64]

ff. 2-84: *Asceticon*.

[57] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 2: 217.

[58] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 388.

[59] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 880.

[60] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 1157.

[61] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 420.

[62] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 340.

[63] Cf. M. K΄ešišean, *C΄uc΄ak hayerēn jeřagrac΄ Zmmari vank΄ Matenadaranin* (Vienna 1964) p. 295 (= Keshishian, *Bzommar*).

[64] Cf. Akinian, *Bzommar*, p. 69.

13 (53). Venezia BSL 915 (=Sarg. 268), ch., 165×118 mm, 311 ff., s. 13, script.: Muš; scr.: Rstakēs, Step'annos; bolorgir.[65]

ff. 291v-291v: *Asceticon* (frammento minimo).

14 (54). Erevan Maten. 5610, ch., 185×130 mm, 207 ff., s. 15; scr.: Karapet Pułarac'i; bolorgir.[66]

Miscellanea. ff. 2-39: *Asceticon* (*excerpta* delle *EApokr. fus.* 20-25).

15 (55). Erevan Maten. 6708, ch., 205×144 mm, 318 ff., a. 1635; bolorgir.[67]

Miscellanea. ff. 123-130: *Asceticon* (*EApokr. fus.* 16).[68]

1 (56). Venezia BSL 251 (=Sarg. 314), m., 375×280 mm, 262 ff., s. 11/12, script.: Hałbat; scr.: Sargis; erkat'agir.[69]

ff. 1-262: *Pahoc'*.

2 (57). Erevan Maten. 822, ch., 167×120 mm, 270 ff., a. 1285, scr.: Ezek'iel sarkawag; bolorgir.[70]

ff. 1-270: *Pahoc'*.

3 (58). Erevan Maten. 2549, ch., 173×123 mm, 313 ff., s. 14, scr.: Yohan Erznkayec'i; bolorgir.[71]

Miscellanea. ff. 1-?: *Pahoc'*.

4 (59). N. Giulfa AV 391, ch., 160×112 mm, 179 ff., s. 17, scr.: Step'anos k'ahanay; nōtragir.[72]

ff. 1-179: *Pahoc'*.

5 (60). Venezia BSL 1913, ch., 211×168 mm, 264 ff., s. 18/19; nōtragir.

ff. 8-223v: *Pahoc'*.

6 (61). Vienna MB 217, ch., 345×210 mm, 321 ff., a. 1848-1849, script.: Ējmiacin; scr.: Serobē Petrosean; nōtragir.[73]

Miscellanea. ff. 2-85: *Pahoc'*.

[65] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 873.

[66] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 145.

[67] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 2: 377.

[68] A differenza di Anasyan, *Barseł*, non prendiamo in considerazione i codd. 1130, 1952, 6590 del Matenadaran di Erevan, perchè non contengono il testo dell'*Asceticon*, ma il testo, più o meno completo, del trattato dogmatico-morale, condotto per domande e risposte, il *Girk' Harc'manc'*, del famoso filosofo Grigor Tat'ewac'i (sec. 14).

[69] Cf. Driessen, "Les recueils," pp. 70-86.

[70] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 418.

[71] Cf. Eganyan, *Erevan*, 1: 824.

[72] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 592.

[73] Cf. Dashian, *Vienna*, p. 548.

7 (62). Parigi BN arm. 44, ch., 525 × 345 mm, 599 ff., s. 12; erkat'agir.[74]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 22ᵛ-27: *HChr.* [27]; ff. 257-261: *HMart.* [19]; 570-572: ***Encomium in Stephanum.*

8 (63). Venezia BSI 463 (= Sarg. 212), ch., 540 × 410 mm, 480 ff., s. 13, script.: Xoṙni anapat; scr.: Basil; bolorgir.[75]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 19-23: *HChr.* [27]; ff. 137-140: *HIeiun.* 2; ff. 206-211: *HIeiun.* 1; ff. 238ᵛ-241: *HAtt.* [3]; ff. 253ᵛ-257: ***HPaen.* [28]; ff. 282ᵛ-286ᵛ: *HMart.* [19]; ff. 373ᵛ-375: *Hex.* 2; ff. 464-466ᵛ: ***Encomium in Stephanum.*

9 (64). Venezia BSI 221 (= Sarg. 239), ch., 305 × 230 mm, 21 ff., s. 13/14, script.: Cilicia (?); scr.: Kostandin; bolorgir.[76]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 1-6ᵛ: *HIeiun.* 1.

10 (65). Nicosia Collezione privata, cod. 4, ch., 335 × 250 mm, 549 ff., s. 13/14, script.: Stiłci giwł (?); scr.: Step'anos; bolorgir.[77]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 97ʳ⁻ᵛ: *HIeiun.* 1.

11 (66). Gerusalemme SHV 71, ch., 320 × 240 mm, 1000 ff., a. 1321, script.: Drazark; scr.: Vahan k'ahanay; bolorgir.[78]

Omeliario. ff. 443-458ᵛ: *HChr.* [27]; ff. 514-527: *HIeiun.* 1.

12 (67). Parigi BN arm. 46¹⁻³, ch., 695 × 465 mm, 334, 277, 367 ff., s. 14; bolorgir.[79]

Omeliario (2). *Pahoc'*: ff. 159-161: ***HPaen.* [28].

13 (68). Gerusalemme SHV 1, ch., 560 × 430 mm, 462 ff., a. 1417, script.: San Giacomo (Gerusalemme); scr.: Yohanēs abełay; bolorgir.[80]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 334ᵛ-340: *HIeiun.* 1.

14 (69). Vienna MB 224, ch., 315 × 230 mm, 433, 2 ff., a. 1428, script.: Kołunc' vank'; scr.: Karapet abełay; bolorgir.[81]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 229-231ᵛ: *HIeiun.* 1.

15 (70). Vienna, MB 1, ch., 475 × 305 mm, 256 ff., s. 15/16, script.: Polonia (?); scr.: Step'anos; bolorgir.[82]

[74] Cf. Macler, *Parigi*, p. 48.
[75] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 203.
[76] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 573.
[77] Cf. N. Akinean, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Nikosiayi i Kipros* (Vienna 1961) p. 19 (= Akinian, *Nicosia*).
[78] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 1: 242.
[79] Cf. Macler, *Parigi*, p. 57.
[80] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 1: 8.
[81] Cf. Dashian, *Vienna*, p. 578.
[82] Cf. Dashian, *Vienna*, p. 5.

Omeliario. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 158v-166v : *HIeiun.* 1; ff. 179v-184: *HIeiun.* 2; ff. 231v-237v: *HMart.* [19].

16 (71). Gerusalemme SHV 173, ch., 310 × 230 mm, x, 1084, xi, xvi pp., a. 1512, script.: Arǰəray giwł; scr.: Avetis, Stepʻanos; bolorgir.[83]

Omeliario. *Pahocʻ*: pp. 625-631: *HIeiun.* 1.

17 (72). Venezia BSL 569 (= Sarg. 234), ch., 262 × 170 mm, 392 ff., a. 1518, script.: Hawhawoy vankʻ; scr.: Łukas erecʻ, Melkʻisetʻ kʻahanay; bolorgir.[84]

Omeliario. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 261-267v: *HIeiun.* 1.

18 (73). N. Giulfa AV 229, ch., 492 × 326 mm, 604 ff., s. 16, scr.: Karapet, Barseł; bolorgir.[85]

Omeliario. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 566-569: ***Enc. in Stephanum.*

19 (74). Armaš VM 12, ch., 210 × 165 mm, 441 ff., s. 16/17, scr.: Mesrop; bolorgir, nōtragir.[86]

Miscellanea. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 62v-66: *HChr.* [27]; ff. 324-326v: ***Enc. in Stephanum.*

20 (75). Venezia BSL 512 (= Sarg. 202), ch., 280 × 205 mm, 650 ff., a. 1637, script.: Gerusalemme; scr.: Mkrtičʻ Łazareancʻ; nōtragir.[87]

Omeliario. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 14v-15v: *HFide* [15] (in arm. "De Trinitate"); ff. 140: *HChr.* [27]; (ff. 176v-178: *Hex.* 5); ff. 180-184v: *HIeiun.* 1; ff. 185v-187v: *HIeiun.* 2; (ff. 312-313: *Hex.* 9).

21 (76). N. Giulfa AV 221, ch., 340 × 250 mm, 464 ff., a. 1652, script.: Tʻovraskan; scr.: Yovsēpʻ; bolorgir.[88]

Omeliario. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 43-47v: *HIeiun.* 1.

22 (77). Gerusalemme SHV 1211, ch., 180 × 120 mm, 216 ff., a. 1656, script.: S. Sargis vankʻ Ušoy; scr.: Oskan Erewancʻi; bolorgir, nōtragir.[89]

Miscellanea. *Pahocʻ*: Ps. Atanasio, *Dial.* 4 (PG 28: 1249 ff.).

23 (78). N. Giulfa AV 375, ch., 266 × 203 mm, 594 ff., a. 1667, script.: Nuova Giulfa; scr.: Mikʻayēl krōnawor; bolorgir.[90]

Miscellanea. *Pahocʻ*: ff. 592r-v: *HIeiun.* 1.

[83] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 1: 515.
[84] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 519.
[85] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 333.
[86] Cf. Y. Tʻopʻčean, *Cʻucʻak jeṙagracʻ Armaši vankʻin* (Venezia 1962) p. 64 (= Topdjian, *Armaš*).
[87] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 67.
[88] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 290.
[89] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 4: 348.
[90] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 572.

24 (79). N. Giulfa AV 222, ch., 320 × 235 mm, 497 ff., a. 1671, script.: Nuova Giulfa; scr.: Sara krōnawor Daštec'i; bolorgir.[91]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 241-244: *HIeiun.* 1.

25 (80). Gerusalemme SHV 918, ch., 200 × 140 mm, 704 pp., a. 1683, script.: S. Giacomo (Gerusalemme); nōtragir.[92]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: pp. 286-300: *HIeiun.* 1.

26 (81). N. Giulfa AV 410, ch., 148 × 108 mm, 326 ff., s. 17; nōtragir.[93]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 72ᵛ-78: *HFide* [15] (in arm. "De Trinitate"); ff. 78-90: Ps. Atanasio, *Dial.* 4 (PG 28: 1249 sgg.).

27 (82). Gerusalemme SHV 154, ch., 310 × 220 mm, (I) 25, 1-642, (II) 643-1194, (III) 1195-1818, (IV) 1819-2415, 51 pp., a. 1737, script.: Gerusalemme; scr.: Ełia vardapet; nōtragir.[94]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: pp. 3-5: *HFide* [15] (in arm. "De Trinitate"); pp. 631-638: *HIeiun.* 1; pp. 776-782: *HMart.* [19]; pp. 2301-2304: ***Enc. in Stephanum.*

28 (83). N. Giulfa AV 426, ch., 264 × 183 mm, 48 ff., s. 18; nōtragir.[95]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 31-36: *HMart.* [19].

29 (84). Vienna MB 808, ch., 240 × 170 mm, a. 1808, script.: Costantinopoli; scr.: Martiros; nōtragir.[96]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 87-95ᵛ: *HChr.* [27].

30 (85). Venezia BSL 247 (= Sarg. 233); ch., 210 × 146 mm, 71 ff., a. 1823, script.: Costantinopoli; scr.: T'adēos vardapet, Minas dpir; nōtragir, corsivo.[97]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 54-57: *HChr.* [27].

31 (86). Venezia BSL 152 (= Sarg. 211), ch., 200 × 127 mm, 96 ff., a. 1823, script.: S. Karapet (Kesaria); scr.: Petros Kiwlpekeanc'; nōtragir.[98]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 18-27ᵛ: *HAtt.* [3]; ff. 27ᵛ-32: ***HPaen.* [28]; ff. 38ᵛ-45ᵛ: *HMart.* [19].

32 (87) . Venezia BSL 1352 (= Sarg. 210), ch., 237 × 175 mm, 192 ff., a. 1824-1825, script.: Parigi; scr.: P. Arsēn Bagratuni; nōtragir.[99]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 48-50ᵛ: ***Enc. in Stephanum.*

[91] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 298.
[92] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 3: 449.
[93] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 614.
[94] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 1: 429 sgg.
[95] Cf. Der Avedissian, *N. Giulfa*, p. 647.
[96] Cf. Oskian, *Vienna*, p. 376.
[97] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 513.
[98] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 199.
[99] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 189.

33 (88). Venezia BSL 299 (= Sarg. 215), ch., 215 × 155 mm, 128 ff., a. 1829, script.: Adabazar; scr.: Brusac'i Yovhannēs Tēr Karapetean; nōtragir.[100]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 3v-7v: *HChr.* [27]; ff. 99-102v: **Enc. in Stephanum.*

34 (89). Venezia BSL 1075 (= Sarg. 302), ch., 188 × 115 mm, 185 ff., a. 1839-1842, script.: Ējmiacin, Hnč'ešt, Iskiwtar; scr.: Mser dpir. Grigorean Kusareanc', Yovhannēs k'ahanay P'ap'azean; nōtragir.[101]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 169-181: *HAtt.* [3].

35 (90). Venezia BSL 657 (= Sarg. 227), ch., 360 × 230 mm, 167 ff., a. 1846, script.: Bałeš o Muš; scr.: Pałtasar Bałišec'i; nōtragir.[102]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 45-47: *HIeiun.* 1.

36 (91). Venezia BSL 653 (= Sarg. 228), ch., 360 × 230 mm, 367 ff., a. 1847, script.: Arak'eloc' vank' (Muš); scr.: P. Nersēs Sargsean; nōtragir.[103]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 5v-7: *HFide* [15] ("De Trinitate"); (ff. 152v-154: *Hex.* 2).

37 (92). Venezia BSL 467 (= Sarg. 224), ch., 210 × 150 mm, 123 ff., s. 19; nōtragir.[104]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: ff. 10-16v: *HChr.* [27]; ff. 17-21: **Enc. in Stephanum*; ff. 39-48v: *HIeiun.* 1; ff. 49-58: *HAtt.* [3].

38 (93). Gerusalemme SHV 120, ch., 310 × 210 mm, 14, 724 pp.; bolorgir.[105]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: p. 238: *HMart.* [19].

39 (94). Gerusalemme SHV 764, ch., 210 × 155 mm, 194 pp.; nōtragir.[106]

Omeliario. *Pahoc'*: pp. 181-193: *HIeiun.* 1.

40 (95). Venezia BSL 1655, ch., 292 × 200 mm, 151 ff., a. 1852-1853, script.: Parigi; scr.: P. Ł. Ališan; corsivo.

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 23v-24: *HIra* [10].

41 (96). Novo-Bayazet Collezione privata, cod. 1, ch., 150 × 100 mm, 478 ff., scr.: Yovhannēs Tivrikc'i; nōtragir.[107]

Miscellanea. *Pahoc'*: ff. 201-217: *HIeiun.* 1.

[100] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 247.
[101] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 1123.
[102] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 421.
[103] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 435.
[104] Cf. Sarkissian, *Venezia*, 2: 385.
[105] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 1: 334.
[106] Cf. Bogharian, *Gerusalemme*, 3: 209.
[107] Cf. Y. Ačařean, *C'uc'ak hayerēn jeṙagrac' Nor Bayazēti* (Vienna 1924) p. 48.

B

In questo capitolo si elencano i testimoni di ciascuna delle opere di S. Basilio (*Hexaemeron, Asceticon, Pahoc'*) e di ciascuna delle omelie dell'*Hexaemeron* o del *Pahoc'* trasmesse isolate.

I codici completi, o quasi, precedono i codici che dai cataloghi risultino antologici o frammentari.

1. *Hexaemeron*

Gerusalemme, cod. 1801 (a. 1187), pp. 1-387; Erevan, cod. 5595 (a. 1279), ff. 1-107; Erevan, cod. 1500 (s. 13), ff. 976-?; Erevan, cod. 5353 (s. 13), ff. 154-231; Gerusalemme, cod. 406 (a. 1319), ff. 1-?; Erevan, cod. 620 (a. 1494), ff. 213-298^v; Leningrado, cod. 7 (cod. arm. iii.5.7), (s. 15?), ff. 1-290 (?); Erevan, cod. 1243 (a. 1681), ff. 337-463; Gerusalemme, cod. 470 (a. 1683), pp. 621-814; Erevan, cod. 3457 (s. 17), ff. 1-182; Erevan, cod. 5032 (s. 17), ff. ?; Venezia, cod. 177 (s. 17/18), ff. 4-97^v; Venezia, cod. 1459 (s. 17/18), ff. 1-80; Bzommar, cod. 429 (a. 1701), ff. 123-179^v; Vienna, cod. 249 (a. 1720), ff. 1-86^v; Gerusalemme, cod. 68 (a. 1729-1735), pp. 145-251; Erevan, cod. 1939 (a. 1758), ff. ?; Erevan, cod. 7028 (a. 1761), ff. 1-202 (?); Bzommar, cod. 605 (s. 18), pp. 8-?; Erevan, cod. 5819 (s. 18), ff. ?; Erevan, cod. 5686 (a. 1820), ff. ?; Erevan, cod. 10258 (a. 1820), ff. ?; Vienna, cod. 612 (a. 1821), ff. 3-91; Vienna, cod. 1121 (s. 18/19), ff. 4-102; Gerusalemme, cod. 1062 (S.A.), ff. 15-181^v; Gerusalemme, cod. 1093 (S.A.), ff. 1-212. — Venezia, cod. 352 (s. 12), ff. 6-61^v; Vaticano, Chis. Or. 1 (s. 12/13), ff. 2-28; Erevan, cod. 1657 (s. 14), ff. 1-?; Erevan, cod. 8352 (s. 14), ff. ?; Erevan, cod. 6731 (a. 1614), ff. ?; Erevan, cod. 4001 (a. 1720), ff. ?; Galata, cod. 87 (S.A.), pp. 592-599.

2. *Asceticon*

N. Giulfa, cod. 390 (a. 1173), ff. 5-281^v; Erevan, cod. 5595 (a. 1279), ff. 108-228^v; Erevan, cod. 1500 (s. 13), ff. 936-976; Gerusalemme, cod. 336 (a. 1298), ff. 3-154; Erevan, cod. 707 (s. 13), ff. 1-124^v; Gerusalemme, cod. 406 (a. 1319), ff. 99-?; Erevan, cod. 2811 (a. 1348), ff. 1-147; Venezia, cod. 1209 (s. 14), ff. 12-225; Roma, cod. 2053 (a. 1625), ff. 315^v-409^v; Erevan, cod. 4145 (a. 1621, 1655), ff. 1-126; Erevan, cod. 1924 (a. 1653), ff. 2^v-126^v; Erevan, cod. 829 (a. 1657), ff. 1-244^v; Galata, cod. 84 (a. 1675-1684), pp. 482-590; Gerusalemme, cod. 470 (a. 1683), pp. 9-235; Erevan, cod. 1330 (a. 1711), ff. 142-229^v; Gerusalemme, cod. 619 (a. 1721), pp. 175-?; Erevan, cod. 436 (a. 1790), ff. 212-271; Erevan, cod. 524 (s. 18), ff. 110-183; Bzommar, cod. 139 (a. 1829), ff. 1-

128; Bzommar, cod. 474 (a. 1829), ff. 2-84^{v}. — Parigi, cod. 109 (s. 11/12), ff. 1-48; Venezia, cod. 915 (= Sarg. 268) (s. 13), f. 291; Venezia, cod. 590 (s. 14), ff. 1-165^{v}; Erevan, cod. 5610 (s. 15), ff. 2-39; Erevan, cod. 6708 (a. 1635), ff. 123-130; Galata, cod. 54 (s. 17), ff. 275-280.

3. *Pahoc'*

Venezia, cod. 251 (=Sarg. 314) (s. 11/12), ff. 1-260^{v}; Erevan, cod. 5595 (a. 1279), ff. 229-398^{v}; Erevan, cod. 822 (a. 1285), ff. 1-270; Erevan, cod. 1500 (s. 13), ff. 879-936; Gerusalemme, cod. 406 (a. 1319), ff. 183-?; Erevan, cod. 2549 (s. 14), ff. 1-?; Erevan, cod. 1924 (a. 1653), ff. 127-?; Galata, cod. 84 (a. 1675-1684), pp. 591-793; Gerusalemme, cod. 470 (a. 1683), pp. 276-?; N. Giulfa, cod. 391 (s. 17), ff. 1-179; Gerusalemme, cod. 619 (a. 1721), ff. 1-236^{v}; Erevan, cod. 436 (a. 1790), ff. 167^{v}-211^{v}; Venezia, cod. 1913 (s. 18/19), ff. 8-233^{v}; Vienna, cod. 217 (a. 1848/1849), ff. 2-85. — Galata, cod. 54 (s. 17), ff. 264-275.

4. *Hex.* 2

Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 373^{v}-375; Venezia, cod. 653 (= Sarg. 228) (a. 1847), ff. 152^{v}-154.

5. *Hex.* 5

Venezia, cod. 512 (= Sarg. 202) (a. 1637), ff. 176^{v}-178.

6. *Hex.* 9

Venezia, cod. 512 (= Sarg. 202) (a. 1637), ff. 312-313.

7. *Hleiun.* 1

Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 206-211; Venezia, cod. 221 (=Sarg. 239) (s. 13/14), ff. 1-6^{v}; Nicosia, cod. 4 (s. 13/14), ff. 97^{r-v}; Gerusalemme, cod. 71 (a. 1321), ff. 514-527; Venezia, cod. 1209 (s. 14), ff. 227-235; Gerusalemme, cod. 1 (a. 1417), ff. 334^{v}-340; Vienna, cod. 224 (a. 1428), ff. 229-231^{v}; Vienna, cod. 1 (s. 15/16), ff. 158^{v}-164^{v}; Gerusalemme, cod. 173 (a. 1512), pp. 625-631; Venezia, cod. 569 (=Sarg. 234) (a. 1518), ff. 261-267^{v}; Venezia, cod. 512 (=Sarg. 202) (a. 1637), ff. 180-184^{v}; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 221 (a. 1652), ff. 43-47^{v}; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 375 (a. 1667), ff. 592^{r-v}; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 222 (a. 1671), ff. 241-244; Gerusalemme, cod. 918 (a. 1683), pp. 286-300; Erevan, cod. 1330 (a. 1711), ff. 230^{v}-234^{v}; Gerusalemme, cod. 154 (a. 1737), pp. 631-638; Venezia, cod. 657 (= Sarg. 227), (a. 1846), ff. 45-47; Venezia, cod. 467 (= Sarg. 224) (s. 19), ff. 39-48^{v}; Gerusalemme, cod. 764 (S.A.), pp. 181-193; Novo-Bayazet, cod. 1 (S.A.), ff. 201-217.

8. *HIeiun.* 2

Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 137-140; Venezia, cod. 1209 (s. 14), ff. 235^{v}-240; Vienna, cod. 1 (s. 15/16), ff. 179^{v}-184; Venezia, cod. 512 (= Sarg. 202) (a. 1637), ff. 184^{v}-187^{v}; Erevan, cod. 1330 (a. 1711), ff. 234^{v}-237^{v}.

9. *HAtt.* [3]

Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 238^{v}-241; Venezia, cod. 152 (= Sarg. 211) (a. 1823), ff. 18-27^{v}; Venezia, cod. 1075 (= Sarg. 302) (a. 1839-1842), ff. 169-181; Venezia, cod. 467 (= Sarg. 224) (s. 19), ff. 49-58.

10. ***HPaen.* [28]

Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 253^{v}-257; Parigi, cod. 46.$^{1-3}$ (s. 14), ff. 159-161; Venezia, cod. 152 (= Sarg. 211) (a. 1823), ff. 27^{v}-32.

11. *HIra* [10]

Venezia, cod. 1655 (a. 1852/1853), ff. 23^{v}-24.

12. *HFide* [15] (tit. arm. "De Trinitate")

Venezia, cod. 512 (= Sarg. 202) (a. 1637), ff. 14^{v}-15^{v}; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 410 (s. 17), ff. 72^{v}-78; Gerusalemme, cod. 154 (a. 1737), pp. 3-5; Venezia, cod. 653 (= Sarg. 228) (a. 1847), ff. 5^{v}-7.

13. *HChr.* [27]

Parigi, cod. 44 (s. 12), ff. 22^{v}-27; Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 19-23; Gerusalemme, cod. 71 (a. 1321), ff. 443-458^{v}; Armaš, cod. 12 (s. 16/17), ff. 62^{v}-66; Venezia, cod. 512 (= Sarg. 202) (a. 1637), f. 140; Vienna, cod. 808 (a. 1808), ff. 87-95^{v}; Venezia, cod. 247 (= Sarg. 233) (a. 1823), ff. 54-57; Venezia, cod. 299 (= Sarg. 215) (a. 1829), ff. 3^{v}-7^{v}; Venezia, cod. 467 (= Sarg. 224) (s. 19), ff. 10-16^{v}.

14. *Ps. Atanasio, Dial.* 4

Gerusalemme, cod. 1211 (a. 1656), ff. 3-?; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 410 (s. 17), ff. 78-90.

15. *HMart.* [19]

Parigi, cod. 44 (s. 12), ff. 257-261; Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 282^{v}-286^{v}; Vienna, cod. 1 (s. 15/16), ff. 231^{v}-237^{v}; Gerusalemme, cod. 154 (a. 1737), ff. 776-782; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 426 (s. 18),

ff. 31-36; Venezia, cod. 152 (= Sarg. 211) (a. 1823), ff. 38ᵛ-45ᵛ; Gerusalemme, cod. 120 (S.A.), pp .238-?.

16. ***Encomium in Stephanum*

Parigi, cod. 44 (s. 12), ff. 570-572; Venezia, cod. 463 (= Sarg. 212) (s. 13), ff. 464-466ᵛ; Nuova Giulfa, cod. 229 (s. 16), ff. 566-569; Armaš, cod. 12 (s. 16/17), ff. 324-326ᵛ; Gerusalemme, cod. 154 (a. 1737), pp. 2301-2304; Venezia, cod. 1352 (= Sarg. 210) (a. 1824-1825), ff. 48-50ᵛ; Venezia, cod. 299 (= Sarg. 215) (a. 1829), ff. 99-102ᵛ; Venezia, cod. 467 (= Sarg. 224) (s. 19), ff. 17-21.

I codici considerati sono dunque 96, cosi suddivisi:

— 4 *corpora* a tre opere (di cui 2 del sec. 13),
— 7 (?) *corpora* a due opere (*Asceticon* e *Pahoc'*), tutti molto più tardi (sec. 17-18) se si fa eccezione per il cod. 1209 di Venezia, databile anche del sec. 14, in grave stato di conservazione e solo recentemente restaurato; questo codice, dopo l'*Asceticon*, presenta le prime due omelie del *Pahoc'*: seguivano forse le altre? sarebbe in tal caso il più antico testimone di un *corpus* a due opere.
— 29 testimoni del testo dell'*Hexaemeron* trasmesso isolatamente, di cui solo 8 anteriori al sec. 16.
— 15 testimoni dell'*Asceticon*, di cui 6 anteriori al sec. 16.
— 6 testimoni del *Pahoc'* (trasmesso come *corpus* a sè stante), di cui 3 anteriori al sec. 16.
— 35 codici miscellanei, in prevalenza omeliari, contenenti "pezzi" isolati del *Pahoc'* dal 12 al 19 sec.

Si tratta, come si vede, di una abbondante eredità, che addita, soprattutto nello studio dei *corpora*, formatisi nel 12 e 13 sec., in confronto con i brevi frammenti anteriori,[108] un interessante campo di indagine, volta a ricostruire la più antica presenza letteraria in Armenia di un uomo, come Basilio di Cesarea, che già vivente, con l'Armenia, aveva avuto contatti continui e fecondi.[109]

[108] Cf. nota 15.
[109] Dell' interesse che la personalità di Basilio suscita oggi in Armenia, possono essere segno, tra l'altro, anche gli articoli, a carattere prevalentemente divulgativo, di A. Hatityan, "Surb Barseł Hayrapet Kesarac'i," *Ējmiacin* 5 (1977) 26-32, 6: 54-59; "Surb Barseł Kesarac'u gòrceri t'argmanut'yunnerə," *Ējmiacin* 7 (1977) 23-32.

Appendix

Apostolic Letter of John Paul II for the Sixteen-Hundredth Anniversary of the Death of Basil of Caesarea

IOANNES PAULUS PP. II*

VENERABILES FRATRES AC DILECTI FILII,
SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

I. Patres Ecclesiae illi merito appellantur Sancti, qui primis vertentibus saeculis fidei suae virtute doctrinarumque excelsitate et ubertate eam novo vigore donarunt et magnopere adauxerunt.[1] Re quidem vera sunt Ecclesiae "patres," cum ab illis per Evangelium ipsa acceperit vitam.[2] Sunt pariter eius aedificatores, quoniam super una ab Apostolis lacta fundamenta, scilicet Christum,[3] primoribus formis Ecclesiam Dei construxerunt. Ex vita autem sic a suis Patribus recepta vivit etiam hodie Ecclesia; atque in ipsa compage, quam primi condiderunt illi structores, adhuc hodie aedificatur Ecclesia inter secundas res adversasque itineris sui et cotidiani laboris. Patres igitur fuerunt eruntque semper, qui ipsi stabilem quasi structuram Ecclesiae efficiunt ac per temporis saecula cuncta implent pro Ecclesia perpetuum munus. Ita enim contingit, ut omnis Evangelii nuntiatio et magisterium subsequens, si modo verum esse voluerit, aequari debeat cum ipsorum nuntiatione et magisterio utque omne charisma ac ministerium haurire debeat vivo ex fonte illorum paternitatis et tandem ut omnia petra nova, quae ad aedificium accesserit cotidie crescens seque amplificans,[4] locari debeat intra compagem ab eis constitutam cum ipsaque conglutinari et copulari. Certis proinde his rebus ducta non intermittit Ecclesia ad illorum decurrere opera — sapientiae plena perennisque iuventutis — ac semper eorum renovare memoriam. Eximia ergo cum laetitia per liturgicum annum patribus nostris totiensque roboramur in fide in speque firmamur. Magis vero etiam gaudium nostrum augescit, quotiens peculiares nos occasiones invitant, ut eosdem patres diutius cognoscamus et plenius. Huiusmodi autem opportunitatem affert hoc anno celebratio decimi sexti exacti saeculi a patris nostri Basilii, episcopi Caesariensis, obitu.

* Reprinted from *Acta Apostolicae Sedis* 72 (1980) 5-23, and the weekly English edition of the *L'Osservatore Romano*, 25 February 1980, p. 609 with corrections.

[1] Cf. Gal. 4.19; Vincentius Lirinensis, *Commonitorium* 1.3, PL 50: 641.

JOHN PAUL II

REVERED BROTHERS AND BELOVED SONS
HEALTH AND THE APOSTOLIC BLESSING

I. Fathers of the Church is the name rightly given to those saints who, by the power of their faith, the depth and riches of their teachings, gave her new life and great increase in the course of the first centuries.[1]

They are indeed "fathers" of the Church, because from them, by means of the Gospel, she received life.[2] They are likewise its builders because they set up the main structures of the Church of God on the one foundation laid by the Apostles, which is Christ.[3]

The Church still lives today by the life received from her fathers; and on the structures erected by her first constructors, she is still built today, in the joy and sorrow of her journeying and of her daily toil.

They were, therefore, fathers, and fathers they remain for ever. They themselves, in fact, are a stable structure of the Church, and they fulfil a perennial function for the Church of all centuries. Thus every subsequent proclamation and magisterium, if it is to be authentic, must be compared with their proclamation and their magisterium. Every charism and every ministry must draw from the vital source of their fatherhood; and every new stone, added to the sacred edifice that grows and expands every day,[4] must be set in the structure already placed by them, and be welded and joined to it.

Guided by these certainties, the Church never tires of returning to their writings — full of wisdom and incapable of ageing — and of renewing their memory continually. It is with great joy, therefore, that in the course of the liturgical year we always meet our Fathers again: and every time we are strengthened in faith and encouraged in hope.

Our joy is even greater when particular circumstances call for a longer and deeper meeting with them. This year's anniversary, which marks the 16th centenary of the death of our Father Basil, Bishop of Caesarea, is precisely of this nature.

[2] Cf. 1 Cor. 4.15.
[3] Cf. 1 Cor. 3.11.
[4] Cf. Eph. 2.21.

II. Inter Patres Graecos "Magnus" ipse nominatus Basilius liturgicis in libris Byzantinorum invocatur ut "lux pietatis" et "Ecclesiae lumen." Quippe eam vere illuminavit etiamque nunc illustrat non minus quidem ex vitae suae integritate quam ex doctrinae suae excellentia. Primum enim maximumque Sanctorum praeceptum est ipsius vitae eorum exemplum. In familia autem Sanctorum natus, fruebatur praeterea Basilius praestantis institutionis beneficia apud honoratissimos Constantinopoli Athenisque magistros. Attamen tunc solum visus est sibi ipse vitam incohavisse pleno et certo modo, cum Christum cognoscere potuerat suum ut Dominum: id est cum ab eo vehementissime tractus, se cunctis rebus penitus disiunxit — quod dein vitae principium erat magnopere docendo inculcaturus[5] — eiusque factus est discipulus. Sequelae igitur se Christi addixit, cui soli conformari cupiebat, ipsum unum respiciens unumque audiens,[6] in omnibus ei oboediens "uti Domino et regi et medico et doctori veritatis."[7] Sine ulla ergo cunctatione studia deseruit illa, quae tantopere dilexerat ex quibusque tantos hauserat scientiae thesaurus;[8] cum enim Deo soli inservire decrevisset, nihil iam scire praeter Christum volebat[9] universamque aliam quam crucis sapientiam esse censebat vanitatem. Hisce verbis exeunte vita memoravit conversionis suae eventum: "Ego cum multum temporis impendissem vanitati, totamque fere iuventutem meam perdidissem inani labore, quem in discendis infatuatae a Deo sapientiae[10] disciplinis occupatus suscipiebam, ubi tandem aliquando velut ex alto somni expergefactus, respexi ad lumen admirabile veritatis Evangelii, ac vidi inutilitatem sapientiae principum huius saeculi, qui destruuntur;[11] miserabilem meam vitam plurimum deflens, optabam dari mihi disciplinam."[12] Suam proin vitam deflevit, quamquam secundum sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni testificationem, qui studiorum fuerat socius, mores eius fuerant humana ratione perfecti;[13] nihilo minus tamen "miserabilis" videbatur ei vita, cum non tota et integra, ceteris exclusis, dicaretur Deo, qui unus est Dominus. Cum intolerantia invicta interpellavit studia suscepta ac, derelictis sapientiae Graecae doctoribus, "multum telluris ac pelagi"[14] peragrans, alios conquirebat magistros: videlicet "stultos" miserosque illos, qui exercebant in desertis aliam plane sapientiam.

[5] Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 8, PG 31: 933C-941A.
[6] *Reg. mor.* 80.1, PG 31: 860B-C.
[7] *De bapt.* 1.1, PG 31: 1516B.
[8] Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 525C-528C.
[9] Cf. 1 Cor. 2.2.
[10] Cf. 1 Cor. 1.20.
[11] Cf. 1 Cor. 2.6.
[12] *EEust.* [223] 2, PG 32: 824A.

[THE LIFE AND MINISTRY OF ST BASIL]

II. Basil, who among the Greek Fathers is called the "Great," is invoked in Byzantine liturgical texts as "light of piety" and "luminary of the Church." He did, in fact, illuminate her, and still does: no less because of "the purity of his life" than for the excellence of his doctrine. For the first and greatest teaching of the saints is always their life.

Born into a family of saints, Basil had also the benefit of an excellent education by the most famous teachers of Constantinople and Athens.

But it seemed to him that his life really began only when it was granted to him to know Christ as his Lord, in a fuller and decisive way: namely, when irresistibly attracted by him, he radically detached himself from all things — a principle of life which he was later to inculcate so much in his teaching[5] — and became his disciple.

He then began to follow Christ, wishing to conform himself to him alone: looking only to him, listening to him only,[6] and considering him completely as his only "sovereign, king, physician and teacher of truth."[7]

Without hesitating, therefore, he abandoned those studies which he had loved so much and from which he had drawn immense treasures of knowledge.[8] Having decided to serve God only, he did not want to have anything to do with anything except Christ,[9] and he deemed vanity any wisdom that was not that of the cross. The following are his words, in which, towards the end of his life, he recalled the event of his conversion. "I had wasted a great deal of time in vanity, losing nearly all my youth in the empty work to which I applied myself to learn the teachings of that wisdom which God has made foolish;[10] until one day, as if waking up from a deep sleep, I looked at the wonderful light of the truth of the Gospel, and considered the uselessness of the wisdom of the princes of this world who are reduced to helplessness.[11] Then I wept a great deal over my wretched life and prayed for guidance."[12]

He wept over his life, although already before — according to the testimony of Gregory of Nazianzus, his companion in studies — he was, from a human point of view, exemplary.[13] Nevertheless, he regarded his life as "wretched," because it was not completely and exclusively consecrated to God, who is the only Lord.

So with irresistible impatience, he interrupted the studies undertaken and, abandoning the teachers of Greek wisdom, "crossed many lands and many seas"[14] in search of other teachers: those "foolish" and poor persons who were practising a very different wisdom in the deserts.

[13] *Or.* 43, PG 36: 521C-D.
[14] *ENeoc.* [204] 6, PG 32: 753A.

Animo sic comprehendere coepit ea, quae numquam in cor hominis ascenderant,[15] vera nimirum, quae nec rhetores nec philosophi eum docere umquam potuissent.[16] Qua nova in sapientia is cotidie magis adolescebat tamquam mirabili in gratiae curriculo: per precationem et mortificationem, per caritatis exercitationem continuamque frequentationem Sacrarum Litterarum et Patrum doctrinae.[17]

Cito exin ad ministerium est vocatus. Sed in famulatu etiam animarum prudenti cum moderatione componebat indefatigabilem praedicandi industriam cum solitudinis intervallis crebroque precationis interioris usu. Pernecessarium enim hoc arbitrabatur principium esse "expurgationis animae,"[18] ut ipsa verbi nuntiatio confirmaretur semper per vitae "evidens exemplum."[19] Pastor ita Basilius evasit fuitque simul secundum principalem nominis vim monachus; quin immo numeratus sine dubitatione est maximos inter Ecclesiae pastores-monachos: species episcopi singulariter perfecta et insignis fautor legumque lator monasticae vitae. Sua namque ipsius experientia valens plurimum contulit ad christianorum communitates efficiendas "divino servitio"[20] omnino consecratorum atque in se onus recepit et officium easdem saepius invisendi et sustinendi.[21] Ad suam vero earumque utilitatem mirandos seruit cum eis sermones, quorum plures Dei ex beneficio scripti ad nos devenerunt.[22] Iisdem postea ex sermonibus plures legum latores monachatus — in primis autem ipse sanctus Benedictus, qui Basilium suum habet magistrum[23] — praecepta derivaverunt; ex illis similiter scriptis — recta obliquave via cognitis — moti sunt magnam partem ii, qui tum in oriente tum in occidente monasticam sunt vitam amplexi. His de causis existimant plerique institutum principale istud, quod monastica est vita in totius Ecclesiae compage, stabilitum multa esse in saecula potissimum a sancto Basilio aut saltem non secundum propriam suam naturam definitum esse sine praecipuis illius partibus.

Ob mala vero et incommoda, ex quibus tunc temporis populus Dei laborabat,[24] permultum Basilio patiendum fuit. Ea tamen ipse candide indicavit eorumque causas lucide amanterque denotavit, ut immensum reformationis opus fortiter aggrederetur: opus — omni ceteroquin tempore persequendum omnique novandum aetate — quod illuc nempe

[15] Cf. 1 Cor. 2.9.

[16] Cf. *EEust.* [223] 2, PG 32: 824B-D.

[17] Cf. praesertim *EGNaz.* [2] et *De perf.* [22].

[18] *EGNaz.* [2] 2, PG 32: 228A; cf. *ENeoc. pm.* [210] 1, ibid., 769A. [*Principum* amended to *principium*.]

[19] *EApokr. fus.* 43.1, PG 31: 1028A-1029B. Cf. *Reg. mor.* 70.10, ibid., 824D-825B.

In this way he began to learn things that had never occurred to man's heart,[15] truths that rhetoricians and philosophers would never have been able to teach him.[16] He grew in this new wisdom from day to day, along a marvellous path of grace: by means of prayer, mortification, the practice of charity, continual reading of the Scriptures and of the teachings of the Fathers.[17]

He was very soon called to the ministry. But also in the service of souls, he was able to balance wisely indefatigable preaching with periods of solitude and frequent recourse to interior prayer. He regarded this, in fact, as the absolutely necessary beginning for the "purification of the soul,"[18] so that the proclamation of the word might always be confirmed by the "evident example" of life.[19]

In this way he became a pastor and was at the same time, in the real sense of the term, a monk. Indeed, he was certainly among the greatest of the pastor-monks of the Church: a singularly perfect figure of a bishop, and a great promoter and legislator of monasticism.

On the strength of his own personal experience, Basil contributed greatly to the formation of communities of Christians completely consecrated to "divine service,"[20] and he assumed the task and the duty of visiting them frequently and of supporting them.[21] For his own and their edification, he conversed with them in admirable talks, many of which, by God's grace, have been handed down to us in writing.[22] Various legislators of monasticism have drawn on these writings, not least of all St Benedict himself, who considers Basil his teacher.[23] Likewise, these writings — directly or indirectly known — have inspired most of those who embraced the monastic life, in the East as in the West.

For this reason many people think that that essential structure of the life of the Church, monasticism, was established, for all time, mainly by St Basil; or that, at least, it was not defined in its more specific nature without his decisive contribution.

Basil suffered a great deal on account of the evils and misfortunes under which the people of God groaned, in that hour.[24] He denounced them frankly and, with lucidity and love, detected their causes, in order courageously to set about the vast work of reform. That work — to be carried on at all times and to be renewed with every generation — aimed

[20] *Regula Benedicti, Prologus.*
[21] Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 536B.
[22] Cf. *Asc. Prl*, PG 31: 1080A-B.
[23] Cf. *Regula Benedicti*, 73.5.
[24] Cf. *Mor. Prl.*1, PG 31: 653B.

spectabat, ut Domini Ecclesia, "pro qua Christus mortuus est, et super quam large Spiritum sanctum effudit,"[25] suam ad primigeniam redigeretur formam, ad illam videlicet directoriam ipsius imaginem, pulchram quidem et puram, quam nobis Christi verba Apostolorumque Acta tradiderunt. Quotiens meminit cum ardore efficacique desiderio sanctus Basilius temporis illius, quo "multitudinis credentium erat cor unum, et anima una."[26] Industria autem eius ad reformationem attinens convenienter simul perfecteque dirigebatur ad universas rationes ac partes et ambitus vitae christianae.

Ex ipsa ministerii sui natura episcopus in primis est proprii populi pontifex; ac populus ipse Dei ante omnia populus est sacerdotalis. Nullo igitur pacto neglegere licet episcopo, revera Ecclesiae bonum curanti, liturgiam sacram eiusque vim et ubertatem, pulchritudinem et "veritatem." Immo vero intra totum pastorale opus cura liturgiae congruenter obtinet supremum locum ipsumque occupat quasi culmen ceterorum quorumlibet coeptorum; etenim, quemadmodum Concilium Vaticanum II commonet, "liturgia est culmen ad quod actio Ecclesiae tendit et simul fons unde omnis eius virtus emanat,"[27] ipsiusque proin "efficacitatem eodem titulo eodemque gradu nulla alia actio Ecclesiae adaequat."[28] Quarum rerum singularum plane sibi conscius erat Basilius; et sic monasticarum legum institutor[29] esse pariter sciebat precum descriptor.[30] Ex cunctis vero illius operibus hac in provincia peractis superest velut hereditas pretiosa Ecclesiae omnium temporum anaphora et merito, quae nomen ipsius habet: insignis nimirum prex eucharistica, quae ab illo retractata ac locupletata censetur pulcherrimarum omnium ipsa pulcherrima. Nec tamen istud sufficit. Nam primaria etiam compositio psalmodicae precis ad eum refertur tamquam ad maiorem inter alios suum auctorem et artificem.[31] Itaque propter impetum, quem dederat Basilius, psalmodia — "spirituale thymiama" spiritus populi Dei ac solacium[32] — plurimum in Ecclesiae a fidelibus est amata innotuitque pueris et iuvenibus, doctis atque indoctis;[33] prout ipse Basilius narrat, "de nocte siquidem consurgit apud nos populus ad domum precationis, ... in psalmodiae varietate nocte traduxere intermistis precibus."[34] Psalmos ideo, qui in templis non secus ac tonitruo quodam personuerunt,[35] "et domi modulantur, et in forum circumferunt."[36]

[25] Ibid.

[26] Act. 4.32; cf. *Mor. Prl.*4, PG 31: 660C; *EApokr. fus.* 7.4, ibid., 933C; *HFam.* [8] 8, ibid., 325A-B.

[27] *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, 10.

[28] Ibid., 7.

[29] Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 541C.

at restoring the Church of the Lord, "for which Christ died and on which he poured forth his Spirit abundantly,"[25] to its original form: to that normative image, beautiful and pure, that the words of Christ and of the Acts of the Apostles transmit to us. How often Basil recalls, with passion and constructive nostalgia, the time in which "the multitude of believers were one heart and one soul!"[26]

His reform effort was directed, with harmony and completeness, at practically all aspects and spheres of Christian life.

By the very nature of his ministry, the bishop is in the first place the pontiff of his people; and the people of God is first of all a priestly people.

Therefore the liturgy — its power and riches, its beauty, its "truth" — cannot be neglected in any way by a bishop who is really concerned about the good of the Church. In pastoral work, in fact, it is fitting that concern for the liturgy holds the first place and occupies it as the summit, as it were, of all other undertakings. The liturgy, indeed — as the Second Vatican Council recalls — is "the summit toward which the activity of the Church is directed; it is also the fount from which all her power flows,"[27] so that "no other action of the Church can equal its efficacy."[28]

Basil was perfectly aware of this: and the "legislator of the monks"[29] was also a wise "liturgical reformer."[30]

Of his work in this field there remains, as a very precious heritage for the Church of all times, the Anaphora which legitimately bears his name: the great eucharistic prayer which, revised and enriched by him, is regarded as the most beautiful even among those that are outstanding for their beauty.

Moreover, he was one of the greatest inspirers and architects of the fundamental arrangement of psalmodic prayer.[31] Thus, particularly owing to the impulse given by him, psalmody — "spiritual incense," the breath and comfort of the people of God[32] — was greatly loved by the faithful in his Church, and became known to children and adults, to the learned and the uneducated.[33] As Basil himself says: "Here the people get up at night to go to the house of prayer, ... and spend the night singing psalms and praying in turn."[34] The psalms, which resounded in the churches like thunder,[35] could be heard ringing out also in the houses and squares.[36]

[30] Ibid.

[31] Cf. *EGNaz.* [2] et *EApokr. fus.* 37.3-5, PG 31: 1013B-1016C.

[32] Cf. *HPs. 1*.1-2, PG 29: 212A-213C.

[33] Ibid.

[34] *ENeoc. cl.* [207] 3, PG 32: 764A-B.

[35] Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 561C-D.

[36] Cf. *HPs. 1*.1, PG 29: 212C.

Studioso amore Basilius diligebat Ecclesiam cumque sciret virginitatem eius ipsam esse illius fidem, vigilantissimus fidei eiusdem integritatem custodiebat.[37] Idcirco et debuit fortiter contendere et potuit non adversus homines verum contra adulterantes ipsum Dei verbum,[38] id est omnem veritatis depravationem et depositi sancti violationem[39] a Patribus transmissi. Pugna autem eius nihil prae se ferebat violentiae, cum vis esset amoris; perspicuitas ipsius nihil secum ferebat arrogantiae, cum mansuetudo esset amoris. A principio itaque ad finem ministerii sui nisus est, ut integra significatio formulae Nicenae conservaretur de divinitate Christi "consubstantialis" Patri;[40] item vero pugnabat, ne Spiritus gloria minueretur, qui, cum crederetur "complere Trinitatem sanctam ... particeps esse divinae ac beatae naturae,"[41] numerandus erat cum Patre et Filio necnon conglorificandus.[42]

Etsi gravissimis se obiciebat vitae periculis, firmiter tamen vigilabat, ut Ecclesiae libertas custodiretur; verus cum episcopus esset, principibus adversari nihil dubitabat, ut suum populique Dei ius defenderet veritatis confitendae atque Evangelio obtemperandi.[43] Sanctus Gregorius Nazianzenus, qui illius contentionis narrat memorabilem quidem eventum, probe nobis ostendit arcanam vim Basilii potentiae repositam sola esse in ipsa nuntii eius simplicitate, in testificationis claritate, in maiestate dignitatis sacerdotalis.[44]

Haud minore autem asperitate, quam adversus haereses adhibuerat ac tyrannos, Basilius se gessit contra ambiguitates morumque deformitates intra Ecclesiam, praesertim vero contra affectationem saecularem bonorumque cupiditatem. Movebatur tunc, uti antea semper, eodem erga veritatem et Evangelium amore; nam, quamvis rationibus diversis, ipsum tamen semper Evangelium negabatur et repudiabatur tam per errores haeresiarcharum quam per divitum cupiditates. Hac de re notabiles in exemplum sunt loci quorundam illius sermonum: "'Vende quae habes et da paupberibus';[45] ... si non occidisti, ut ais, neque adulterium commisisti, neque furatus es, neque contra quempiam falsum testimonium dixisti; nihilominus tamen adhibitam in his agendis diligentiam tibi infructuosam efficis, qui quod reliquum est non adicias, quo solo possis in Dei regnum ingredi."[46] Qui enim secundum Dei praeceptum cupit proximum amare

[37] Cf. 2 Cor. 11.2.
[38] Cf. 2 Cor. 2.17.
[39] Cf. 1 Tim. 6.20; 2 Tim. 1.14.
[40] Cf. *EMax. phl.* [9] 3, PG 32: 272A; *ECan.* [52] 1-3, ibid., 392B-396A; *C. Eun.* 1.20, PG 29: 556C.
[41] *EItal.* [243] 4, PG 32: 909A.
[42] Cf. *De Sp. S.* 29, PG 32: 117C.

Basil loved the Church with a jealous love,[37] and knowing that her virginity is her faith itself, he was an extremely watchful guardian of the purity of this faith.

For this reason he had to, and did, fight courageously: not against men, but against every falsification of the Word of God,[38] any distoirtion of truth, any tampering with the holy deposit[39] handed down by the Fathers. His battle, however, had nothing of violence about it: it was the power of love: and his clarity nothing of arrongance: it was the delicacy of love.

Thus, from the beginning to the end of his ministry, he fought to preserve intact the full meaning of the Nicaean formula regarding the divinity of Christ "consubstantial" with the Father;[40] and at the same time he fought to prevent the glory of the Spirit from being diminished, for since He "is complemental of the Holy Trinity and participant in the divine and blessed nature,"[41] He must be numbered and glorified with the Father and Son.[42]

With firmness, and exposing himself personally to very serious dangers, he kept watch and fought also for the freedom of the Church: as a true bishop, not hesitating to oppose rulers to defend his right and that of the people of God to profess the truth and obey the Gospel.[43] St Gregory Nazianzen, who reports a striking episode of this struggle, shows clearly that the secret of his power lay only in the very simplicity of his proclamation, the clarity of his testimony, and the majesty of his priestly dignity.[44]

Basil's severity against heresies and tyrants was not exceeded by his severity against ambiguities and abuses within the Church: in particular, against wordliness and attachment to property.

He was actuated, then as always, by the same love of truth and of the Gospel. It was, indeed, though in a different way, the Gospel that was always denied and contradicted: both by the error of heretics and by the selfishness of the rich.

The texts of some of his addresses are memorable in this connection, and remain exemplary: "Sell what you have and give it to the poor;[45] ... because, even if, as you say, you have not killed or committed adultery or stolen or borne false witness, it will be of no use to you if you do not also do the rest: only in this way will you be able to enter the Kingdom of God."[46] In fact, he who in accordance with God's commandment, wishes

[43] Cf. Gregorius Nazianzenus, *Or.* 43, PG 36: 557C-561C.

[44] Cf. ibid., 561C-564B.

[45] Mt. 19.22.

[46] *HDiv.* [7] 1, PG 31: 280B-281A.

suum,[47] "nihil amplius quam proximus possidet."[48] Ac multo quidem vehementius in tempore famis et siccitatis cohortatur, "ne brutis animantibus videamur immaniores...; quae sunt communia abdimus in sinu, ea quae multorum sunt possidemus soli."[49] Hoc est acerrimum studium eius, animos simul turbans et pulcherrimum, et haec cohortatio, ad Ecclesiam omnium aetatum directa, ut ipsa serio animo Evangelium amplectatur! De quo Evangelio, unde praecipitur amor et ministerium pauperum, Basilius non solum verbis istis testimonium reddidit, verum etiam permagnis caritatis operibus, qualis fuit aedificatio ante moenia Caesareae immensi hospitii recipiendis egenis;[50] quin immo vera illa fuit misericordiae civitas, quae ab ipso nomen Basiliadis recepit,[51] atque germanum documentum unius evangelici nuntii.

Idem praeterea Christi amor eiusque Evangelii fecit, ut tantopere sanctus Basilius cruciaretur ob Ecclesiae discidia utque tanta cum perseverantia, sperans contra spem, conquireret efficaciorem manifestioremque communionem universis cum Ecclesiis.[52] Etenim Christianorum discordia ipsam obscurat Evangelii veritatem Christumque ipsum lacerat.[53] Credentium partitio opponitur unius baptismi virtuti,[54] qui in Christo nos unum quiddam efficit, immo unicam quandam mysticam personam;[55] opponitur etiam supremae Christi auctoritati, qui unicus est rex et cui omnes pariter subici debent; opponitur tandem potestati et coniungenti efficacitati ipsius verbi Dei, quod unica restat lex, cui credentes universi concorditer pareant oportet.[56] Quapropter Ecclesiarum divisio sic liquido directoque adversatur tum ipsi Christo tum biblicae doctrinae, ut, e sancti Basilii sententia, sola via redintegrandae unitatis esse possit nova omnium conversio ad Christum eiusque verbum.[57]

Per multiplicem igitur ministerii sui exercitationem factus est Basilius idem ille, quem fieri aliquando iussit omnes verbi nuntiatores: videlicet apostolus et minister Christi, mysteriorum Dei dispensator, praeco regni caelorum, forma et regula pietatis, oculus in corpore Ecclesiae, pastor ovium Christi, medicus cum multa commiseratione, pater et nutrix, Dei adiutor, plantator palmitum Dei, aedificator templi Dei.[58] Et in hac

[47] Cf. Lev. 19.18; Mt. 19.19.
[48] *HDiv.* [7] 1, PG 31: 281B.
[49] *HFam.* [8] 8, PG 31: 325A.
[50] Cf. *EHel.* [94], PG 32: 488B-C.
[51] Cf. Sozomenus, *Hist. eccl.* 6.34, PG 67: 1397A.
[52] Cf. *ESyn.* [70] et *EItal.* [243].
[53] Cf. 1 Cor. 1.13.
[54] Cf. Eph. 4.4.
[55] Cf. Gal. 3.28.

to love his neighbour as himself,[47] "must not possess anything more than his neighbour possesses."[48]

Even more passionately, in time of famine, he exhorted people "not to be more cruel than animals, ... by keeping for themselves what is common property, and possessing for themselves alone what belongs to everyone."[49]

This is his strenuous endeavour, disturbing to souls yet ennobling, and his appeal that the Church of all times seriously take into consideration the Gospel!

Basil paid testimony to the Gospel, which orders love and service of the poor, not only with these words, but with immense works of charity; such as the construction, outside the city walls of Caesarea, of a gigantic hospice for the needy:[50] a real city of mercy which was named Basiliade after him,[51] and which was also an authentic part of the one evangelical proclamation.

It was the same love for Christ and his Gospel that made him suffer so much because of the divisions in the Church and made him seek, so perseveringly, hoping against hope for a more effective and manifest communion with all the Churches.[52]

It is the very truth of the Gospel, in fact, that is obscured by the discord of Christians, and it is Christ himself who is lacerated by it.[53] The division of believers contradicts the power of the one baptism,[54] which in Christ becomes one thing, nay more, one mystical person.[55] It contradicts the sovereignty of Christ, the one king to whom all must equally be subject; it contradicts the authority and unifying power of the word of God, the one law which all believers must obey in concord.[56]

The division of the Churches is therefore so clearly and directly opposed to Christ and to biblical teaching that, according to Basil, the way to the recomposition of unity can only be the reconversion of all to Christ and to his word.[57]

In the multiform exercise of his ministry Basil became, therefore, as he prescribed for all those who proclaimed the word, "an apostle and minister of Christ, dispenser of the mysteries of God, herald of the Kingdom, model and rule of piety, eye of the body of the Church, shepherd of Christ's sheep, a compassionate physician, a father and nurse, cooperator of God, a planter of God's vineyard, a builder of God's temple."[58]

[56] Cf. *Mor. Prl.*1-2, PG 31: 653A-656C.

[57] Cf. ibid., 660B-661A.

[58] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 80.12-21, PG 31: 864B-868B.

industria atque pugna — aspera aerumnosa perpetua — suam Basilius obtulit vitam[59] seque velut holocaustum confecit. Obiit namque annos natus quinquaginta, laboribus ac disciplina ascetica absumptus.

III. Summatim ita breviterque commemoratis vitae Basilii praecipuis partibus ac rationibus eius christianae actionis necnon episcopalis operis, convenire prorsus videtur, ut ex uberrima ipsius scriptorum hereditate saltem maxima quaedam delibentur praecepta. Si quis enim ad illius se scholam contulerit, lucem forsitam inde hauriat, quo melius quaestiones difficultatesque huius nostri temporis tractet auxiliumque etiam afferat nobis in praesens ac futurum tempus.

Non autem praeter rem agere nos videmur, si ab iis proficiscimur quae de sanctissima Trinitate Basilius docuit. Quin immo nullum certe melius inveniri potest principium, se persequi studemus ipsam eius cogitationem. Quid praeterea magis vitae nostrae prodesse potest quam mysterium ipsius vitae Dei? Num aliud ullum argumentum maioris esse potest momenti maiorisque gravitatis in vita cuiuslibet hominis? Loquimur de homine novo, qui ex intima sua natura ac vita huic mysterio conformatur; loquimur de omni homine, sive novit istud sive minus; nam hominum nemo est, qui a Christo Verbo aeterno et a Spiritu et in Spiritu vocatus sit ad Patrem glorificandum.

Hoc est mysterium primordiale, id est sanctissima Trinitas, siquidem nihil aliud est quam ipsum mysterium Dei, Dei unici, vivi et veri.

Realitatem huiusce mysterii sanctus Basilius firmiter enuntiat: trias nominum divinorum, ut ipse affirmat, tres hypostases distinctas certo significat.[60] Sed non minore cum firmitudine asserit absolutam earum inaccessibilitatem. Quam dilucide conscius erat summus hic theologus infirmitatis et insufficientiae cuiusvis tractationis theologicae! Nemo, ut ait ipse, potest id facere pro rei dignitate, atque mysterii magnitudo superat omnem sermonem, ita ut ne linguae quidem angelorum eo pertingere valeant.[61]

Est ergo Deus vivus *realitas* immensa ut abyssus et inscrutabilis! Nihilominus sanctus Basilius persuasum habet se "debere" loqui de ea ac quidem ante omnia et magis quam de ceteris cunctis; et quippe qui credat loquitur;[62] idque agit vi ductus irrefrenabili amoris, obtemperatione iussis Dei, in aedificationem Ecclesiae, quae non "satiatur eiusmodi auditionibus."[63]

[59] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 80.18, PG 31: 865C.
[60] Cf. *C. Eun.* 1.8, PG 29: 529A.
[61] Cf. *HFide* [15] 1, PG 31: 464B-465A.

In this work and this struggle — arduous, painful, without respite — Basil offered his life[59] and wore himself out in sacrifice.

He died before reaching the age of fifty, exhausted by toil and asceticism.

[THE MAGISTERIUM OF ST BASIL]

III. After having thus briefly recalled outstanding aspects of Basil's life and his commitment as a Christian and a bishop, it seems only right to try to draw, from the very rich heritage of his writings, at least some highly important precepts. To place ourselves in his school again, can provide light to deal better with the problems and difficulties of this present time, and so help us now and in the future.

Let it not seem pointless to begin with what Basil taught with regard to the Most Holy Trinity. It is certain, indeed, that there cannot be a better beginning, if we wish to follow his thought.

Then, too, what is more important or of greater profit for life than the mystery of God's life? Can there be a more significant and vital reference point than this, in the life of every man?

We are speaking of the new man, who is conformed to this mystery in his intimate nature and life; and of every man, whether he knows it or not: since there is not anyone who has not been created for Christ, the eternal Word, and there is not anyone who is not called, by the Spirit and in the Spirit, to glorify the Father.

The Holy Trinity is the primordial mystery: since it is nothing other than the very mystery of God, the one living and true God.

Basil firmly proclaims the *reality* of this mystery: the triad of the divine names, he says, certainly indicates three distinct hypostases.[60] But equally firmly he confesses their absolute inaccessibility.

How clearly aware, supreme theologian that he was, of the weakness and inadequacy of all theological exposition!

No one, he said, is capable of doing so in a worthy way, and the greatness of the mystery transcends all discourse, so that not even the tongues of angels can reach it.[61]

The living God, therefore, is an unfathomable and inscrutable *reality*! But nevertheless Basil knows that he "must" speak about it, before everything and more than all other things. And so, believing, he speaks:[62] out of irrepressible love, out of obedience to God's command, and for the building up of the Church, which "never tires of hearing such things."[63]

[62] Cf. 2 Cor. 4.13.
[63] *HFide* [15] 1, PG 31: 464C-D.

Sed fortasse rectius dicitur Basilius, cum verus sit "theologus" potius cantare hoc mysterium quam de eo loqui. Cantat Patrem; qui est "omnium principium, eorum quae exsistunt causa, radix viventium,"[64] et potissimum "Pater Domini nostri Jesu Christi."[65] Quomodo autem Pater praecipue ad Filium refertur, ita Filius — Verbum, quod in sinu beatae Mariae Virginis factum est caro — imprimis ad Patrem refertur. Hoc sane modo illum Basilius contemplatur et cantat quasi "lucem inaccessam, potentiam ineffabilem, magnitudinem finibus nullis circumscriptam, gloriam supermicantem 'mysterii sanctissimae Trinitatis, Deum apud Deum',[66] imaginem bonitatis Patris, aequalis figurae signaculum."[67] Solummodo hac ratione, confitens sine ambiguitate Christum tamquam "unum sanctae Trinitatis,"[68] Basilius eum aspicere valet — ex rei veritate prorsus considerans — in exinanitione humanitatis ipsius. Ille, raro quidem exemplo, inducit nos, ut quaerendo perpendamus infinitum spatium, quod Christus emensus est; raro exemplo mentes nostras intendit in profundum humiliationis eius, "qui, cum in forma Dei esset, semetipsum exinanivit formam servi accipiens."[69]

In sancti Basilii doctrina Christologia gloriae nullatenus efficit, ut Christologia humiliationis attenuetur; quin immo illa maiore cum vi declarat argumentum illud primarium Evangelii, id est verbum crucis[70] et scandalum crucis.[71]

Haec profecto sunt lineamenta, illi assueta, sermonis de re christologica, quatenus lumen gloriae sensum humiliationis revelat.

Obtemperatio Christo est verum "evangelium," videlicet prorsus singularis effectio redimentis amoris Dei, propter hoc ipsum quod — et solum eatenus — is, qui oboedit est "unigenitus Dei Filius Dominus et Deus noster ... per quem omnia facta sunt";[72] atque ita eadem obtemperatio infringere valet obstinatam inoboedientiam nostram. Dolores Christi, agni immaculati, qui non aperuit os suum coram percutientibus se,[73] momentum habent et vim aeternam et universalem, quia scilicet is, qui passus est talia, est "caeli terraeque conditor ac dominus, qui a creatura omni tam spirituali quam in sensum cadendi adoratur, portans omnia verbo virtutis suae";[74] hoc sane modo passio Christi violentiae nostrae moderatur iramque lenit nostram.

[64] Ibid., 465C.
[65] *LBas. I*, Anaphora.
[66] *HFide* [15] 1-2, PG 31: 465C-D.
[67] Cf. *LBas. I*, Anaphora.
[68] *LChrys.*
[69] Phil. 2.6 s.

But perhaps it is more exact to say that Basil, as a true "theologian," rather than speak about this mystery, sings it.

He sings of the Father: "the beginning of everything, the cause of what exists, the root of the living beings,"[64] and above all "Father of our Lord, Jesus Christ."[65] Just as the Father is primarily in relationship with the Son, so the Son — the Word that became flesh in Mary's womb — is primarily in relationship with the Father.

In this way, therefore, Basil contemplates him and sings of him as "inaccessible light, ineffable power, infinite greatness, resplendent glory of the 'mystery of the Trinity, God with God,'[66] the image of the Father's goodness and the seal of form equal to him."[67]

Only in this way, confessing Christ without ambiguity as "one of the Holy Trinity,"[68] can Basil then see him with full realism in the self-abasement of his humanity. And he incites us, as few others do, to ponder the infinite space Christ has travelled in search of us; he reveals, as few do, the abyss of the humiliation of Him who "though he was in the form of God, ... emptied himself, taking the form of a servant."[69]

In Basil's teaching, the Christology of glory does not weaken in any way the Christology of humiliation: on the contrary, it serves to proclaim with even greater power that central content of the Gospel which is the word of the cross[70] and the scandal of the cross.[71]

This is, actually, a habitual schema of his Christological discourse: it is the light of glory that reveals the depth of humiliation.

Christ's obedience is true "Gospel," that is, the paradoxical realization of God's redeeming love, precisely because — and only if — he who obeys is "the Only-begotten Son of God, our Lord and God ... through whom all things were made";[72] and thus that obedience can subdue our obstinate disobedience. The sufferings of Christ, the immaculate lamb who did not open his mouth against those who struck him,[73] have an infinite scope and an eternal and universal value, precisely because he who suffered in this way is "the creator and Lord of heaven and earth, who is adored by every creature both spiritual and corporal, bearing all things by the word of his power";[74] and it is in this way that Christ's passion restrains our violence and mollifies our anger.

[70] Cf. 1 Cor. 1.18.
[71] Cf. Gal. 5.11.
[72] *Mor. Prl.*4, PG 31: 660B.
[73] Cf. Is. 53.7.
[74] Cf. Hebr. 1.3; *HIra* [10] 7, PG 31: 369B.

Crux demum reapse est nostra "spes unica,"[75] non clades, sed eventus salvificus, "exaltatio"[76] et mirabilis triumphus tantummodo propterea quod is, qui ei est affixus in eaque mortuus, "est Dominus noster et omnium,"[77] "per quem omnia tum visibilia tum invisibilia facta sunt, qui vitam habet quemadmodum habet qui ei dedit Pater, qui potestatem omnem a Patre accepit";[78] quo fit, ut mors Christi nos liberet a "timore mortis," cui omnes fuimus obnoxii.[79]

A Christo "Spiritus sanctus processit, Spiritus veritatis, gratia adoptionis, arrha futurae hereditatis, primitiae aeternorum bonorum, vivifica potentia, fons sanctificationis, a quo omnis creatura ratione ac mente praedita, viribus acceptis confirmata Patrem colit et aeternam ei tribuit glorificationem."[80]

Qui quidem hymnus Anaphorae sancti Basilii egregie et compendiaria ratione partes Spiritus indicat in oeconomia salutis.

Spiritus enim, qui unicuique baptizato datur, in singulis charismata operatur singulisque in memoriam revocat praecepta Domini;[81] Spiritus ipse universam animat Ecclesiam, disponit et vivificat donis suis eamque totam in corpus "spirituale" et charismaticum redigit.[82]

Exinde sanctus Basilius ad serenam contemplationem "gloriae" Spiritus, arcanam et incomprehensibilem, ascendit, confitens eum esse supra omnem humanam creaturam,[83] Regem ac Dominum, quia ab eo transformamur, ut consortes fiamus divinae naturae,[84] et Sanctum, quia ab eo sanctificamur.[85] Basilius ergo, quoniam hoc modo contulit ad fidem trinitariam enuntiandam Ecclesiae, etiamnum ad huius cor loquitur eamque solatur, praesertim luculenta confessione Consolatoris eius.

Splendidissima vero lux mysterii sanctae Trinitatis non sane officit hominis gloriae; quin immo quam maxime eam exaltat atque revelat. Nam homo non est Dei aemulus, cui ineptus opponatur; neque Deo caret atque in solitudine sua degit desperans; sed est repercussa Dei imago.

Quapropter quo magis Deus splendet, eo magis lumen eius in homine refulget; et quo magis Deus celebratur, eo magis hominis dignitas

[75] Lit. Hor., Hebdomada Sancta, hymnus ad Vesperas.
[76] Cf. Io. 8.32 s., et alibi.
[77] Cf. Act. 10.36; *De bapt.* 2.12, PG 31: 1624B.
[78] *De bapt.* 2.13, PG 31: 1625C.
[79] Cf. Hebr. 2.15.
[80] Cf. *LBas. 1*, Anaphora.
[81] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.2, PG 31: 1561A.
[82] Cf. *De Sp. S.* 61, PG 32: 181A-B; *Mor. Prl.*3, PG 31: 657C-660A.

Finally, the cross is really our "only hope"[75] — not a defeat, therefore, but the event of salvation, an "exaltation"[76] and stupendous triumph — only because he who was nailed to it and died on it is "our Lord and the Lord of all";[77] "he by means of whom all things, visible and invisible, were made, he who possesses life as the Father who gave it to him possesses it, he who has received all power from the Father."[78] It is in this way that Christ's death frees us from that "fear of death" of which we were all slaves.[79]

From Christ "the Holy Spirit proceeded, the Spirit of truth, the gift of filial adoption, the pledge of the future inheritance, the first fruits of eternal goods, vivifying power, the source of sanctification, from which every rational and intelligent creature receives power to worship the Father and repeat to him the eternal doxology."[80]

This hymn of Basil's Anaphora expresses well, in synthesis, the role of the Spirit in the economy of salvation.

It is the Spirit, given to every baptized person, who is active in the charisms of each one and recalls to each one the teachings of the Lord.[81] The Spirit himself animates the whole Church, regulates and vivifies it with his gifts, and makes of it entirely a "spiritual" and charismatic body.[82]

From here, Basil ascended to serene contemplation of the "glory" of the Spirit, mysterious and incomprehensible, confessing that he is above every creature.[83] King and Lord, because we are transformed by him so that we become sharers of the divine nature,[84] and also that he is Holy because we are sanctified by him.[85] Having thus contributed to the formulation of the trinitarian faith of the Church, Basil still speaks to her heart and solaces her, particularly with the luminous confession of her Comforter.

The dazzling light of the mystery of the Trinity certainly does not put man's glory in the shade: on the contrary, it exalts it supremely and reveals it.

Man, indeed, is not God's rival, foolishly opposed to him; nor is he without God, abandoned to the despair of his own solitude. But he is the reflection of God and his image.

Therefore, the more God shines forth, the more his light is reflected by man; the more God is exalted, the more man's dignity is extolled.

[83] Cf. *De Sp. S.*, c. 22.
[84] Cf. ibid., c. 20 s.
[85] Cf. ibid., c. 9 et 18.

extollitur. Atque eadem hac ipsa ratione sanctus Basilius praedicavit hominis dignitatem: considerans videlicet eam totam tamquam cum Deo coniunctam, id est ad suum finem spectantem.

Namque homo in primis ad Deum cognoscendum intellectum accepit; ad legem vero eius implendam est libertate donatus. Atque solummodo tamquam imago Dei homo naturae universae ordinem transcendit, "magis caelo, magis sole, magis stellarum choreis honoratus (ecquod enim caelorum imago Dei altissimi dictum est?"[86]

Hanc autem ipsam ob rem, gloria hominis tota in hac ipsius coniunctione cum Deo est posita. Quapropter homo hanc dignitatem suam "regalem" eatenus plene tuetur, quatenus imaginem Dei expressam in se retinet; atque idcirco reapse suus solummodo erit, si cognoscat atque diligat eum, a quo intellectum atque libertatem accepit.

Ante Basilium vero haec habet sanctus Irenaeus omnino egregia: "Gloria Dei vivens homo, vita hominis visio Dei,"[87] quasi dicat: homo vivens est in se ipse Dei glorificatio, utpote pulchritudinis illius radius; sed nullam habet "vitam," nisi quatenus a Deo hauserit, personali quidem cum illo necessitudine. Quodsi huic deest officio, homo vocationem suam praecipuam irritam facit, atque dignitatem suam opere negat atque dehonestat.[88]

Quid autem est aliud peccatum nisi hoc? Nonne Christus venit, ut gloriam huius Dei imaginis, id est hominis, repararet atque restitueret, quam homo peccando obscuraverat,[89] corruperat,[90] confregerat.[91] Ob id ipsum, affirmat S. Basilius, vocibus sacrarum Litterarum usus: "Verbum caro factum est, et habitavit in nobis,[92] et usque adeo se ipsum depressit, ut factus sit obediens usque ad mortem, mortem autem crucis."[93] Quare, homo, "ex persoluto pro te pretio, qualemcumque dignitatis tuae notionem accipe; ad pretium illud quo commutatus es respice, tuamque agnosce dignitatem."[94]

Dignitas ergo hominis tum Dei tum crucis mysterio continetur; atque haec est doctrina Basilii circa homines seu "humanismus" vel, quo simplicius dicamus, "humanismus" christianus.

Quare imaginis restauratio per unius crucis Christi virtutem fieri potest. Nam eius "usque ad mortem obedientia ... facta nobis est redemptio peccatorum, liberatio mortis in peccato, quod a saeculo est, regnantis, reconciliatio cum Deo, virtus qua grati efficimur Deo et accepti, iustitiae

[86] *HPs. 48*.8, PG 29: 449C.
[87] *Adv. haer.* 4.20.7.
[88] Cf. *HPs. 48*.8, PG 29: 449D-452A.

In this way Basil celebrated man's dignity: seeing it completely related to God, that is, derived from him and ordered to him as its end.

Man received intelligence, essentially to know God, and to live in accordance with his law, he has received freedom. And it is only as the image of God that man transcends the whole order of nature, "more honoured than the sky, more than the sun, more than the choirs of the stars (what heaven, in fact, has been called the image of the most high God?)."[86]

Precisely for this reason, man's glory depends radically on his relationship with God: man fully reaches his "royal" dignity only by realizing in himself the image of God, and he really becomes himself only by knowing and loving him through whom he has reason and freedom.

Already before Basil, St Irenaeus expressed himself admirably as follows: "The glory of God is the living man; but man's life is the vision of God,"[87] as if to say, living man is in himself the glorification of God, as a ray of his beauty; but he has no "life" unless by drawing it from God, in a personal relationship with him. To fail in this task would mean for man a betrayal of his own essential vocation, and therefore a denial and degradation in practice of his own dignity.[88]

What is sin but this? Did not Christ come to renew and restore the glory of this image of God, that is, of man, which man, through sin, had darkened,[89] corrupted,[90] shattered?[91]

Precisely for this reason, Basil affirms in the words of Scripture: "The Word became flesh and dwelt among us,[92] and humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even death on a cross."[93] Therefore, O man, "realize your greatness, considering the price paid for you: look at the price of your redemption, and recognize your dignity!"[94]

Man's dignity, therefore, is contained in the mystery of God and of the cross; this is Basil's "humanism," or — we could say more simply — Christian humanism.

The restoration of the image, therefore, can be carried out only by virtue of Christ's cross. "For his obedience unto death ... became for us redemption of sinners, freedom from death which, owing to sin reigned for centuries, reconciliation with God, the power of pleasing God, the gift

[89] *HMal.* [9] 3, PG 31: 333A.
[90] *HPs.* 32.8, PG 29: 344B.
[91] *De bapt.* 1.2, PG 31: 1537A.
[92] Io. 1.14.
[93] Cf. Phil. 2.8; *HPs.* 48.8, PG 29: 452A-B.
[94] Ibid., 452B.

donum, societas sanctorum in aeterna vita regni caelorum hereditas."[95] Atqui hoc, secundum Basilii mentem, idem est ac dicere omnia haec perfici est aliud quam salvificus eventus mortis Christi, in quem inserimur celebratione mysterii? Etenim sacramentale mysterium, quod est mortis eius "imitatio," nos in eius mortem demergit, ut Paulus scribit: "An ignoratis quia quicumque baptizati sumus in Christo, in mortem ipsius baptizati sumus?"[96]

Innixus igitur in arcana identitate baptismi et paschalis Christi eventus, Basilius, Pauli vestigia sequendo, docet baptizari nihil aliud esse quam vere crucifigi, id est cum Christo cruci unicae eius affigi, vere eandem ipsius obire mortem, sepeliri ipsius sepelitione et idcirco resurgere ipsius resurrectione.[97]

Merito igitur ille ad baptismum eadem gloriae nomina transfert, quibus crucem celebrat. Quare "baptismus captivis est redemptionis pretium, debitorum condonatio, mors peccati, regeneratio animae, indumentum lucidum, sigillum quod conatu nullo frangi potest, vehiculum ad caelum, regni conciliator, adoptionis donum."[98] Sane per illum homo conglutinatur cum Christo, per quem in intimam vitam trinitariam inseritur; atque ita fit spiritus, quia ex Spiritu generatus,[99] et filius, quia Filium induit, artissima necessitudine cum Unigeniti Patre coniunctus, qui vere exinde eius pater factus est.[100]

Tam acriter mysterium baptismale consideranti clarior fit Basilio ipse sensus christianae vitae. Ceterum, quomodo comprehendamus hoc novi hominis mysterium, nisi animum intendendo in nitidissimam hanc ipsius novam nativitatem divinamque virtutem, quae per baptismum eum genuit? "Quid proprium Christiani?", quaerit Basilius; qui et respondet: "Generari denuo et aqua et Spiritu Sancto per baptismum."[101] Nam solum eo, unde sumus, percipi potest quid simus atque illud pro quo simus.

Cum sit nova creatura, Christianus etiam tum cum non est de re plane conscius, novam vivit vitam; atque in imo sui, tametsi id in agendo neget, in novam patriam transmigrat, quasi caelestis in terris,[102] siquidem Dei opus est quam maxime et quam certissime efficax, atque semper aliquo modo excedit quidquid homo potest aut repugnare aut contra dicere.

[95] *De bapt.* 1.2, PG 31: 1556B.
[96] Rom. 6.3.
[97] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.2.
[98] *HBapt.* [13] 5, PG 31: 433A-B.
[99] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 20.2, PG 31: 736D; ibid., 80.22, 869A.
[100] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.2, PG 31: 1564C-1565B.
[101] *Reg. mor.* 80.22, PG 31: 868D.

of justice, the communion of the saints in eternal life, the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven."[95]

But this, for Basil, is equivalent to saying that everything is accomplished by virtue of baptism.

What is baptism, in fact, if not the salvific event of the death of Christ, in which we are inserted by means of the celebration of the mystery? The sacramental mystery, an "imitation" of his death, immerses us in his death: as Paul writes: "Do you not know that all of us who have been baptized into Christ Jesus were baptized into his death?"[96]

On the basis, therefore, of the mysterious identity of baptism with Christ's paschal event, Basil, following Paul, teaches that to be baptized is nothing other than to be really crucified, that is, to be nailed with Christ to his same cross, really to undergo his death, to be buried in his burial, and consequently to rise with him in his resurrection.[97]

Rightly, therefore, can he attribute to baptism the same titles of glory with which he extols the cross. Wherefore, "baptism is the ransom of captives, the remission of debts, the death of sin, the regeneration of the soul, the garment of light, the inviolable seal, the vehicle to heaven, the title for the kingdom, the gift of adoption."[98] It is through baptism, indeed, that the union between man and Christ is welded, and through Christ man is inserted into the intimate life of the Trinity: becoming a spirit because born of the Spirit[99] and a son because he has put on the Son, united in the closest relationship with the Father of the Only Begotten, who has thereby truly become his Father.[100]

In the light of such a penetrating consideration of the baptismal mystery, the very meaning of Christian life is more clearly unveiled to Basil. Moreover, how else can this mystery of the new man be understood, unless by fixing one's gaze on the luminous point of his new birth, and on the divine power that has generated him in baptism?

"What is proper to the Christian?" — Basil asks himself; and he answers: "He who is generated anew by water and the Holy Spirit in baptism."[101] Only in that from which we are, is revealed what we are, and that for which we are.

A new creature, the Christian, even when he is not fully aware of it, lives a new life; and in his deepest reality, even if he denies it in his actions, he transmigrates to a new homeland, as a heavenly being upon the earth:[102] because God's operation is infinitely and infallibly efficacious, and always exceeds to some extent man's opposition or contradiction.

[102] Cf. *De Sp. S.* 49, PG 32: 157C; *HBapt.* [13] 3, PG 31: 429B.

Sine dubio officium est hominis — est autem ipsius christianae vitae sensus, necessario cum baptismate necessitudinem habens — ut id fiat ille, quod ipse est; ut nempe se adaequet cum nova ratione "spirituali" atque eschatologica personalis sui mysterii, sicut sanctus Basilius dilucide, ut moris est ei, ait: "Quae sit ratio aut vis baptismatis? Nempe ut baptizatus et mente et sermone et actione mutetur, atque per virtutem sibi datam fiat id ipsum, quod est illud ex quo natus est."[103]

Eucharistiam, qua christiana initiatio perficitur, sanctus Basilius semper reputat artissime cum baptismate coniunctam. Unicus enim cum sit cibus novae baptizati condicioni conveniens, ad eius novam vitam sustinendam aptus novasque vires alendas,[104] cultus in spiritu et veritate, novi sacerdotii exercitatio et perfectum novi Israel sacrificium,[105] sola Eucharistia novam creationem, quae in baptismate fit, plene efficit et absolvit.

Quare mysterium est maximae laetitiae — nonnisi cantando licet eius participes esse[106] — et infinitae, tremendae sanctitatis. Quomodo corpus Domini tractet, qui in peccato est?[107] Oportet sane Ecclesia, quae sacram communionem ministrat, sit "sine macula et ruga, sancta et immaculata";[108] semper nempe, mysterii quod celebrat bene conscia, se exploret,[109] quo magis ac magis "ab omni inquinamento et immunditia"[110] se mundet.

Ceterum non licet ei a communione ministranda abstinere; nam et ipsum baptisma ad Eucharistiam, quae est ad vitam aeternam necessaria,[111] refertur, et baptizatorum populus ideo debet esse purus, ut sit Eucharistiae particeps.[112]

Accedit quod una Eucharistia, paschalis Christi mysterii verum memoriale, efficere potest, ut memoria eius amoris in nobis vigeat. Ea igitur causa est, cur Ecclesia vigilet; siquidem, nisi divina efficacitas huius incitamenti, continui et blandissimi, eam moveret, nisi oculorum Sponsi sui in se defixorum vim acutam sentiret, facillime ipsa immemor, torpida, infidelis evaderet. Eo igitur consilio Eucharistia instituta est secundum Domini verba: "Hoc facite in meam commemorationem,"[113] eoque consilio est celebranda.

[103] *Reg. mor.* 20.2, PG 31: 736D.
[104] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.3, PG 31: 1573B.
[105] Cf. ibid., 2.2 s. et 8, 1601C; *ECaes. ptc.* [93], PG 32: 485A.
[106] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 21.4, PG 31: 741A.
[107] Cf. *De bapt.* 2.3, PG 31: 1585A-B.
[108] Eph. 5.27; *Reg. mor.* 80.22, PG 31: 869B.
[109] Cf. 1 Cor. 11.28; *Reg. mor.* 21.2, PG 31: 740A-B.
[110] *De bapt.* 2.3, PG 31: 1585A-B.

There remains, certainly, the task — and it is, in essential relationship with baptism, the very meaning of Christian life — of becoming what one is, adapting oneself to the new "spiritual" and eschatological dimension of one's own personal mystery. As St. Basil says, with his usual clarity: "What is the significance and the power of baptism ? It is that the baptized person should be transformed in thoughts, words and deeds, and that by the power conferred on him he should become that from which he has been generated."[103]

The Eucharist, the completion of Christian initiation, is always considered by Basil in very close relationship with baptism. The only food suitable for the new condition of the baptized person and capable of sustaining his new life and nourishing his new energies,[104] worship in spirit and truth, exercise of the new priesthood and perfect sacrifice of the new Israel,[105] only the Eucharist realizes in fullness and perfects the new baptismal creature.

Therefore, it is a mystery of immense joy — only by singing can one participate in it[106] — and of infinite, tremendous holiness. How could one, in a state of sin, handle the body of the Lord?[107] The Church which administers Holy Communion, should really be "without spot or wrinkle, holy and without blemish";[108] that is, well aware of the mystery she celebrates, she should always examine herself well,[109] to purify herself more and more "from all contamination and impurity."[110]

On the other hand, she may not abstain from administering communion; for baptism itself is ordained, to the Eucharist, which is necessary for eternal life,[111] and the people of the baptized must be pure precisely to partake in the Eucharist.[112]

Only the Eucharist, moreover, the true memorial of Christ's paschal mystery, is capable of keeping alive in us the memory of his love. It is, therefore, the secret of the vigilance of the Church: it would be too easy for her, otherwise, without the divine efficacy of this continual and very sweet incentive, without the penetrating power of this look of her Bridegroom fixed on her, to fall into forgetfulness, insensitivity and unfaithfulness. The Eucharist was instituted for this purpose, according to the Lord's words: "Do this in remembrance of me";[113] and consequently it must be celebrated for this purpose.

[111] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 21.1, PG 31: 737C.
[112] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 80.22, ibid., 869B.
[113] 1 Cor. 11.24 s. et par.

Id dictare sanctum Basilium non taedet: "in commemorationem,"[114] immo in perpetuam commemorationem, "ad indelebilem memoriam,"[115] ut "efficaciter memoriam illius, qui pro nobis mortuus est et resurrexit," exprimamus.[116]

Solummodo ergo Eucharistia, Deo providente et donante, potest in cordibus custodire "sigillum"[117] illius Christi memoriae, quae urgens nos et refrenans, impedit ne peccemus; eamque ob causam sanctus Basilius ad Eucharistiam praecipue refert haec Pauli Apostoli verba. "Caritas Christi urget nos, aestimantes hoc quoniam, si unus pro omnibus mortuus est, ergo omnes mortui sunt; et pro omnibus mortuus est, ut et, qui vivunt, iam non sibi vivant, sed ei, qui pro ipsis mortuus est et resurrexit."[118] At quid est pro Christo vivere — seu "Deo ex toto vivere" — nisi res ipsa foederis baptismalis?[119] Idcirco hac quoque ratione Eucharistia exsistit baptismatis consummatio, cum sola det ex eo fideliter vivere eiusque gratiae virtutem ad effectum continenter adducat.

Inde sanctus Basilius non dubitat frequentem, quin etiam cotidianam communionem suadere: "Singulis enim diebus communicare, ac participem esse sancti corporis et sanguinis Christi, bonum est et utile, cum ipse dicat: 'Qui comedit meam carnem et bibit meum sanguinem, habet vitam aeternam.'[120] Quis enim dubitat quin vitae continenter esse participem nihil aliud sit quam multiplici ratione vivere."[121]

Verus "vitae aeternae cibus," novae baptizati vitae nutriendae aptus, est, aeque ac Eucharistia, "omne verbum quod procedit de ore Dei."[122] Ipse sanctus Basilius hanc verbi Dei cum corporis Christi mensa fundamentalem necessitudinem graviter statuit;[123] nam et Scriptura, etsi aliter, est, ut Eucharistia, divina, sancta et necessaria. Est vere divina, ita insolita cum vi asseverat Basilius, "Dei" videlicet sensu vero proprioque. Eam Deus ipse inspiravit,[124] Deus confirmavit,[125] Deus pronuntiavit per hagiographos[126] — Moysen, prophetas, evangelistas, apostolos[127] — et praesertim per Filium suum[128] ipsum, unum Dominum: sive in Vetere,

[114] *Reg. mor.* 21.3, PG 31: 740B.
[115] Ibid., 1576D.
[116] *Reg. mor.* 80.22, ibid., 869B.
[117] Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 5.2, PG 31: 921B.
[118] 2 Cor. 5.14 s.
[119] Cf. *De bapt.* 2.1, PG 31: 1581A.
[120] Io. 6.54.
[121] *ECaes. ptc.* [93], PG 32: 484B.
[122] Mt. 4.4; cf. Dt. 8.3; *De bapt.* 1.3, PG 31: 1573B-C.
[123] Cf. *Dei Verbum* 21.

Basil never tires of repeating it: "In remembrance;"[114] in fact, for a perpetual remembrance, "for an indelible memory,"[115] that we may express "efficaciously the memory of him who died for us and arose again."[116]

Only the Eucharist, therefore, according to God's providence and gift, can really guard in the heart "the seal"[117] of Christ's memory which, urging and restraining us, prevents us from sinning. For this reason St Basil applies especially to the Eucharist these words of the Apostle Paul: "The love of Christ controls us, because we are convinced that one has died for all; therefore all have died. And he died for all, that those who live might live no longer for themselves but for him who for their sake died and was raised."[118] What, then, is this living for Christ — or "living completely for God" — but the very essence of the baptismal covenant?[119]

For this reason, therefore, the Eucharist is seen as the fullness of baptism, since it alone makes it possible to live faithfully in accordance with one's baptismal obligations and continually to put into effect the power of its grace.

So St Basil does not hesitate to recommend frequent, or even daily, communion: "To communicate even every day receiving the holy body and blood of Christ is a good and useful thing; for Christ himself says clearly: 'he who eats my flesh and drinks my blood has eternal life.'[120] Who will doubt, therefore, that to participate continually in life is to live more fully."[121]

"Every word that proceeds from the mouth of God,"[122] is also like the Eucharist, the true "food of eternal life," capable of nourishing the new life of the baptized person like the Eucharist.

St Basil himself forcefully establishes this fundamental connection of God's word with the table of Christ's body;[123] for Scripture, though in a different way, is, like the Eucharist, divine, holy and necessary.

It is truly divine, Basil affirms with unusual energy: that is, "of God" in the most specific sense. God himself inspired it,[124] God confirmed it,[125] God spoke it by means of the sacred writers[126] — Moses, the prophets, the evangelists, the apostles[127] — and above all by means of his Son;[128] He, the

[124] Cf. *Mor. PrI* 5, PG 31: 664D; *Mor. PrF* 1, ibid., 677A, etc.
[125] Cf. *Mor. PrF* 1, PG 31: 680B.
[126] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 13, PG 31: 1092A; *C. Eun.* 2.14, PG 29: 597C, etc.
[127] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.1, PG 31: 1524D.
[128] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.2, ibid., 1561C.

sive in Novo Testamento;[129] varia quidem vehementia variaque revelationis plenitudine,[130] sine ulla tamen contradictione.[131]

Scriptura igitur, cum sit re divina, etsi humanis verbis expressa, summae est auctoritatis: fidei fons, secundum Pauli verbum,[132] certitudinis plenae, non dubiae, non instabilis est fundamentum.[133] Cum tota ex Deo sit, tota est, minimis quoque ex partibus, immensi ponderis et digna, quae maxime observetur.[134]

Quam ob rem Scriptura merito etiam sancta dicitur: quemadmodum enim Eucharistiam profanare horribile est sacrilegium, ita et sacrilegium est aliquid in integritatem et puritatem verbi Dei moliri. Non est ideo secundum humanas rationis categorias intellegenda, sed ex sua ipsius doctrina, veluti "Dominum ipsum de eorum quae ab ipso dicta sunt interpretatione interrogando";[135] nec de illis divinis scriptis, Ecclesiae traditis in omne aevum, licet quodquam demere, neque quidquam iisdem addere; de iis videlicet sanctis verbis loquimur, quae Deo semel in tempora cuncta sunt enuntiata.[136]

Prorsus necesse est animus in verbum Dei semper feratur adorans et fidelis et amans. Ex ea potissimum et Ecclesia haurire debet ad suum nuntium edicendum,[137] ipsis Domini verbis ducta,[138] ne forte "humana faciat pietatis verba."[139]

Ad Scripturam denique Christianus quisque "semper et ubique," quodcumque init consilium,[140] se revocare debet, "parvulus factus,"[141] efficacissima ex eo sumens infirmitatum suarum remedia,[142] neque ullum quasi gradum facere audens, nisi illorum verborum lumine collustratus.[143] Totum sancti Basilii magisterium est, ut diximus, vere christianum "evangelium," laetus nuntius salutis. Nonne gaudii plena atque ipse fons gaudii est gloriae Dei confessio, quae in homine, eiusdem imagine, refulget? Nonne mirabilis crucis victoriae nuntius, qua, "in magnitudine misericordiae et multitudine miserationum Dei,"[144] peccata nostra condonata sunt, antequam ea nos patraremus?[145] Quid iucundius quam

[129] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 47, PG 31: 1113A.
[130] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 276, PG 31: 1276C-D; *De bapt.* 1.2, ibid., 1545B.
[131] Cf. *Mor. PrF.*6, ibid., 692B.
[132] Cf. Rom. 10.17; *Reg. mor.* 80.22, PG 31: 868C.
[133] Ibid.
[134] Cf. *Hex.* 6.11, PG 29: 144C; *Hex.* 8.8, ibid., 184C.
[135] *De bapt.* 2.4, PG 31: 1589B.
[136] Cf. *Mor. PrF.*1, ibid., 680A-B; *Reg. mor.* 80.22, ibid., 868C.
[137] Cf. *HPs. 115*.2-3, PG 30: 105C, 108A.
[138] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.2, PG 31: 1533C.
[139] *EAnt. ec.* [140] 2, PG 32: 588B.

one Lord: both in the Old and in the New Testament;[129] certainly with different degrees of intensity and different fullness of revelation,[130] but without the slightest contradiction.[131]

Of divine reality although expressed in human words, Scripture is therefore infinitely authoritative. It is a source of faith, according to Paul's words,[132] it is the foundation of a certainty that is full, sure, not hesitating.[133] As it is completely from God, it is entirely, even in its slightest parts, of immense importance and worthy of the most careful observance.[134]

For this reason, too, the Scripture is rightly called holy. Just as it would be a terrible sacrilege to profane the Eucharist so too it would be a sacrilege to tamper with the integrity and purity of the word of God.

It is not to be understood, therefore, according to human categories, but in the light of its own teachings, as if "asking the Lord himself for the interpretation of the things he said."[135] Nothing can be taken from or added to those divine texts consigned to the Church for all times, those holy words spoken by God once and for all.[136]

It is vitally necessary, in fact, that one's approach to the word of God should always be worshipful, faithful and loving. The Church must draw essentially from it for her proclamation,[137] letting herself be guided by the very words of her Lord,[138] in order not to run the risk of "reducing to human words the words of religion."[139]

Every Christian must refer "always and everywhere" to the Scriptures for all his choices,[140] becoming "like a child" before it,[141] seeking in it the most effective remedy against all his various weaknesses,[142] and not daring to take a step without being illuminated by the divine rays of those words.[143]

The whole magisterium of St Basil is, as we have said, truly Christian "gospel," the joyful proclamation of salvation.

Is not the confession of the glory of God reflected in man, his image, full of joy and a source of joy? Is it not stupendous, the proclamation of the victory of the cross, whereby, "owing to the greatness of the piety and the multitude of the mercies of God,"[144] our sins have been forgiven even before we committed them?[145] What announcement is more consoling

[140] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 269, PG 31: 1268C.
[141] Cf. Mc. 10.15; *EApokr. br.* 217, PG 31: 1225B-C; *De bapt.* 1.2, ibid., 1560A-B.
[142] Cf. *HPs. 1*.1, PG 29: 209A.
[143] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 1, PG 31: 1081A.
[144] *EApokr. br.* 10, ibid., 1088C.
[145] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 12, ibid., 1089B.

nuntius baptismatis, quo regeneramur, vel Eucharistiae, qua nutrimur, vel Verbi, cuius lumine perfundimur? Sed ob hoc praesertim quod nec neglexit nec minuit potentiam salutiferam atque transformationem operis Dei et "virtutum saeculi venturi,"[146] ab omnibus sanctus Basilius firmissime postulat absolutum amorem in Deum, plenum absque ulla exceptione famulatum, perfectam vitam iuxta modum doctrinamque Evangelii.[147]

Namque, si baptismus est gratia — quin immo singularis gratia! — quotquot eam sunt adepti, reapse acceperunt "facultatem ac potestatem placendi Deo,"[148] et ideo "omnes pariter debent eandem baptismatis rationem sequi," videlicet "secundum Evangelium vivere."[149]

"Omnes pariter," ait; non enim sunt Christiani secundi ordinis, quippe cum non sint baptismata diversa et ipsa christianae vitae ratio in uno baptismali foedere penitus contineatur.[150]

"Secundum Evangelium vivere," dicit ipse; quid revera est hoc secundum sanctum Basilium? Hoc idem est ac contendere vehementi desiderio[151] omnibusque novis viribus, quibus quis praeditus est, ad conciliandam "Dei gratiam."[152] Hoc, exempli causa, idem est ac "non ... divitem esse, sed pauperem, iuxta Domini sententiam,"[153] ut praecipua condicio efficiatur eum sequendi,[154] sine vinculis[155] et ut manifestetur, contra vigentem vivendi rationem mundi, Evangelii novitas.[156] Hoc idem est ac verbo Dei se omnino submittere, respuendo "proprias voluntates,"[157] dum oboeditur, Christi exemplo, "usque ad mortem."[158]

Sanctus Basilius profecto haud erubescebat Evangelium, sed persuasum sibi habens id esse Dei virtutem in salutem omni credenti,[159] illud integerrime[160] annuntiabat, ut plene verbum esset gratiae atque fons vitae.

Praeterea Nos iuvat memorare sanctum Basilium, etiamsi moderatius fratre sancto Gregorio Nysseno atque amico sancto Gregorio Nazianzeno, Mariae virginitatem celebrare,[161] eam "prophetissam"[162] appellare eiusque desponsationem cum sancto Ioseph egregiis verbis ita comprobare; id accidisse "ut et virginitas honori esset et matrimonium non contemneretur."[163]

[146] Cf. Hebr. 6.5.
[147] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 80.22, PG 31: 869C.
[148] *EApokr. br.* 10, ibid., 1088C.
[149] *De bapt.* 2.1, ibid., 1580A-C.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Cf. *EApokr. br.* 157, PG 31: 1185A.
[152] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 1.5, ibid., 704A et passim.
[153] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 48.3, ibid., 769A.
[154] Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 10.1, ibid., 944D-945A.
[155] Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 8.3, ibid., 940B-C; *EApokr. br.* 237, ibid., 1241B.

than that of baptism which regenerates us, of the Eucharist which nourishes us, or of the Word which enlightens us?

But precisely for this reason, that he did not pass over in silence or diminish the salvific and transforming power of God's work and of the "powers of the age to come,"[146] St Basil can require from everyone, with great firmness, complete love of God, unreserved dedication, perfection of evangelical life.[147]

For, if baptism is grace — and what grace! — all those who have obtained it have really received "the power and strength to please God,"[148] and are therefore "all equally bound to conform to this grace," that is, to "live in conformity with the Gospel."[149]

"All equally": there are no second-class Christians, since there are not different baptisms, and the Christian way of life is completely contained in the one baptismal covenant.[150]

"To live in conformity with the Gospel": what does this mean, in practice, according to St Basil? It means aiming, with one's whole being[151] and with all the new energies at one's disposal, at "pleasing God."[152]

It means, for example, "not being rich, but poor, according to the word of the Lord,"[153] as a fundamental condition to be able to follow him[154] with freedom,[155] and so that there be manifested, as compared with the ruling norm of worldly life, the newness of the Gospel.[156] It means submitting completely to the word of God, renouncing "one's own will"[157] and becoming obedient, in imitation of Christ, "unto death."[158]

Certainly, St Basil was not embarrassed by the Gospel: but, knowing that it is the power of God for the salvation of whoever believes,[159] proclaimed it with that integrity[160] which makes it really a word of grace and a source of life.

We are happy, finally, to point out that St Basil, even if more moderately than his brother St Gregory of Nyssa and his friend St Gregory Nazianzen, celebrates the virginity of Mary.[161] He calls Mary a "prophetess"[162] and with a felicitous expression motivates Mary's engagement to Joseph as follows: "That happened in order that virginity should be honoured and that marriage should not be despised."[163]

[156] Cf. *De bapt.* 1.2, ibid., 1544D.

[157] Cf. *EApokr. fus.* 6.1, ibid., 925C; *EApokr. fus.* 41.1, ibid., 1021A.

[158] Cf. Phil. 2.8; *EApokr. fus.* 28.2, PG 31: 989B; *EApokr. br.* 119, ibid., 1161D, et passim.

[159] Cf. Rom. 1.16.

[160] Cf. *Reg. mor.* 80.12, PG 31: 864B.

[161] Cf. *HChr.* [27] 5, ibid., 1468B.

[162] Cf. **Enarr. in Is.* 208, PG 30: 477B.

[163] Cf. *HChr.* [27] 3, PG 31: 1464A.

In Anaphora sancti Basilii, quam supra diximus, laudes praeclarissimae continentur adhibitae "sanctissimae, illibatae, super omnes benedictae, gloriosae dominae Deiparae et semper Virgini Mariae"; "Mulieri gratiae plenae totiusque universi laetitiae...."

IV. Huius tam magni sancti Caelitis atque magistri nos omnes in Ecclesia discipulos atque filios esse gloriamur; quapropter exempla eius iterum meditemur eiusque praecepta reverentes audiamus, omnino parati eius praecepta, consolationes, hortationes suscipere.

Hunc quidem nuntium praesertim ad nonnullos Ordines religiosos virorum et mulierum dirigimus, qui sancti Basilii nomine et patrocinio honestantur eiusque Regulam sequuntur, eos in hac fausta memoria monentes, ut novo animorum ardore ad vitam asceticam et ad divinarum rerum contemplationem incumbant, unde opera sancta abunde proficiscantur ad omnipotentis Dei gloriam et Sanctae Ecclesiae aedificationem.

Haec ut feliciter eveniant, beatissimae etiam Virginis Mariae maternum auxilium imploramus, dum, supernorum auspicem donorum ac benevolentiae Nostrae pignus, Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die II mensis Ianuarii, in memoria Ss. Basilii Magni et Gregorii Nazianzeni, episcoporum et Ecclesiae doctorum, anno MCMLXXX, Pontificatus Nostri secundo.

St Basil's Anaphora mentioned above contains outstanding praises of the "entirely holy, immaculate, blessed above others, and glorious Lady Mother of God and ever virgin Mary"; "A woman full of grace, the joy of all creation...."

[CONCLUSION]

IV. All of us, in the Church, are proud to be disciples and sons of this great saint and teacher. Let us again consider his example, therefore, and listen to his teachings with veneration, letting ourselves, with deep availability, be admonished, comforted and exhorted.

We entrust this message of ours particularly to those religious Orders — male and female — who glory in the name and the protection of St Basil and follow his Rule, urging them on this happy anniversary to resolutions of new fervour in a life of asceticism and contemplation of divine things, which will also abound in sacred works for the glory of God and the building up of the Holy Church.

For the successful attainment of these aims, let us also implore the motherly aid of the Virgin Mary. As an auspice of heavenly gifts and token of our benevolence, we impart the Apostolic Blessing to you with great affection.

Given at St Peter's, Rome, on 2 January, in the memory of Saints Basil the Great and Gregory Nazianzen, Bishops and Doctors of the Church, in the year 1980, the second of the Pontificate.

Contributors

Milton Vasil ANASTOS is Professor Emeritus of Byzantine Theology, Dumbarton Oaks, Church History, Harvard University, and Byzantine Greek and History, University of California.

Konstantinos Georgiou BONIS is Professor Emeritus of Patrology and Patristic Hermeneutics, University of Athens, member of the Academy of Athens, and current editor of "Ekklesia," "Ephemerios," and "Theologia."

Paul Jonathan FEDWICK is Fellow of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Wilma Louis FITZGERALD, SP, is Director of the Microfilm Collection and Senior Fellow of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

Jean GRIBOMONT, OSB, is Director of the new critical edition of the Vulgata at the Abbazia San Gerolamo and Professor at the University of S. Anselmo.

Ioannis KARAYANNOPOULOS is Professor of Byzantine History at the University of Thessaloniki.

George L. KUSTAS is Professor in the Department of Classics at the State University of New York, Buffalo.

Jaroslav PELIKAN is Sterling Professor of History and Religious Studies at Yale University.

Philip Wallace PLATT, CSB, is Professor at the University of St. Thomas, Houston.

Roger Edward REYNOLDS is Professor of Liturgy and Senior Fellow of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies.

John Michael RIST is Regius Professor of Classics at the University of Aberdeen.

Adolf Martin RITTER is Professor of Church History at the Philipps University of Marburg.

Stig Yngve RUDBERG is Professor of Greek Language and Literature at Lund University.

Thomáš ŠPIDLIK, SJ, is Professor and Dean at the Pontifical Institute of Oriental Studies in Rome.

Ramón TEJA is Professor of Ancient History and Dean at the University of Santander.

Barnim TREUCKER is head of the Library's academic staff at the University of Paderborn.

Gabriella ULUHOGIAN is Professor of Armenian Language and Literature at the Institute of Glottology in the University of Bologna.

Sever Juan VOICU is currently Librarian at the Ecumenical Library of the "Centro pro Unione," Rome.

Participants at the 1979 Toronto St. Basil Symposium

Luise Abramowski, Tübingen
Diane Alexander, Toronto
Elliott B. Allen, Toronto
Milton V. Anastos, Los Angeles
Claude Arnold, Toronto
Mary Arthur, Toronto
Sister Athanasius, Philadelphia
David L. Balás, Irving
Timothy D. Barnes, Toronto
Robert Barringer, Toronto
Frank W. Beare, Toronto
George S. Bebis, Brookline
Constantine P. Belisarius, Toronto
Angel Benito y Durán, Valencia
Petro B. T. Bilaniuk, Toronto
Thomas E. Bird, New York
Paul Blomenkamp, Meerbusch
Konstantinos G. & Mrs. Bonis, Athens
Most Rev. Isidore Borecky, Toronto
Leonard E. Boyle, Toronto
Leo D. Burns, Sudbury
Paul C. Burns, Vancouver
Willian S. Bush, London, Ont.
Jane F. Carney, Toronto
His Eminence Card. Gerald E. Carter, Toronto
Wanda Cizewski, Toronto
Robert D. Crouse, Halifax
Agnes Cunningham, Mundelein
James Daley, Toronto
Roman Danylak, Toronto
Adelbert Davids, Nijmegen
Georges M. De Durand, Montreal
Joanne Dewart, Toronto
Bruce Dickey, Toronto
Martin Dimnik, Toronto
Daniel Donovan, Toronto
Mary Ann Donovan, Berkeley
Richard Donovan, Toronto
John P. Egan, Toronto
Gerard H. Ettlinger, Fordham
Eugene R. Fairweather, Toronto
James K. Farge, Houston
Paul J. & June Fedwick, Toronto
Serge Fedyniak, Hamtramck
Ann Fedyszak, Uniontown
William O. Fennell, Toronto
Leo C. & Mrs. Ferrari, Fredericton
Donald F. Finlay, Toronto
Robert Finn, Kelowna
J. J. Francis Firth, Edmonton
Wilma Fitzgerald, Toronto
His Emin. Card. George B. Flahiff, Winnipeg
Marcella & Mr. Forlin Patrucco, Turin
Arthur G. Gibson, Toronto
Basil F. Glavin, Owen Sound
Jean Gribomont, Rome
Thomas Halton, Washington, D.C.
T. James Hanrahan, Toronto
Conrad L. Harkins, St. Bonaventure
Most Rev. James M. Hayes, Halifax
Walter M. Hayes, Toronto
Michael Haykin, Toronto
Most Rev. Henry Hill, Kingston
Elizabeth Hudson, Toronto
Martin A. Hyatt, Methuen
Janusz A. Ihnatowicz, Houston
William Irwin, Toronto
Janurius Izzo, Toronto
Mary Jarratt, Hamilton
Ben Johnson, Columbus

Cecilia Jurasinski, Philadelphia
Ioannes Karayannopoulos, Thessaloniki
Serge R. Keleher, Toronto
John M. Kelly, Toronto
David Kennedy, Toronto
Rosemary Kirk, Toronto
Uwe W. Knorr, Stuttgart
George L. Kustas, Buffalo
Gerhart B. Ladner, Los Angeles
Robert E. Lamb, Houston
Charles Leland, Toronto
Joseph T. Lienhard, Milwaukee
John F. Long, Rome
Thomas A. & Mrs. Losoncy, Villanova
M. Theodosia Lukiw, Philadelphia
Edward M. Macierowski, Toronto
Sid Macauly, Decatur
John F. Madden, Houston
Robert Madden, Toronto
Christopher Malcovsky, Uniontown
Leokadia Małunowicz, Lublin
Willian Marceau, Rochester
Richard Marshall, Toronto
Thomas R. Martland, Albany
Armand A. Maurer, Toronto
Giorgio Mazzanti, Pesaro
Gerald F. McGuigan, Toronto
H. Marshall McLuhan, Toronto
Harry McSorley, Toronto
Corinne Meraw, Toronto
Attila Miklósházy, Toronto
Paul Moore, Toronto
Neil Moran, Montreal
Leo J. Munnelly, Houston
J. Reginald O'Donnell, Toronto
Donald O'Gorman, Toronto
Oliver M. T. O'Donovan, Toronto
Raphael O'Loughlin, Mexico City
Seraphim Olsafsky, Uniontown
Glenn W. Olsen, Salt Lake City
Mechtilde O'Mara, Toronto
Barbara E. Organ, Toronto
Philip O'Shea, St. Bonaventure
Joseph Owens, Toronto
Claude J. Peifer, Peru, Ill.
Jaroslav Pelikan, New Haven
Gabinus Petta, Toronto
Vital Pidskalny, Winnipeg
P. Wallace Platt, Houston
Charles J. Principe, Toronto
Walter H. Principe, Toronto
M. Emellia Prokopik, Rome
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N. Michael Vaporis, Brookline
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Anselm Walker, Houston
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A. Editions: Basil of Caesarea

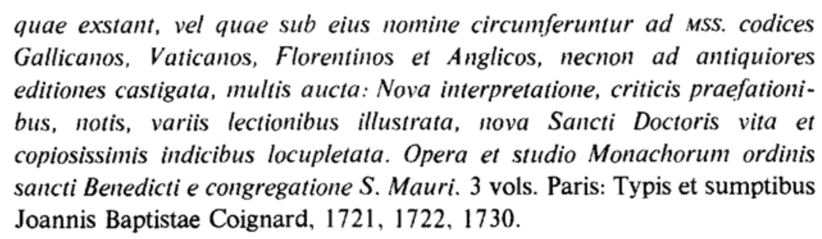
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quae exstant, vel quae sub eius nomine circumferuntur ad MSS. *codices Gallicanos, Vaticanos, Florentinos et Anglicos, necnon ad antiquiores editiones castigata, multis aucta: Nova interpretatione, criticis praefationibus, notis, variis lectionibus illustrata, nova Sancti Doctoris vita et copiosissimis indicibus locupletata. Opera et studio Monachorum ordinis sancti Benedicti e congregatione S. Mauri.* 3 vols. Paris: Typis et sumptibus Joannis Baptistae Coignard, 1721, 1722, 1730.

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Concordance Between *Asc. 1* (PL 103:487-554) and *Asc. 3* (PG 31: 905-1305)

The numbers on the left, in bold face, are those of *Asc. 1*. **1-11** correspond to *EApokr. fus.* 1-23, the rest to one of the *EApokr. br.*

1: *fus.* 1
2: 2-6
3: 7
4: 8
5: 9
6: 10
7: 14-15
8: 16-17
9: 19
10: 21
11: 22-23
12: *br.* 1
13: 114
14: 157
15: 98
16: 3
17: 4
18: 5
19: 287
20: 6
21: 288
22: 289
23: 99
24: 158
25: 159
26: 7
27: 8
28: 9
29: 85
30: 86
31: 187
32: 188
33: 189
34: 21
35: 22
36: 160
37: 161
38: 162
39: 163
40: 23
41: 24
42: 25
43: 26
44: 27
45: 28
46: 29
47: 191
48: 126
49: 30
50: 192
51: 193
52: 194
53: 31
54: 88
55: 32
56: 195
57: 196
58: 197
59: 33
60: 34
61: 35
62: 198
63: 36
64: 115
65: 116
66: 37
67: 117
68: 118
69: 119
70: 38
71: 39
72: 40
73: 41
74: 42
75: 43
76: 44
77: 164
78: 165
79: 127
80: 120
81: 96
82: 121
83: 199
84: 166
85: 167
86: 200
87: 97
88: 128
89: 129
90: 130
91: 131
92: 132
93: 133
94: 135
95: 168
96: 134
97: 136
98: 100
99: 87
100: 169
101: 141
102: 142
103: 143
104: 144
105: 145
106: 146
107: 147
108: 201
109: 202
110: 279
111: 148
112: 149
113: 150
114: 203
115: 170
116: 171
117: 10
118: 89
119: 45
120: 283
121: 46
122: 47
123: 16
124: 204
125: 205
126: 206
127: 207
128: 17
129: 90
130: 151
131: 152
132: 153
133: 122
134: 172
135: 239
136: 208
137: 173
138: 209
139: 240
140: 241
141: 48
142: 49
143: 210
144: 50
145: 51
146: 52
147: 53
148: 280
149: 11
150: 174
151: 211
152: 212
153: 213
154: 54
155: 175
156: 176
157: 243
158: 244
159: 55
160: 215
161: 216
162: 245
163: 217
164: 56
165: 246
166: 247
167: 218
168: 248
169: 219
170: 249
171: 250
172: 251
173: 252
174: 220
175: 57
176: 123
177: 177
178: 178
179: 221
180: 222
181: 137
182: 58
183: 59
184: 60
185: 101
186: 91
187: 179
188: 62
189: 67
190: 68
191: 182
192: 105
193: 73
194: 106
195: 75
196: 94
197: 108
198: 109
199: 110
200: 229
201: 111
202: 275
203: 274

Index of Citations of the Works of Basil of Caesarea

For complete titles see the Abbreviations on pp. xix-xxxi which follows the numbers given here.

1 *Ad adolesc.*: 18 and n, 43-44, 60-61, 65n, 219n, 265n, 382 and nn, 421 and n, 450, 488n; **1**: 265n; **2**: 253, 388; **3**: 265n; **4**: 265n; **6**: 265n; **7**: 237n; **8**: 246; **9**: 214

2 *Ad virg.* [46]: 10 and n, 55, 64, 233-236, 452, 459, 466, 467, 479; **1**: 235n, 236; **2**: 234n; **5**: 234

3 *Asceticon/Ascetica*: 36, 37, 42-43, 47, 53, 57, 65, 238 and n, 300, 418, 441, 457 n, 482-483, 485, 502, 523

3a *Asc. 1*: 4, 14n, 418, 419, 445, 446n

3a1 *Asc. 1r*: 13, 15, 42, 64, 67, 432, 457-458, 462, 465-466, 468, 470-471 and n, 470-471, 472, 518, 519, 532. *EApokr.* **2**: 431n; **3**: 427; **5**: 524n; **7**: 518n, 524n ; **9**: 518n; **13**: 524n; **15**: 520n, 524n; **16**, **17**: 520n; **18**: 520n, 524n, 525n; **19**, **20**, **21**: 520n; **22**: 520n, 524n; **23**, **24**: 520n; **26**: 518n, 520n; **27**, **28**: 520n, 524n, 525n; **40**: 518n; **43**: 524n; **43** f.: 525n; **50**, **60**: 524n; **71**: 524n, 525n; **72**: 531n; **77**: 518n; **80**, **81**: 518n; **87**: 431n; **88**, **89**: 518n; **93**: 524n, 525n; **121**, **130**: 518n; **134**, **146**, **159**: 524n; **168**: 427n; **174**: 524n; **187**, **188**: 427n; **194**: 524n

3a2 *Asc. 1s*: 42, 445 and nn, 446, 448

3b *Asc. 2*: 14n, 15 and n, 445n, 473; in Old Church Slavonic: 443, 505-509; in Latin *see* **3f**

3b1 *Asc. 2h* (*Girk' Harc' olac'*): 15n, 474-475, 477-479, 480, 574-575, 578-586; *EApokr.* **227-325**: 578

3c *Asc. 3*: 14n, 17 and n, 43, 332n, 418, 419, 421, 422, 432, 440n, 445n, 447, 470n, 471, 499n, 501, 505 and n. *EApokr. fus.* **1**: 231n, 238, 507 (as Prologue); **2**: 266n, 367; **2-6**: 431n; **2.1**: 256n; **3**: 458; **3.1**: 255; **5.1**: 274n; **5.2**: 266n, 614; **5.3**: 274n; **6.1**: 619; **7**: 448n; **7.2**: 256; **7.3**: 258n; **7.4**: 596; **8**: 592; **8.3**: 387n, 618; **9.1**: 274n, 430n; **10.1**: 618; **11**: 14n, 386; **12**: 524 and n; **13**: 249n; **16**: 61, 580; **16.3**: 274n; **20-25**: 580; **21**: 239n; **24**: 239n, 261n, 427n, 433n; **25**: 476n, and below under **400**; **28.2**: 619; **29**: 274n; **30**: 333n; **32**: 274n, 431n, 434n; **33**: 239n, 266; **33.1**: 273n; **33.2**: 259n; **34-35**: 505; **35**: 427n; **35.3**: 263; **37.2**: 258n; **37.3**: 241n; **37.3-5**: 597; **39-40**: 263; **40**: 259n; **41.1**: 254n, 619; **43.1**: 257n, 594; 433n; **45**: 431n, 432, 434 and n; **45.2**: 239n, 259n, 266n; **48**: 15n, 434, 475n; **49**: 239n; **55.1-2**: 263n; **55.4**: 430n. *EApokr. br.* **1**: 426n, 617; **4**: 14n; **7**: 567; **10**: 567, 618; **11**: 274n; **12**: 617; **13**: 615; **16**, **17**: 567; **21**: 263n, 434, 567; **22**: 567; **24**: 274n; **30**: 431n; **31**: 434n; **45**: 250n; **47**: 616; **61-71**: 510n; **62**: 427n; **72**: 239n; **85**: 429, 567; **89**, **90**: 567; **92**: 274n, 434n; **95**: 239n; **97**: 431n, 567; **99**: 273n, 567; **106**: 530n; **108**: 239n; **114**: 277n, 432n; **119**: 619; **121**, **122**: 567; **128**: 510n, 567; **130**: 15n, 475n; **152**: 567; **153**: 252n; **156**: 15n, 475n; **157**: 275n, 431n, 618; **159**, **160**, **161**: 567; **162**: 261n; **163**: 257n, 567; **165**: 263; **166**: 567; **172**: 275nn, 567; **173**: 239n; **174**: 274n; **176**: 261n, 275n; **179**: 427n; **180**: 470n; **184**: 275n; **186**: 434n; **187**: 567; **188**: 261n, 567; **189**: 567; **194**: 15n, 475n; **198**: 261n; **200**: 567; **202**: 368; **203**: 15n, 475n; **204**, **205**, **207**: 567; **210**: 259n; **216**: 384; **217**: 617; **220**: 259n, 264n; **227**, **229**: 334n; **233**:

14n; **235**: 426n, 431-432; **237**: 618; **238**: 239n; **242**: 274n; **245**: 258, 259; **248**: 426n, 427n; **253**: 427n; **257**: 275n, 430n; **265**: 14n; **266**: 239n, 262, 264n; **269**: 617; **271**: 367; **272**: 275n; **274**: 274n; **276**: 239n, 367, 616; **278**: 15n, 475n; **279**: 247, 279n; **282**: 277n, 475n; **289**: 567; **293**: 14n; **303**: 431n, 432n; **306**: 426n; **310**: 14n; **314**: 15n, 475n; **314-318**: 17n; **315-318**: 15n, 475n

3d *Asc. 2/3a*: 446, 475n, 487

3d1 *Asc. 2/3a-c*: 472-473; *EApokr.* **1-314**: 473

3d2 *Asc. 2/3a-k*: 487-488; *EApokr. fus.* **1-55**; *br.* **1-313**: 487

3e *Asc. 2/3b*: 475n

3f *Asc. 2/3c*: 40n, 53, 446n, 495

3f1 *Asc. 2/3c-p*: 494-495, 499-501. *EApokr. fus.* **1-55**: 499, 501; **1-5**, **16**, **18**, **37**, **55**: 500; *EApokr. br.* **1-313**: 499, 501; **1**, **5**, **8**, **10-13**, **15**, **16**, **22**, **23**, **26**, **27**, **30**, **56**, **64**, **157**, **172**, **191-193**, **195**, **196**, **198**, **204**, **205**: 500

3g *Asc. 2/3d*: 501

3h *Asc. Pr1*: 8, 17n, 431n, 446n, 466 f and n, 595

3i *Asc. Pr2*: 431n, 434

3j *Asc. Pr3*: 17n, 267n, 447, 473, 475, 482, 486 and n, 499, 501, 506, 507, 572; **2-3**: 14n; **3**: 275n; **4**: 236n, 262n, 274n

3k *Asc. Pr4*: 17 and n, 473, 496n, 497; **3-4**: 273n

4 *C. Eun.* 1-3: 6n, 7n, 10 and n, 27, 35-38, 40, 43, 47, 57, 76, 77, 191, 419, 420, 451-452, 470, 485, 487, 517

C. Eun. 1: 487; **1.1**: 76; **1.2**: 35nn, 76, 251n; **1.4**: 77; **1.5**: 77, 78, 79, 80, 187n, 327n; **1.6**: 80; **1.7**: 81; **1.8**: 82-83, 128n, 602; **1.9**: 84, 187; **1.10**: 85; **1.11-13**: 85; **1.14**: 86, 369; **1.15**: 86, 326n; **1.16**: 87; **1.17**: 515-516; **1.17-18**: 87; **1.18**: 330n; **1.19**: 87, 88; **1.20**: 88, 127n, 598; **1.21**: 469n; **1.22**: 89; **1.22-23**: 89; **1.23**: 89, 128n; **1.23-24**: 90; **1.25**: 91; **1.26**: 91; **1.27**: 92

C. Eun. 2: 487; **2.1-3**: 92; **2.3-4**: 517; **2.4**: 92, 121n, 127n; **2.5-6**: 92; **2.6-7**: 93; **2.8**: 94; **2.9**: 94, 266n; **2.10**: 94, 127n, 239n; **2.11**: 95; **2.12**: 95, 123; **2.13**: 96-98; **2.14**: 99, 615; **2.15**: 99; **2.16**: 99-100, 341; **2.17**: 100-101, 123, 278n; **2.18**: 101; **2.19**: 101-102, 127n; **2.20**, **21**: 103; **2.22**: 104, 123, 128n; **2.33**: 104, 127n; **2.24**, **25**: 105-106; **2.26**: 239n; **2.26-27**: 106; **2.28**: 107, 326n; **2.29**, **30**: 108; **2.31**: 108-109, 128n, 239n; **2.32**: 110, 128n; **2.33**, **34**: 111

C. Eun. 3: 38 and n, 323n; **3.1**: 112-113, 231n, 232n, 238n, 239n; **3.1-2**: 113; **3.3**: 114; **3.4**: 114-115, 430n; **3.5**: 115-116; **3.6**: 116, 206, 327n; **3.7**: 116-117, 327nn, 328n, 329n

5 *De bapt.* 1-2: 4n, 14n, 15 and n, 44-45, 61, 191, 233n, 247n, 251n, 273n, 274n, 473, 483, 487

De bapt. **1.1**: 239n, 244n, 261n, 266 and n, 592, 615; **1.2**: 239n, 257n, 258n, 263n, 266 and n, 267n, 277n, 487, 606, 609, 610, 615, 616, 617, 619; **1.3**: 263n, 612, 614; **1.7**: 487

De bapt. **2.1**: 258n, 614, 618; **2.2**: 487, 612; **2.3**: 487; **2.4**: 266n, 616; **2.5**: 14n; **2.8**: 238-239, 239n, 259n, 612; **2.9**: 267n; **2.9-13**: 487; **2.10**: 248n; **2.12**: 606; **2.13**: 277n, 606

6 *De perf.* [22]: 4n, 8, 25, 42, 55n, 332n, 422, 434n, 453, 473 and n, 486, 506, 507, 594; **1**: 263

Preceded by *ETheod.* [173]: 473, 478, 499, 507

7 *De Sp. S.*: 17 and n, 31, 38, 39, 47, 48, 51, 56, 58, 60, 134, 191, 192, 216-218, 231-233, 237n, 418n, 419, 451 and nn, 457, 470, 485, 487. – **1.1**: 335; **1.2**: 257n, 261n, 329n; **1.3**: 348; **1-8**: 199; **2.4**: 14n, 232n, 348, 349, 351; **2.5**: 14n; *c.* **3** (title): 424; **3.5**: 348, 354; **4.6**: 339, 340, 348; **5.7**: 199, 351, 352; **5.7-8**: 341; **5.9**: 340, 349, 350, 351; **5.10**: 351; **5.11**: 340; **5-8**: 345; **6.13**: 14n, 354, 358; **6.15**: 340; **7.16**: xii, 340, 341n, 351, 355, 358, 359; **8.17**: 343; **8.18**: 515 and n.; **8.19**: 351; *c.* **9**: 199-202, 207, 208, 210, 211, 220, 254n, 345, 607; **9.22**: 199-200, 201, 202, 208, 210, 357, 359,

426n, 430n; **9.23**: 201-202, 208, 211, 256n, 340, 357, 364, 431n; **10.24**: 232n, 340n, 347; **10.25**: 339, 358; **10.26**: 340, 346, 360; *cc.* **10-27**: 16, 39, 40, 199; **12.28**: 341, 356; **13.29**: 356, 598; **13.30**: 434; **14.31**: 356; **14.32**: 339, 426n; **14.33**: 341; **15.34**: 232n; **15.35**: 256n, 373; **16.37**: 258n, 342, 353, 430 and n.; **16.38**: 195, 196, 198, 356, 364, 430n; **16.39**: 427n; **16.40**: 232n, 355, 357n; *c.* **17**: 197; **17.41**: 195, 196-197; **17.41-43**: 355; **17.43**: 346; *c.* **18**: 478 and n, 607; **18.44**: 14n, 195, 347, 357; **18.44-45**: 197; **18.45**: 195, 462, 516, 523; **18.47**: 195, 198, 330 nn, 342, 344; **19.48**: 343; **19.48-49**: 343; **19.49**: 357, 430n, 611; **20.51**: 356, 385, 386; *cc.* **20** f: 607; **21.52**: 339, 340, 344, 353, 354; *c.* **22**: 607; **22.53**: 195, 358; **23.54**: 338, 343; **24.55**: 338, 356; **25.58**: 339, 340; **25.59**: 329n, 351; **25.60**: 347; *cc.* **25-26**: 349; **26.52**: 339; **26.61**: 339, 355, 427n, 431n, 606; **26.62**: 433n; **26.63**: 275n, 430n; **26.64**: 344, 346; **27.66**: 359n, 426n, 526 and n; **27.67**: 347; **27.68**: 232n, 339, 340, 351; *c.* **29**: 195; **29.71**: 358, 526 and n; **29.72** ff: xiii; **29.73**: 193, 358; **29.74**: 430n; **29.75**: 233, 258n, 347; *c.* **30**: 424; **30.76-79**: 14n; **30.77**: 195, 198-199, 340; **30.78**: 357; **30.79**: 358

8 *EAbr.* [132]: 16, 444n
9 *EAburg.* [33]: 13 and n, 25, 378, 408n
10 *EAburg.* [75]: 13 and n, 378, 408
11 *EAburg.* [147]: 16, 378
12 *EAburg.* [178]: 12 and n, 378, 408n
13 *EAburg.* [196]: 18, 378
14 *EAburg.* [304]: 19, 378
15 *EAdm.* [326]: 19, 249n
16 *EAlex.* [139]: 16; **1**: 233n
17 *EAmb.* [197.1]: xiii, 16, 251n, 433n, 453, 455n, 457, 461
18 *EAmic.* [11]: 19
19 *EAmph.* [150]: 13, 54, 62, 306n, 378, 473; **1**: 246n; **2**: 241n; **4**: 236n
20 *EAmph.* [161]: 16; **1-2**: 433n; **2**: 244n
21 *EAmph.* [200]: 16, 248, 251n, 274n
22 *EAmph.* [190]: 16, 407-408
23 *EAmph.* [188]: 16, 56, 453, 511, 521, 522 and n, 523. **1**: 252n, 431n, 434n; **8**: 395; **10**: 259n, 260n
24 *EAmph.* [176]: 16
25 *EAmph.* [201]: 17
26 *EAmph.* [231]: 17
27 *EAmph.* [199]: 17, 56, 453, 511, 521, 522 and n, 523; **49**: 396
28 *EAmph.* [202]: 17
29 *EAmph.* [232]: 17
30 *EAmph.* [233]: 17; **1**: 257n
31 *EAmph.* [234]: 17; **1**: 234n, 266n, 330n; **2**: 265n; **3**: 369
32 *EAmph.* [235]: 17
33 *EAmph.* [236]: 17 and n, 453n, 461; **1**: 14n; **5**: 30-31; **6**: 327n; **7**: 246
34 *EAmph.* [248]: 17
35 *EAmph.* [218]: 17
36 *EAmph.* [217]: 17, 56, 453, 511, 521, 522 and n, 523; **84**: 254n
37 *EAnc.* [29]: 13, 25, 238n, 248, 376, 452 and n
38 *EAndr.* [112]: 16, 378, 408; **2**: 237n
39 *EAnep.* [307]: 19
40 *EAnep.* [330]: 19
41 *EAnep.* [331]: 19
42 *EAnep.* [332]: 19, 248
43 *EAnt. ec.* [140]: 16, 129n, 335, 420, 444n, 453n; **2**: 420n, 616
44 *EAnt. pb.* [253]: 16, 444n

45 *EAnt.* [146]: 16, 444n
46 *EAnt.* [158]: 16, 444n
47 *EAnt.* [157]: 16, 444n
48 *EAnt.* [168]: 16, 246n, 444n
49 *EAntip.* [137]: 16, 378, 407
50 *EAntip.* [186]: 16, 378
51 *EArc. com.* [15]: 11 and n, 378
52 *EArc. ep.* [49]: 12
53 *EArin.* [179]: 12 and n
54 *EArin. con.* [269]: 18; **1**: 239n, 254n, 274n; **2**: 222n, 254n
55 *EAsc.* [226]: 17 and n, 330n, 453n; **2**: 14n
56 *EAsch.* [154]: 16, 274nn
57 *EAsch.* [164]: 16, 274n; **1**: 251nn, 255
58 *EAtarb.* [65]: 16, 244n, 249n
59 *EAtarb.* [126]: 17
60 *EAth.* [61]: 12
61 *EAth.* [66]: 12, 304nn, 424
62 *EAth.* [69]: 13, 304n; **1**: 251n
63 *EAth.* [67]: 13, 266n, 267n, 304nn
64 *EAth.* [80]: 13, 452
65 *EAth.* [82]: 13, 245n, 267, 478 and n, 572n
66 *EAth. Anc.* [25]: 12; **2**: 268n
67 *EAth. pt.* [24]: 12 and n, 461n
68 *EAux.* [36]: 19, 25, 292n, 394
69 *EBars.* [264]: 18, 444n
70 *EBars.* [267]: 18, 444n
71 *EBer.* [220]: 12n, 16, 251n, 252n, 330n, 444n
72 *EBer.* [221]: 12n, 16, 444n
73 *EBosp.* [51]: 17
74 *EBris.* [302]: 19, 254nn
75 *ECaes. pt.* [93]: 19, 378, 612, 614
76 *ECaes.* [26]: 11 and n
77 *ECall.* [73]: 12, 395n 400
78 *ECand.* [3]: 8
79 *ECan.* [52]: 17, 128, 129n, 461; **1-3**: 598; **3**: 278n
80 *ECens.* [83]: 12
81 *ECens.* [299]: 19, 378
82 *ECens.* [312]: 19, 378
83 *ECens.* [313]: 19, 378, 407
84 *ECens.* [284]: 12, 279n, 378, 333
85 *EChalc.* [222]: 16, 249n, 444n, 449n
86 *EChor.* [54]: 12, 453
87 *EChor.* [53]: 12, 431n, 453n; **1**: 434n
88 *ECogn.* [310]: 19, 258n
89 *ECol. cl.* [227]: 17, 246n, 256, 274n
90 *ECol. mg.* [228]: 17
91 *ECom.* [303]: 19 and n, 378
92 *EComm.* [286]: 19, 378, 389n, 401n
93 *ECons.* [101]: 16, 248n, 254n
94 *ECons.* [301]: 19, 254n
95 *ECont.* [318]: 19, 408
96 *EDef.* [209]: 19
97 *EDem.* [225]: 17, 378, 425n

98 *EDiod.* [135]: 13, 17, 260n; **1**: 251n
99 *EDiod.* [160]: 17, 453 and n, 456n, 478, 480, 573n
100 *EDiv.* [316]: 19, 258n, 406
101 *EDor.* [215]: 17 and n
102 *EEg.* [309]: 19, 394
103 *EEg.* [317]: 19
104 *EElp.* [78]: 12
105 *EElp. ep.* [205]: 17, 239, 248, 251n
106 *EElp. ep.* [206]: 17
107 *EEpiph.* [258]: 14n, 17; **2**: 242n; **4**: 262n
108 *EEpisc.* [165]: 16, 251n
109 *EEpisc.* [191]: 16 and n, 255-256
110 *EEpisc.* [213]: 16 and n
111 *EEpisc.* [282]: 12
112 *EEulnc.* [208]: 17
113 *EEulg.* [265]: 18, 453n; **3**: 249n, 259nn
114 *EEup.* [159]: 16, 232n, 240; **2**: 131n, 346
115 *EEuph.* [195]: 16
116 *EEus.* [27]: 11, 444n
117 *EEus.* [48]: 12, 444n
118 *EEus.* [30]: 12, 25, 444n
119 *EEus.* [34]: 13, 444n
120 *EEus.* [95]: 16, 444n
121 *EEus.* [98]: 16, 249n, 305, 444n
122 *EEus.* [128]: 16, 444n; **3**: xiii
123 *EEus.* [100]: 16, 444n
124 *EEus.* [127]: 16, 444n
125 *EEus.* [145]: 16, 444n
126 *EEus.* [138]: 16, 444n
127 *EEus.* [141]: 16, 444n
128 *EEus.* [136]: 16, 444n
129 *EEus.* [162]: 16, 444n
130 *EEus.* [198]: 16, 444n
131 *EEus.* [237]: 17, 378, 444n; **2**: 12n
132 *EEus.* [239]: 17, 399, 444n
133 *EEus.* [241]: 17, 444n
134 *EEus.* [268]: 18, 444n
135 *EEus. sod.* [271]: 19, 295n
136 *EEusbn.* [31]: 11 and n, 430n
137 *EEust. arch.* [151]: 19, 279, 306n, 378
138 *EEust. Him.* [184]: 16, 444n
139 *EEust. phl.* [1]: 6, 44, 481n
140 *EEust.* [79]: 13
141 *EEust.* [119]: 13
142 *EEust.* [125]: 16, 129n, 306, 420n; **2**: 71n, 327n
143 *EEust.* [223]: 6n, 10n, 17, 237n, 298n, 299nn, 323nn, 481 and n; **2**: 219, 246n, 383, 424n, 427n, 592, 594; **3**: 424n; **5**: 36-37
144 *EEvaes.* [251]: 18, 453n; **2-3**: 14n
145 *EEvagr.* [156]: 16, 444n
146 *EEx.* [88]: 19, 378
147 *EExh.* [327]: 19
148 *EFest.* [294]: 19, 261-262, 439
149 *EFirm.* [116]: 19

150 *EFrat.* [256]: 16, 444n
151 *EFug.* [314]: 19
152 *EGen.* [224]: 17, 306n
153 *EGNaz.* [14]: 4n, 6, 247n, 300n 452, 500n
154 *EGNaz.* [2]: 6, 25, 43, 53, 54, 55, 62, 191, 203, 300n, 448n, 452, 473, 478, 486, 497, 500n, 502, 512, 594, 597; **2**: 205, 212, 594; **3**: 244n, 362, 364; **8**: 265n
155 *EGNaz.* [19]: 8
156 *EGNaz.* [367]: 8
157 *EGNaz.* [71]: 13nn, 338, 452
158 *EGNaz.* [7]: 13 and n
159 *EGNys.* [58]: 12
160 *EGreg. pt.* [59]: 12, 249
161 *EGreg. pt.* [60]: 12
162 *EGreg. pb.* [55]: 12, 453, 511
163 *EHarm.* [276]: 19, 389
164 *EHel.* [94]: 13, 378, 389, 600
165 *EHell.* [109]: 12, 378, 406
166 *EHera* [273]: 19, 256n
167 *EHera* [275]: 19
168 *EHes.* [64]: 12, 295
169 *EHes.* [72]: 12, 266, 295, 395n, 400, 425n
170 *EHil.* [212]: 17; **1**: 248n; **2**: 14n, 252n
171 *EHim* [274]: 12, 378
172 *EHosp.* [319]: 19, 252n
173 *EHyp.* [328]: 19
174 *EIov. com.* [164]: 16, 249n, 251nn, 279n, 378
175 *EIov. ep.* [118]: 16, 444n
176 *EItal.* [242]: 13 and n, 27; **2**: 252n; **3**: 252n
177 *EItal.* [92]: 13, 14n, 27, 237n, 455n; **3**: xiii, 237n
178 *EItal.* [243]: 16, 56, 306, 452, 455n, 600; **1**: 252n; **4**: 598
179 *EIuln.* [293]: 19, 54
180 *EIul.* [107]: 12, 406
181 *EIul. tut.* [108]: 12
182 *EIur.* [85]: 12, 378, 425n
183 *ELeont.* [35]: 19, 25, 406n
184 *ELeont. sph.* [20]: 11 and n
185 *ELeont. sph.* [21]: 11 and n, 378
186 *ELibr.* [334]: 19
187 *EMac.* [18]: 8
188 *EMagn.* [175]: 16, 378, 420
189 *EMagn.* [325]: 19 and n
190 *EMarit.* [203]: 17; **1**: 224n; **3**: 244n, 255n
191 *EMart.* [74]: 13 and n, 408, 425n; **1**: 277n; **2**: 236n; **3**: 277
192 *EMax.* [149]: 16 and n
193 *EMax. phl.* [9]: 7 and n, 128, 452n; **1**: 263n; **2**: 171; **3**: 598
194 *EMax. sch.* [277]: 12 and n, 245n, 251n, 252n, 452
195 *EMel.* [57]: 12, 249n, 267, 444n
196 *EMel.* [68]: 12, 262n, 444n
197 *EMel.* [89]: 13, 444n
198 *EMel.* [129]: 16, 306n, 444n
199 *EMel.* [120]: 16, 444n
200 *EMel.* [216]: 17, 444n
201 *EMel. arch.* [193]: 17, 258n, 378

202 *EMil.* [106]: 19, 273n
203 *EMod.* [110]: 15 and n, 378, 406, 407
204 *EMod.* [104]: 15 and n, 377, 378
205 *EMod.* [111]: 15, 378, 407, 452
206 *EMod.* [279]: 15, 378, 406n
207 *EMod.* [280]: 15, 378
208 *EMod.* [281]: 15, 378
209 *EMon. com.* [23]: 19, 25, 473
210 *EMon.* [295]: 19, 261, 506, 507, 511
211 *EMon. vex.* [257]: 17, 452
212 *EMul.* [289]: 12
213 *ENect.* [290]: 12
214 *ENect. cons.* [5]: 19, 25, 43, 54; **1**: 246n, 248n; **2**: 246n, 254n
215 *ENect. ux.* [6]: 19, 25, 54
216 *ENeoc.* [204]: 17, 209n, 260n, 323n, 432; **1**: 267n; **3**: 597; **5**: 258n; **6**: 424n, 593; **7**: 455n
217 *ENeoc. cl.* [207]: 17, 209n, 453n
218 *ENeoc. ec.* [28]: 13, 25, 424; **1**: 254n, 425n; **2**: 238, 248, 376; **3**: 249n
219 *ENeoc. pm.* [210]: 7n, 17, 209, 210, 296n, 324n, 430n, 453n; **1**: 594; **4**: 14n; **5**: 329n, 456n
220 *ENeoc. pl.* [63]: 12
221 *ENic.* [246]: 17
222 *ENic.* [247]: 17
223 *ENic. cl.* [229]: 17
224 *ENic. mg.* [230]: 17
225 *ENic. pb.* [238]: 17
226 *ENic. pb.* [240]: 17
227 *ENot.* [333]: 19
228 *ENum.* [142]: 19, 378
229 *ENum. al.* [143]: 19, 378
230 *EOccid.* [90]: 13, 14n, 453n, 455n; **1**: 267n
231 *EOccid.* [263]: 18, 455n; **4**: 249n
232 *EOlymp.* [4]: 6
233 *EOlymp.* [12]: 19 and n, 274n
234 *EOlymp.* [13]: 19 and n, 247n
235 *EOlymp.* [131]: 17, 329n
236 *EOlymp.* [211]: 17
237 *EOpt.* [260]: 18, 56, 453, 478; **1**: 274n
238 *EOrig.* [17]: 8
239 *EOtr.* [181]: 16
240 *EPaion.* [134]: 13, 246, 251n
241 *EPall.* [292]: 19
242 *EPall. In.* [259]: 13
243 *EParn.* [62]: 12 and n
244 *EPasch.* [322]: 19
245 *EPasin.* [324]: 19
246 *EPat.* [300]: 19, 254nn
247 *EPatr.* [308]: 19
248 *EPatr. ec.* [285]: 12, 378
249 *EPatrph.* [244]: 17, 453n; **2**: 241n, 267n; **3**: 276n, 456n; **4**: 274n; **5**: 252n; **9**: 14n
250 *EPatrph.* [250]: 17
251 *EPauln.* [182]: 16, 444n
252 *EPel.* [254]: 16, 444n

253 *EPerg.* [56]: 12
254 *EPetr.* [133]: 16, 249n, 267n, 440
255 *EPetr.* [266]: 18
256 *EPhal.* [329]: 19
257 *EPhil.* [323]: 19, 249n, 396
258 *EPoem.* [122]: 16
259 *EPont.* [252]: 17
260 *EPraes.* [84]: 16 and n, 378
261 *EPraes.* [86]: 12, 378, 407
262 *EPresb.* [87]: 12, 407
263 *EPrinc.* [311]: 19, 378
264 *EProp.* [315]: 19
265 *ERapt.* [270]: 12
266 *ESal.* [320]: 19
267 *ESam. cl.* [219]: 16, 444n; **1**: 256
268 *ESam. sen.* [183]: 16, 444n
269 *ESat.* [103]: 16
270 *ESat. civ.* [102]: 16
271 *ESeb.* [306]: 12
272 *ESimpl.* [115]: 12, 498, 502
273 *ESophr. ep.* [172]: 12
274 *ESophr.* [76]: 13 and nn, 295n, 388n, 408
275 *ESophr.* [32]: 13 and nn, 25, 408; **2**: 246n
276 *ESophr.* [96]: 16, 295n, 377
277 *ESophr.* [177]: 12 and n, 378, 408n
278 *ESophr.* [180]: 12, 378
279 *ESophr.* [192]: 12, 378
280 *ESophr.* [272]: 12, 378
281 *ESor.* [155]: 16 and n
282 *ESoz.* [261]: 18, 452 and n, 453; **1**: 252n; **2**: 237n; **3**: 239n
283 *ESyn.* [70]: xiii, 12 and n, 304, 424, 455n, 600
284 *ESynt.* [37]: 19, 25, 292n, 394, 406
285 *ETars.* [114]: 16, 420n
286 *ETars. pb.* [113]: 13, 420n
287 *ETer.* [99]: 16, 306; **4**: 474
288 *ETer.* [214]: 17, 295n, 378, 444n, 453n, 461 and n; **2**: 233n; **4**: 327n
289 *ETer. fl.* [105]: 13, 232n, 444n, 453n, 479n
290 *ETheod.* [173]: 19, 62, 461; with *De perf.* [22]: 55n, 473 and n, 478, 499, 507
291 *EThdr.* [124]: 19, 274n
292 *EThdt. Ber.* [185]: 12 and n, 444n
293 *EThdt.* [130]: 16; **2**: 256
294 *EThdt.* [121]: 16, 474
295 *ETheoph.* [245]: 17
296 *ETher.* [77]: 12
297 *ETim.* [291]: 12
298 *ETract.* [144]: 19, 378, 406
299 *ETrai.* [148]: 16
300 *ETyan.* [97]: 13 and nn, 255
301 *EUlt.* [287]: 12
302 *EUlt.* [288]: 12
303 *EUrb.* [123]: 17
304 *EUrb.* [262]: 18, 453n; **2**: 263n
305 *EVal.* [278]: 16

306 *EVal. ep.* 1]: xiii, 13, 455n
307 *EVict.* [153]: 12 and n, 378
308 *EVict.* [152]: 12 and n, 378
309 *EVid.* [174]: 17
310 *EVid.* [283]: 12
311 *EVid.* [296]: 19
312 *EVid.* [297]: 19
313 *EVir.* [249]: 19
314 *EVir.* [298]: 19
315 *EVirr.* [305]: 19
316 *EVit.* [255]: 16, 444n
317 *EZoil.* [194]: 12 and n, 248n, 249n
318 *Hex.* 1-9: 9n, 18 and n, 28, 30, 32-34, 51-52, 63, 64, 65, 191, 230, 234-235, 241-247, 245n, 249, 268, 276, 366, 412, 449 and n, 457, 459-460, 468n, 470, 476-477, 485, 486, 488 and n, 493, 498, 509, 571, 574-578
Hex. 1-11: 509. *See further under* Dubious Works: *HCreat.* 1-2
Hex. 1: 246n, 449n; **1**: 364; **5**: 227n; **6**: 365; **7**: 234n
Hex. 2: 581, 584, 586; **2**: 247n, 269n, 276n; **4**: 268n; **5**: 252n; **6**: 327n, 460n; **7**: 205-207, 243n; **8**: 242n
Hex. 3.**2**: 241n; **5**: 256n; **8**: 251n; **9**: 241n; **10**: 241n, 252n, 372
Hex. 4: 242-244; **1**: 227n, 243, 365; **2**: 243. **3**: 243 and n; **4**: 243n; **5**: 241-242, 276n; **7**: 243n, 244
Hex. 5: 582, 586; **1**: 366; **6**: 252n, 365; **10**: 240, 241, 246
Hex. 6: 65, 246-247, 459 and n, 468n; **1-2**: 242; **5**: 258; **9**: 205-206; **9**: 212; **10**: 275n; **11**: 258n, 431n, 616
Hex. 7: 205, 449n; **4**: 236n
Hex. 8: 205; **1**: 247; **4**: 256n; **7**: 237n; **8**: 616
Hex. 9: 247, 448n, 582, 586; **1**: 263n; **2**: 268n; **6**: 14n, 342
319-358 *Homiliae morales* 1-40: 9-10 and nn, 27-34, 52-53, 58, 65, 443, 541; cf. 571-588 (*Girk' Pahoc'*)
319 *HAtt.* [3]: 9 and n, 31, 52, 60, 64, 65, 450, 459, 463, 466, 467 and n, 477, 488, 489n, 497, 504n, 505, 506n, 507, 581, 583, 584, 587; **1**: 252n, 278; **2**: 277n; **4**: 241n, 244n, 427n, 430n; **5**: 387, 456 and n; **6**: 240; **7**: 231n
320 *HBapt.* [13]: 9 and n, 31, 450, 456 and n, 457, 470, 478 and n, 488, 497; **3**: 611; **5**: 426n, 610
321 *HChr.* [27]: 9 and n, 450, 478, 479 and n, 488, 489n, 497, 504n, 573n, 581, 582, 583, 584, 587; **1**: 330n; **2**: 330n; **3**: 275n, 619; **5**: 619
322 *HDestr.* [6]: 9 and n, 11, 31, 60, 64, 429n, 450, 457, 459, 467 and n, 470, 477, 488, 497, 531n; **1**: 389; **7**: 384 and n, 386, 387, 414n
323 *HDiv.* [7]: 9 and n, 31, 60, 429n, 450, 457, 470, 477, 478 and n, 497; **1**: 488, 599, 600; **4**: 268n, 387n; **7**: 387n; **9**: 401n
324 *HEbr.* [14]: 9 and n, 31, 450, 457, 470, 477, 478, 488, 497, 510n
325 *HFam.* [8]: 10 and n, 11, 31, 302n, 429n, 450, 497; **5**: 389n, 390; **6**: 384n; **8**: 386, 596, 600; **8-9**: 387n
326 *HFide* [15]: 10 and n, 31, 64, 191, 202-205, 207, 210, 211, 426 and n, 450 and n, 456n, 459, 466, 478, 487, 488, 497, 573n, 582, 583, 584, 587; **1**: 602, 603, 604; **1-2**: 604; **2**: 203-204; **3**: 258n, 430n, 462, 516
327 *HGord.* [18]: 10 and n, 32, 237, 450 and n, 478, 484, 504n
328 *HGrat.* [4]: 10 and n, 64, 267n, 450, 460, 478, 487, 488, 497, 507; **3**: 388; **5**: 517
329 *HHum.* [20]: 10 and n, 450, 497; **6**: 277n; **7**: 258n
330 *HIeiun.* 1: 9n, 10 and n, 31, 64, 443, 450, 455, 456n, 457, 460, 470, 477, 488, 489n, 494 and n, 497, 500, 507, 572, 581, 582, 583, 584, 586; **1**: 244n; **1-4**: 460n; **11**: 456n

331 *HIeiun*. 2: 9n, 10 and n, 31, 64, 450, 460, 470, 477, 488, 489n, 497, 500, 507, 581, 582, 587
332 *HInv*. [11]: 10 and n, 64, 450, 459 and n, 466, 467 and n, 478, 493, 497; **5**: 377, 387 and n, 430n, 431n; **6**: 329n
333 *HIra* [10]: 10 and n, 450, 478, 497, 584, 587; **7**: 605
334 *HIul*. [5]: 10 and n, 64, 450, 460, 478, 487, 488, 498; **7**: 426n
335 *HLac*. [26]: 10 and n, 450, 497; **3**: 244n; **9**: 426n
336 *HMal*. [9]: 9n, 10 and n, 11, 31, 450, 478, 484, 488, 497; **3**: 609; **6-7**: 364, 373
337 *HMam*. [23]: 10 and n, 450; **1**: 329n; **4**: 14n
338 *HMart*. [19]: 10 and n, 32, 64, 450, 460 and n, 478, 484, 488, 489n, 494 and n, 497, 504 and n, 523, 581, 582, 583, 584, 587-588; **2**: 563
339 *HMund*. [21]: 9n, 10 and n, 31, 450, 497; **2**: 387; **5**: 239n; **11**: 246, 389n
340 *HProv*. [12]: 10 and n, 27, 64, 450, 459, 466, 497; **3**: 370; **7**: 241n; **17**: 245n
341 *HSab*. [24]: 10 and n, 338, 450; **3**: 330n; **4**: 327n; **6**: 328nn; **7**: 328n
342 *HTrin*. [29]: 10 and n, 329, 450 and n
343 *HVerb*. [16]: 10 and n, 31, 450 and n, 456n, 478, 497; **1**: 247n
344 *HPs. 1*: 10 and n, 28, 32, 64, 450 and n, 454, 457, 459 and n, 470, 478, 488 and n, 497, 504n, 505; **1**: 244n, 247n, 617; **1-2**: 597; **2**: 237; **3**: 222n, 266n; **5**: 241n
345 *HPs. 7*: 10 and n, 28, 30, 450, 488, 497; **2**: 252n; **6**: 274n
346 *HPs. 14a*: 10 and n, 28, 30, 450 and n, 488, 497; **6**: 254-255, 377
347 *HPs. 14b*: 10 and n, 28, 30, 31, 450, 470, 477, 478n, 488, 497; **2**: 268n; **3**: 30; **5**: 247n
348 *HPs. 28a*: 10 and n, 28, 31, 426n, 450, 488, 497; **4**: 371
349 *HPs. 29*: 10 and n, 28, 450, 488, 498
350 *HPs. 32*: 10 and n, 28, 31, 267n, 450, 488, 498; **6**: 267n; **8**: 248n, 609
351 *HPs. 33*: 10 and n, 28, 30, 31, 450, 488, 498; **1**: 374; **3**: 278n; **4**: 430n; **5**: 267n; **8**: 234n, 262n; **10**: 234n; **11**: 433n; **13**: 426n
352 *HPs. 44*: 10 and n, 28, 450, 488, 498; **1**: 246n; **1-2**: 276n; **2**: 279n; **4**: 248, 433n; **5**: 247n; **9**: 363
353 *HPs. 45*: 10 and n, 28, 450, 488, 498; **1**: 377, 430n; **5**: 433n; **8**: 267n
354 *HPs. 48*: 10 and n, 28, 450, 488, 498; **2**: 433n; **8**: 608, 609; **9**: 239n; **10**: 236n
355 *HPs. 59*: 10 and n, 28, 64, 450 and n, 459, 466, 478, 488, 498; **3**: 267n
356 *HPs. 61*: 10 and n, 28, 32, 450 and n, 478, 488, 498; **4**: 259n; **5**: 234n, 246n, 267n
357 *HPs. 114*: 10 and n, 28, 32, 267n, 450, 478, 488, 498; **2**: 248; **3**: 234n, 267n; **5**: 266n
358 *HPs. 115*: 10 and n, 28, 450 and n, 478, 488, 498; **2-3**: 616
Hypotyposis ascetica 2-3: 4n, 14n, 17, 43, 418, 419, 443, 507
359 *Hyp. Pr.*: 17, 61, 473, 483, 487, 499, 501, 506, 507
360 *LBas. 1*: 8 and n, 453 and n, 454, 464-465, 480, 491 and n, 503, 511, 604, 621
360a *LBas. 2*: 453 and n
360b *LBas. 3*: 479-480
361 *Mor*. 1-80: 4n, 8n, 17 and n, 418 and n, 419, 421 and n, 422, 424, 431, 443, 446, 499, 507
1-68 (69): 14 and n, 17n
361a *Mor. PrI*: 4n, 14 and n, 15n, 17 and n, 41, 43, 418 and n, 424, 473, 482 and n, 487, 486, 499, 501, 506, 507; **1**: 14n, 41, 420, 424n, 595, 596; **1-2**: 601; **1-4**: 14n; **2**: 425; **3**: 239, 606; **4**: 425, 596, 605; **4-8**: 14n; **6**, **7**: 425
361b *Mor. PrF*: 4n, 36, 43, 263-264, 418 and n, 419-420, 487, 499, 501, 506, 507; **1**: 239n, 427n, 433n, 615, 616; **1-5**: 11 and n; **1-6**: 17 and n; **2**: 239n, 254nn, 275n, 276n; **3**: 369; **4**: 127n, 327n, 426n; **5**: 615; **6**: 14 and n, 616
Reg. mor. **1.5**: 618; **7**: 434n; **19.1**: 273n; **20.2**: 610, 612; **21.1**: 613; **21.2**: 612; **21.3**: 614; **21.4**: 612; **26.2**: 426n; **37**: 258n; **48.1**: 384; **48.2**: 430n; **48.3**: 618; **58**: 427n; **58.2**: 258n; **60**: 258n, 427n; **60.1**: 427; **69**: 14n; **69.2**: 258n; **70**: 431n; **70.10**: 594;

73.5: 265n; **75.1**: 385n, 386; **79.1**: 385n, 389n; **80.1**: 292; **80.4**: 426; **80.12**: 619; **80.12-13**: 433n; **80.12-21**: 601; **80.15**: 433n; **80.17**: 275n; **80.18**: 602; **80.22**: 267, 610, 612, 613, 614, 616, 618

362 *Philoc.*: 6, 193, 194, 300, 421

Sermones "De moribus" a Symeone Metaphrasta collecti 1-24 (CPG 2908): for the identification of most of the extracts see Rudberg, "Morceaux" (p. 689 above) and Fedwick, "The Citations" (above p. 666) p. 33, note 6

Sermo **1.7**: 251n, 277n; **2.1**: 244n, 246n; **2.3**: 266n; **2.4**: 262n; **2.5**: 275n; **3.2**: 255n; **4.6**: 263n; **4.7**: 246n; **5.1**: 246n; **6.7**: 265n; **7.12**: 275n; **8.7**: 244n; **11.8**: 224n, 267n; **12.1**: 244n; **16.1**: 254n; **18.2**: 244n; **21.4**: 254n

Canones Basilii (mostly as in CPG 2901): 480 and n, 498, 502, 510 and n, 511-512

Scholion **2**: 8n; **6**: 17n; **7**: 17n; **8**: 499n

*Dubious Works

400 **Asc. Pr5*: 15n, 19, 42, 447, 473, 475, 476n, 487, 499, 501, 506, 507, 572; with *EApokr. fus.* 25 (in Armenian): 476; **1**: 244n

401 **Enarr. in Is.* 1-16: 19, 45, 51, 62; **5.176**: 279n; **208**: 619; fragments (in Latin): 461 and n

402 **EApoll.* [361]: 6n, 19 and n, 444n; **1**: 252n

403 **EApoll.* [363]: 6n, 19 and n, 444n

404 **ELib.* [335]: 5n, 19 and n

405 **ELib.* [337]: 5n, 19 and n

406 **ELib.* [339]: 5n, 19 and n

407 **ELib.* [344]: 5n, 19 and n

See also 56, 61

408 **Epit.* 24: 15n, 19, 43, 447, 453, 473, 475, 499, 506, 507, 572

409 **Epit.* 25: 15n, 19, 473, 506, 507

410 **HCreat.* 1-2 (*br.*): 4n, 18n, 19 and n, 28, 30, 33-34, 46, 51, 63; **1.13**: 240; **1.20**: 263n; **3**: 246n; **2.10**: 252n

411 **HParad.* (*br.*): 19 and n, 33, 51, 63

412 **SAsc.*: 19, 333n, 473; **3**: 333n

413 **SDisc.*: 19, 447n, 461 and n, 473, 506, 507, 510n; **1**: 377

414 **SInst.*: 19, 388, 456n, 461

Spurious (**) or Unidentified (+) Works

1. Works Known Also in Greek

***Ad iun.* [43]: 25

***Canons* 1-105 (106); 1-13: 484n, 491 and n

***Const.*: 300nn, 332, 440n, 448, 450n, 473, 482-483, 487 and n, 499 and n, 500, 501, 506, 507; **Prol.**: 473; **1**: 447n; **18.1**: 386; **18.2**: 391n; **19**: 333n

***Contra Eunomium* 4-5: 39-40, 67n, 194, 451-452; **4** only: 487, 517; **5** only: 510n

***De spiritu*: 4n, 39-40, 60, 131n, 191, 192, 193-195, 196, 197, 198, 199-203, 204, 206, 207-211, 218, 252n

***De virginitate ad Letoium*: 505

***ECaes.* [8]: 7n, 24, 25, 131n; **2**: 329n; **12**: 329n

***EChil.* [42]: 25

***EEun.* [16]: 24, 25

***EEust. arch.* [189]: 24; **2**: 329n. *See also* Gregory of Nyssa

***EGNys.* [38]: 24, 25, 55, 487; **4**: 462, 516; 327n

**EInoc. [81]: 157
**EIuln. [41]: 25, 452. For the spurious Epistles of Julian to Basil [39, 40] see p. 25
**EIuln. [360]: 523
ELib. [outside **404-407]: 5n, 56, 61, 320n
**EMon. laps. [44] and [45]: 25, 55
**EVid. [10]: 24
**Epit. 26: 473
**Epit. diversorum Sanctorum: 506, 507
**EApokr. B-GNaz.: 478 and n, 479, 491, 510n
**EApokr. B-GNys.: 479, 491
**Explicatio orationis "Pater noster": 488n
**HAq.: 62
**HArb. [30 or Prol. 9]: see Ps.-Macarius
HCreat. 1-2 (fus.): 19n See also under **410
**HIeiun. 3 [32]: 489n
**HInc.: 62-63
**HMis. [34]: 483 and n
**HPaen. [28]: 477, 478n, 494n, 581, 583, 587
HParad. (fus.): 19n See also under **411
**HPs. 28b: 28, 488, 497
**HPs. 37: 28, 488, 498
**HPs. 132: 28
**HSp. S. [25]: 497
**HVirg.: 63
**HVit. br. [33]: 62, 63
**LBas. 4: 8n, 484 and n, 491 and nn
**Ordo baptismi: 454 and n, 491 and n
**SCal.: 63
**SFide: 63
SRen.: 473, 499, 506, 507; **2: 333n; **2-3**: 333n
**SSac.: 498, 501, 507
**Sermo τὸ τελειότατον ἔργον: 442n
**SVit.: 63

2. Works Not Known in Greek

Arabic:

**Sermons: De invidia, 486 and n; De paenitentia, 486 and n
Sermons for Lent, 489 **a.i-iv; On Penance, 490 **b.i-v**; Festal, 490 **c.i-ii**; Theological, 490 **d.i-v**
† De Trinitate, 487
† EAmph., 487

Armenian:

**Contra Apollinarem (= Ps.-Athanasius, Dialogus IV, in Greek not attributed to Basil), 478 and n, 572n, 573n, 582, 583, 587; cf. perhaps Orthodoxus
**Encomium in Stephanum, 478, 581, 582, 583, 584, 588
Other, 479 **a, 480 **i-ix**
[Of the additional works compiled on the basis of Anasyan's *Bibliology* (see above p. 655) by J. P. Mahé in *REArm.* 13 (1978/79) 413-414, **8.d** is *De Sp.S.*, c.1; **8.h** is **Const. Prol.; **8.i** is **Const. 1; **8.1** is *Ad virg.* [46]. Hence **p** = **8.a**, *Paroles de Basile de Césarée: "Feriam epiphaniae"*; **q** = **8.c**, *Sur la parole de l'Evangile: "Maitre, que dois-je faire pour héritier la vie ?"*; **r** = **8.j**, *Sur la mère des fils de Zébédée*; **s** = **8.2**, *Lettre aux nonnes: "Sorores sanctae et generosae."*]

Coptic:

**HCons.*, 483 and nn.
** Other, 484 **i-viii**
† *Homily on Fasting*, 483

Georgian:

**Sermo de paenitentia et morte*, 493
**Sermo de invidia, et typus paenitentiae pro fidelibus*, 493
Other*, 494 and n, 497 (nos. **7-11, **13**, **28**, **30-33**, **53-55**: known in Greek but only in Georgian ascribed to Basil), 502 **i-viii**

Latin:

**Admon.*, 461-462, 463n, 473, 518, 521, 527n
**De consolatione in adversis*, 463
**De laude vitae solitariae*, 463
**De remissione xiii(i) peccatorum*, 463 and n
**Sermo de incarnatione domini*, 462, 516
† *Adversus Manichaeos*, 462
† *De dogmatibus*, 462
† *Ignem veni mittere*, 462
† *Homily on Fasting* **1-2**, 456n, 459n, 460, 467
† *Liber de dispositione*, 463
† *Monita Basilii*, 463n
† *Omelia*, 463n

Syriac:

**Against those who say that the Son is not Like the Father*, 450 and n
**Chapitres*, 454n
**Discourse Against Apollinarius*, 452n
**Funeral Sermon on a Child of the Imperial Family*, 451
**Historia Iosephi*, 455n
**Homily on the Martyrs*, 451
Homily on the xl Martyrs* **2, 451
**Homily on Temperance and Chastity*, 457
**Homily on Virginity and Holiness*, 451
Letters: London BL Add. 17144*, 452 **iii, vi, vii, xi, xii; *London BL Add. 14549*, 452 **ii**
**Ordo baptismi*, 454 and n
**Sentences*, 453
† *Benediction of the Chalice*, 454
† *Letter to Amphilochius*, 447n
† *Homily on Lent* **1-3**, 451

Index of Citations of Other Sources

For most of the printed editions see the Bibliography, pp. 636-654.
All *Monastic Rules* are listed under *Regula*. See also the General Index.

Acta Sanctorum, 23: 528n
Aelfric, *Be Godes Six Daga*: 468n
Aelianus, Claudius, *ποικίλη ἱστορία* ("Varia historia"), **9.10**: 214
Aeneas of Gaza, *Theophrastus*
Aetius, *Syntagmation*, **12, 16, 30, 32**: 73n
Agathangelos, *History of the Armenians*: 477n
Albinus, *Epitome* or *Didaskalikos*, **6**: 186; **14.3**: 171n
—. *In Timaeum*, **38B**: 171n
Alexander of Alexandria, *Letter to Alexander of Byzantium* in *Urkunden* (*cf.* Opitz, p. 638, above) **14.34**: 172, 176
Alexander of Aphrodisias, *In topica*: 265
Alexander of Lycopolis, *πρὸς τὰς Μανιχαίου δόξας*: 166 and n. 167, 168
Ambrose of Milan, *De fide*, **3.15**: 157
—. *De Helia*: 470
—. *De Nabuthae*: 470
—. *De Spiritu Sancto*: 470; **2.5**.42: 350; **2.9**.89-93: 352; **3.14**.101-102: 354n
—. *De Tobia*: 470
—. *Enarratio in Psalmum 1*: 470
—. *Exameron*: 470
Ammianus Marcellinus, *Rerum gestarum*, **25.3.6-9**: 290n; **29.1.42**: 182n
Amphilochius of Iconium, *Fr.* **xvd**: 252
Ps.-Amphilochius, *Vita et miracula Sancti Basilii*: 441, 481, 494n, 507, 510n, 527, 528, 534, 552, 555-562; **4**: 558, 560, 561; **5**: 561; **6**: 558; **7**: 556; **9**: 559; **10**: 554n; **13**: 561; **14**: 561; **16**: 557; **17**: 557, 562
Ananias Shirakatse, *On Clouds and Signs*: 476-477
Andrew of Crete, *In crucem* and *In Georgium*, in Georgian under Basil's name, *see* **Basil
Anonymus, *Excerpta* in *Prol. Syll.* **61.6**: 271n; **236.15**: 271n
—. *Apud* Hermagoram, *De statuis*, **201.22-26**: 271n
Anselmo de Luca, *Collectio canonum*: **10.20**: 529n
Antioch, Council of (324), *Urkunde* **18**: 158
Apophthegmata Patrum: 361, 415, 416 and n, 417n, 422, 432, 433
Aristotle, *Categories*: 150, 187, 253, 254; **5**: 91; **10**: 84; **8627-9a13**: 274n
—. *De anima*, **B.5**: 272
—. *Nicomachean Ethics*, **A.6**: 257n; **B.7.6**: 272; **1094A**: 199
—. *Organon*: 259-260
—. *Physics*, **191a30-31**: 97n
—. *Politics*, **A.2.8**: 254; **Δ.2.2**: 272; **2836-2876**: 258n
—. *Rhetoric*, **A.2.3**: 273; **Γ.2.1**: 266n; **Γ.2.7**: 253; **Γ.12.6**: 270
Arius, *Letter to Alexander of Alexandria*: 157n
—. *Letter to Eusebius of Nicomedia*: 189
—. See *Urkunde* **6**: 166n
—. *Thalia*: 157n, 158n, 172, 173n
Armat Hawatoy: 478n
Arnobius of Sicca, *Adversus Nationes*: 142, 145; **1.27**: 146; **1.52**: 147; **2.36**: 146; **11-66**: 145
Asclepius of Tralles, *In Aristotelis Metaphysicorum libros A-Z*, **3.27-34**: 266n
Ašolnik, *Universal History*: 475
Athanasius, a philosopher (fl. not after s. 5), *In Hermagorae, De statuis*, in *Prol. Syll.* 176.4-9: 271n
Athanasius of Alexandria, *Apologia ad Constantium*, **23**: 298n
—. *De sententia Dionysii*, **4**: 171; **6**: 262n; **18**: 265n; **23**: 74n
—. *Epistula de decretis Nicaenae synodi*, **19**: 348; **26**: 196n, 198n; **28**: 173; **28-30**: 73n

—. *Epistula de synodis*, **15**: 74n, 157n; **17**: 348; **22-25**: 310n; **26**: 311n; **27**: 298n; **28**: 346; **46-48**: 73n; **51**: 73n
—. *Epistula encyclica ad episcopos Aegypti et Libiae*, **15**: 351
—. *Epistula ad Palladium*: 131n
—. *Epistula ad Serapionem* **1**. 33: 346
—. *Festal Letters*: 174
—. *Historia Arianorum*, **24**: 298n
—. *Oratio contra Gentes*: 173-176; **1**: 174; **2**: 177; **3**: 177; **9**: 175; **11**: 155n; **35**: 155n; **40**: 155n; **41.3**: 175; **46**: 263
—. *Oratio de incarnatione Verbi*: 173-176; **24**: 174; **50**: 173; **51**: 177; **54**: 176; **55**: 173
—. *Orationes contra Arianos* **1-3**: 175; **1.4**: 353; **1.6**: 74n; **1.7**: 341-342; **1.9**: 172; **1.13**: 98n; **1.37**: 74n; **1.37-44**: 74n; **1.38**: 74n; **1.39**: 74n; **1.41**: 74n; **1.56-59**: 73n; **2.3-5**: 73n; **2.11-12**: 92n; **2.20**: 73n; **2.57-61**: 73n; **2.71**: 73n; **3.15-16**: 69n; **3.26**: 74n; **3.51**: 74n; **3.51-53**: 74n; **3.55**: 74n
—. *Vita Anthonii*: 176, 178; **21, 22, 35, 38, 44, 88**: 432 and n
Ps.-Athanasius, *Dialogus de sancta Trinitate* 4, in Armenian under Basil's name *see* **Basil and also Orthodoxus
—. *Oratio contra Arianos*, **4.25**: 353
—. *Symbolum Quicumque*: 309n, 352n
Atticus, *In Timaeum*, **38B**: 171n
—. *Fr.* **4.87**: 160; **5.66-69**: 160; **8**: 161
Augustine, Aurelius, *Confessiones*, **7.13**: 148; **11.23**: 469n
—. *Contra academicos*, **2.5**: 148n; **3.41**: 148n
—. *Contra Iulianum*, **1.5.18**: 455; **1.16**: 462; **2.6.17**: 456
—. *De beata vita*, **4**: 148n
—. *De catechizandis rudibus*, **6**: 430n
—. *De Civitate Dei*: 149; **10.23**: 149; **10.30**: 153n; **10.32**: 151; **19.15**: 398
—. *De consensu evangelistarum*: 149; **1.15.23**: 147n
—. *De doctrina christiana*: 261
—. *De Genesi ad litteram*, **1.18.36**: 460n
—. *De natura boni*, **27**: 350
—. *De rhetorica*: 261
—. *De Trinitate*, **1.6.22**: 352; **2.10.19**: 354n; **5.8.9**: 352; **6.10.12**: 352n
—. *De unitate ecclesiae*, **19**: 430n
—. *In Iohannis evangelium tractatus 20*: 456n
—. *Retractationes*, **2.31**: 147n
—. *Sermo Denis ii*: 456n; **xi**: 456n
—. *Sermo 24*: 291n
—. *Sermo 62*: 291n
—. *Sermo 187*, 188: 430n
—. *Sermo 356*; 6: 394n
Ps.-Augustine, *Sermo 144*: 456n

Bede, *Epistula ad Accam*: 460n
—. *Libri quatuor in principium Genesis* ("Hexaemeron"): 460n
Bonizo of Sutri, *De vita christiana*, **4.130, 6.16, 8.46**: 529
Burchard, *Decretum*: 530; **3.127**: 528, 529n; **8.9**: 528, 530n; **9.45**: 528, 529n; **10.52.54.59.67, 17.35, 19.39.64.79**: 528

Calcidius, *In Timaeum*: 142, 147, 152; **196**: 153; **272**: 212
Callistus Cataphrygiotes, *De vita contemplativa*, **2**: 368; **19**: 369
Canones Basilienses, **(34a) 34**, **(40) 40**: 522
Canones Cottoniani: 521; **91, 109, 178, 181**: 522n
Canones Gregorii: 521; **9, 67, 85, 171**: 522n
Capitula Dacheriana: 521; **32, 164, 171**: 522n
Cassian, John, *Conlationes*, **20.8**: 463n
—. *De institutis coenobiorum*, **4.17**: 470n
Cassiodorus, Flavius Magnus Aurelius, *Historia tripartita*: 563; **7.36**: 554n
—. *Institutiones*, **156.19-157.3**: 459n
Chaldaean Oracles: 185, 186, 187
Chrysippus , *Fr.* **6, 920**: 238n
Cicero, Marcus Tullius, *Ad C. Herennium*: 230n
—. *Brutus*, **49.185**: 261
—. *De oratore*, **1.142**: 271n; **2.121**: 261
—. *Orator*, **21.69**: 261
—. *Paradoxa Stoicorum*: 268n
—. *Tusc. Disp.* **4.13.31**: 207n
Clement of Alexandria, *Quid dives salvetur*, **2.3**: 268n
—. *Stromata*, **2.19. 101.1**: 238n; **7.7**: 199n; **7.9. 54.4**: 268n; *Fr.*: 250n
Codex regularum: 458 and n, 472
Collectio Dionysio-Hadriana: 516
Collectio Caesaraugustana, **10.65**: 529n
Collectio Hadriana: 515 and n, 516
Collectio Hibernensis: 513, 514, 518-520, 526-528; **10.7**: 518n, 528n; **11.16**:

528n; **12.14**: 518n, 527n; **14.4**: 518n, 527n; **21.116**: 518n, 527n; **28.30**: 518n, 527n; **31.16** f.: 517n; 527n; **65.8**: 518n, 527n
Collectio Hispana: 516, 518n
Collectio Novariensis: 515, 516
Collectio Palatina: 515 and n
Collectio Quadripartita: 524 and n; **3.1.15.17.23.47.53.61**: 524n; **4**: 531; **4.2.19.24.25.26.32.42.78**: 524n; **4.2.19.20.24.25.26.32.42.78**: 530n; **4.81**: 525n; **4.109.152.153.157.210-212.221.225.240**: 524n; **4.109.210-212.221.225.240**: 530n; **4.251**: 524n
Collectio Quesnelliana: 516
Collectio Sangermanensis, **20.10**: 520n; **20.13b**: 520n, 521n; **20.14**: 520n; **20.15.16.20-23**: 520n, 521n
Collectio Vaticana: 515 and n, 516
Collectio Vaticana Latina 4977, **3.254.2**: 528n; **4.69.99.176.271**: 528n
Collectio Vetus Gallica: 519 and n; **46.28.29.30.31.32**: 519n
Collection in Three Parts: 514n
Collection in Five Books, **1.220.3, 3.242.3 254.2, 4.69.99.176.271.348**: 527n
Collection in Nine Books, **6.83.189. 198.250**: 527
Collectio Caesaraugustana, **10.65**: 529n
Collection of Rieti, **ff. 36ᵛ. 42. 73**: 528
Collection of Vat. Arch. S. Pietro H58, **ff. 52ᵛ.148ᵛ**: 528
Confessional of Egbert, **37** (382-389): 522
Cronius, *On Reincarnation*: 153
Cumianus Longus or Cummaine Fota, *Excarpsus Cummeani*, **3.20, 14.9**: 522
—. *Paenitentiale Cummeani*: 463n, 523, 527n
Cyril of Alexandria, *In Lucam*, **16**: 252
—. *Thesaurus*: 73n
Cyril of Alexandria, Florilegium of: 515

David, *Prolegomena*, **46. 13-25**: 266n
Defensor of Ligugé, *Liber scintillarum*: 462n, 518; **8.39**: 520n; **56.14**: 518n
Ps.-Demetrius, *περὶ ἑρμηνείας* 227: 249n
Ps.-Demetrius and Ps.-Libanius, *Ἐπιστολιμαῖοι χαρακτῆρες*: 249n
Dio Cassius, *Roman History*, **72.31**: 182
Diogenes Laertius, **7.53** (SVF 2: 87): 188
Dionysius of Alexandria, *apud* Athanasium, *De sent.*, **18**: 265n
Dionysius of Fourna, *Herměneia*: 534-535
Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Ad Amm.*, **1.260.15, 1.261.6**: 271n
—. *Ad Pomp.*, **2.230.10**: 271n
Dionysius of Rome, *apud* Athanasium, *De decr.*, **26**: 196n, 198n
Doxopatres, John (Siceliotes) in *Prol. Syll.*: 234n; *Rhet. gr.*: 274n

Elias, *Prol. Phil.*, **6**: 164
Elvira, Synod of (306), *Canon* **5**: 395n; 80: 399n
Ephrem Mtsiré, *Commentary on Psalms*: 502
Ps.-Ephraem, *Encomium in Basilium*: 227n, 441
Epictetus, *Encheiridion*: 212
Epiphanius, *Ancoratus*, **33**: 170
—. *Panarion*, **56 (76).2.5.9, 3.4**: 75n
Erasmus of Monte Cassino, *De opere sex dierum*: 468n
Eubulus, *In Gorgiam*: 183; *In Philebum*: 183; *On Aristotle's Objections to the Republic* (=*Platonic Questions*?): 183
Euchologion (Georgian): 499n, 503n
Euchologe du Monastère Blanche (Coptic): 484n
Euchologium Sinaiticum (Old Church Slavonic): 512n
Eudorus, *apud* Simplicium, *In Phys.*, **181, 33-34D**: 167n
Eunapius, *Vitae sophistarum*, **462**: 180n; **469**: 182; **474**: 184; **457**: 151
Eunomius, *Apologia*: 33, 35, 37, 38; **5**: 348; **7**: 78n, 79n; **18-19**: 83n
—. *Apologia apologiae* (CPG 3456): 70, 71, 121; **1.20**: 122
Eusebius of Caesarea, *Chronicon*: 159; **01.238**: 183n
—. *Contra Hieroclem*: 144, 159
—. *Contra Marcellum*, **1.1**: 238n; **1.4.39**: 158n
—. *Contra Porphyrium*: 150, 159
—. *Demonstratio evangelica*: 151
—. *Eclogae propheticae*: 151n, 159
—. *Epistula ad Euphrationem* (*Urkunde* **3**): 158n
—. *In Psalmos commentarii* (CPG 3467): 199n
—. *Historia ecclesiastica*: 151, 159; **4.7.9**: 146n; **6.19.2**: 142; **6.19.8**: 151, 153n
—. *Praeparatio evangelica*: 141, 142, 151, 159-162, 192, 198, 199, 201, 204, 208, 211, 215; **11**: 161, 162; **11.16.4**: 196;

11.18: 161; **11.18.14**: 160; **11.18-26**: 164n; **11.21.1**: 160; **15**: 160, 161; **15.6.15**: 160; **15.7.7**: 160; **15.10.1-9**: 163; **15.12.3**: 161; **15.22.1-48**: 162-163; **15.22.49-67**: 163; 22: 160
—. *Tricennalia*, **2.1-4**: 179
—. *Constantini imperatoris oratio ad sanctorum coetum*, in *Vita Constantini*: 142, 155-159
Eutyches, Florilegium of: 515
Ewkt'ime At'oneli, *Ethika* see under Basil, *Homiliae morales*
Exempla Sanctorum Patrum, **126-127**: 462 and n, 516
Eznik, *De Deo*: 477n

Facundus of Hermiane, *Pro defensione Trium Capitulorum*: 461n; **4.2**: 456n; **10.6**: 456n
Faith of the Fathers (Coptic Florilegium): 491
Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, **13.4**: 147n
—. *Mathesis*, **8.1.1**: 147n
Florilegium Edessenum anonymum [syriace ante 562]: 455n
Fotiĭ, Metropolit, *List do Snetogorskogo monastyrya*: 505n
Fulgentius, Fabius Claudius Gordianus, *Epistula* **16**: 464n

Gabriel Mtsiré, *Suphewa*: 496n
Gaudentius of Brescia, *Tractatus* **xvii**: 460n
Gelasius I, *Testimonia veterum de duabus naturis in Christo*: 516-517, **21, 22, 51**: 517n
Gelasius of Cyzicus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, **2.36**: 150n
Gesta Ephesena: 515
Giorgi, *Life of Giorgi At'oneli*: 498n
Giorgi At'oneli, *Life of Ewkt'ime At'oneli*: 495n, 496
Gratian, *Decretum* (ed. A. Friedberg, *Corpus Iuris Canonici*, 1 Leipzig 1879) **C.11, q.3, c.100.101**: 531; **C.20, q.1, c.1, q.2, c.4, q.4, c.2**: 531; **C.22, q.4, c.19**: 531; **C.26, q.7, c.7, c.8-11**: 531; **C.27, q.2, c.1**: 531. **D.11, c.5**: 531; **D.47, c.8**: 531; **D.81, c.26**: 531; **D.90, c.4**: 531; **D.90, c.10**: 531, 532; *De consec.* **D.2, c.25**: 531
Gregorio de S. Grisogono, *Polycarpus*: 513, 514 and n; **4.35.15**: 530n; **6.4**: 529n
Gregory the Illuminator, Liturgy attributed to: 474; *Homily*: 475
Gregory of Nazianzus, *Carmina (Poemata) dogmatica*, **1.1.6.20-34**: 268,: **1.1.29.12**: 215; **1.1.32.21-24**: 224n
—. *Carm. moralia*, **1.2.10.86**: 224n; **1.2.10.995-996**: 277n; **1.2.26**: 385n; **1.2.29.313-316**: 277n; **1.2.30.11**: 277n; **1.2.29.97-98**: 225n; **1.2.29.223, 277**: 265n; **1.2.32.4-5**: 277n; **1.2.32.63-64**: 276n; **1.2.32.64**: 228n; **1.2.33.928-945**: 277n; **1.2.34.148**: 277n
—. *Carm. de se ipso*, **2.1.439, 476**: 305n; **2.1.1.564-575**: 277n; **2.1.2.1-4**: 277n; **2.1.11.222-225**: 221n; **2.1.11.223-227**: 277n; **2.1.11.310**: 225n; **2.1.11.341**: 223n; **2.1.11.476-481**: 277n; **2.1.11.593**: 277n; **2.1.11.1205-1206**: 269n; **2.1.11.1351**: 277n; **2.1.12.714**: 255n; **2.1.12.751-753**: 277n; **2.1.12.807**: 250n; **2.1.13.5**: 277n; **2.1.34.93-96**: 250n; **2.1.34.125**: 277n; **2.1.35.2**: 277n; **2.1.38.1-4**: 250n; **2.1.45.233-234**: 265n; **2.1.68.50**: 277n; **2.1.88.176-181**: 277n
—. *Carm. de aliis*, **2.2.1.67**: 250n; **2.2.1.302**: 221n; **2.2.3.240**: 277n; **2.2.4.2-3**: 223n; **2.2.4.92**: 277n; **2.2.5.1521-1542**: 277n
—. *Epistulae*, **4.5**: 227n; **6**: 300n; **8**: 4n, 7n; **16**: 301n; **16.4, 8**: 277n; **19.6**: 227n; **24.1**: 227n; **25**: 221n; **41.8**: 277n; **43.4**: 277n; **46**: 221n; **47-50**: 13; **50.5**: 227n; **51**: 249n, 251n; **53**: 221n, 223n; **58**: 221, 338; **58.4-15**: 131n; **58.7**: 221; **58-60**: 13; **79**: 399n; **79.9**: 397n; **107**: 249n; **108**: 249n; **171.3**: 250n
—. *Epitaphia*, **118**: 296n; **119**: 277n; **119. 16-17**: 250n; **119. 25**: 227n
—. *Orationes*, 26 in Georgian: 500n; **1.4**: 269n; **2.25**: 252n; **2.27**: 269n; **2.33**: 258n, 269n; **2.35**: 259n, 264n; **2.39**: 277n; **2.44**: 269n; **2.54**: 267n; **2.98**: 250n; **4.1**: 269n; **4.3**: 250n; **4.4-5**: 250n; **4.14**: 224n; **4.19**: 223n, 269n; **4.20**: 277n; **4.22**: 269n; **4.28**: 224n; **4.33**: 269n; **4.48**: 255n; **4.50**: 277n; **4.62-65**: 286n; **4.88**: 277n; **4.93**: 286n; **4.99**: 279n; **4.105**: 269n; **4.106**: 278n; **4.112**: 223n; **4.117**: 269n; **4.118**: 269n; **4-5**: 294n; **5.8**: 279n; **5.23**: 279n;

5.23.24: 180, 286n; **5.27**: 228n; **5.29**: 228n, 266n; **5.32**: 222n; **5.33-34**: 291n; **5.34**: 259n; **5.36**: 291n; **5.39**: 269n, 277n; **6.2**: 225n, 268n; **7**: 286n; **9.2**: 265n; **12.4**: 268n; **14.17**: 269n; **14.25.26**: 385n; **14.32**: 265n, 279n; **14.33**: 269n; **13.34**: 267n; **15**: 497; **15.8**: 265n; **15.12**: 268n; **16.2**: 277n; **16.5**: 265n; **17.4**: 224n; **18.1**: 227n; **18.3**: 259n; **18.20**: 266n; **18.21**: 224n; **18.23**: 265n; **18.27**: 224n; **18.30**: 269n; **18.35**: 227n; **19.5**: 269n; **19.7**: 269n, 277n; **19.10**: 268n; **21**: 324n; **21.19-20**: 225n; **21.21**: 269n; **21.30**: 277n; **21.31**: 225n; **21.33**: 225n; **21.35**: 225n; **21.36**: 225n; **22.9**: 269n; **22.12**: 265n; **24.3**: 269n; **24.9**: 225n; **24.13**: 224n, 225n; **24.18**: 250n; **25.2**: 255n, 277n; **25.3**: 273n; **25.5**: 224n; **25.11**: 222n; **25.15**: 265n; **26.9**: 225n; **26.10**: 225n, 256n; **26.14**: 279n; **27.9**: 215; **28.17**: 372; **28.28**: 220n; **29.2**: 215; **30**: 30; **31.5**: 220n; **31.12**: 358; **31.21**: 339; **31.26**: 345; **31.28**: 209; **31.29**: 344. **32.3**: 286n; **32.33**: 277n; **33**: 323n; **36.6**: 277n; **37.12**: 277n; **38.12**: 371; **39.20**: 250n; **40**: 426n; **40.18**: 277n; **40.28**: 277n; **41**: 323n, 426n; **41.8**: 277n; **41.9**: 258n; **42**: 46; **42.3**: 286n; **42.24**: 277n; **43**: 45, 46, 295nn, 301n, 324n, 375, 384, 499n, 534, 542, 552, 592, 593, 595, 596, 597, 599; **43.1**: 221n, 277n, 303n; **43.3**: 423; **43.9**: 553n; **43.10**: 534; **43.12**: 5n, 277, 293, 317n; **43.13**: 222n, 227n; **43.13-24**: 553n; **43.14**: 293n; **43.15-24**: 294n; **43.16**: 303n; **43.21**: 184; **43.22**: 222n; **43.25-37**: 553n; **43.27**: 10n, 303n; **43.28**: 38; **43.33**: 222n, 223n, 301n, 302n; **43.34-35**: 332n; **43.35-36**: 302n; **43.37**: 303n; **43.38**: 267n; **43.40**: 267n; **43.43**: 227n, 308nn; **43.48-50**: 537; **43.52**: 553; **43.53**: 308n, 554; **43.54**: 308n; **43.56**: 308; **43.57**: 308; **43.62**: 225; **43.63**: 429n; **43.64**: 269n, 279n; **43.65**: 225n; **43.66**: 225n; **43.68**: 259n, 269n, 277n; **43.68-69**: 131n; **43.69**: 225n, 269n; **43.75**: 225n; **43.77**: 227n; **43.80**: 228; **44.2**: 227n; **44.9**: 264n; **45.2**: 250n

—. *Testamentum* (CPG 3033): 397, 401nn

Gregory of Nyssa, *Ad Ablablium quod non sint tres dii*: 344n

—. *Ad Graecos ex communibus notionibus* (CPG 3139): 130

—. *De beatitudinibus* (CPG 3161), **5**: 279n

—. *Adversus eos qui castigationes aegre ferunt*: 222n, 262n, 267n

—. *Apologia in hexaemeron*: 28, 46, 51, 279n

—. *De opificio hominis*: 51, 509n; *Prol.*: 279n; **1**: 224n

—. *Contra Eunomium*: 303n; **1.1**: 70n; **1.18**: 269n; **1.36-58**: 70n; **1.42.69**: 344; **1.74**: 221n; **1.76**: 221n; **1.77**: 277n; **1.81**: 222n; **1.129**: 221n; **1.131-146**: 133n; **1.342-364**: 98n; **1.472**: 82-83; **1.472-473**: 83. **1.481**: 83n; **1.494**: 83; **1.494-496**: 83; **1.535-618**: 78n; **1.618-651**: 100n; **1.652-657**: 79n; **1.655-665**: 79n – **2.11-66**: 80n; **2.25**: 85n; **2.29**: 85n; **2.33-34**: 85n; **2.69-70**: 97n; **2.97-124**: 86n; **2.174-177**: 85n; **2.223**: 266n; **2.234-235**: 278n; **2.261**: 264n; **2.404**: 186; **2.411**: 149n; **2.411.1**: 187n; **2.569**: 227n; **3.1.79-82**: 97n; **3.1.132**: 269n; **3.2.55**: 269n; **3.5.6**: 149n; **3.5.20-22**: 121n; **3.6.12**: 269n; **3.6.44**: 269n; **3.7.15**: 269n; **3.7.40**: 269n; **3.9.49-50**: 227n; **3.48**: 121n; **3.61-62**: 121n

—. *Refutatio confessionis Eunomii*, **136**: 222n; **189**: 222n; **212-215**: 222n

—. *De beneficientia*: 271n; **1**: 246n

—. *De deitate adversus Evagrium*: 227n, 430

—. *De instituto christiano*: 224n, 430

—. *De mortuis oratio*: 224n

—. *De perfectione*: 222n, 277n

—. *De sancta Trinitate ad Eustathium* (= Ps.-Basil, *Ep.* 189): 130

—. *De virginitate*: 216-218; **10**: 218; **12**: 218; **23**: 218n, 222n

—. *De vita Gregorii Thaumaturgi*: 209, 277n. *See also Gregory Thaumaturgus*

—. *De vita Moysis*: 265n

—. *Dialogus de anima et resurrectione*: 266nn, 396n

—. *Epistula canonica ad Letoium* (CPG 3148): 264n

—. *Epistula*, **5.7**: 240n; **13.4**: 5n, 180n, 222n; **24.2**: 223n; **24.8**: 240n

—. *In Basilium fratrem*: 45, 277n, 292n, 303n

—. *In Cantica Canticorum*, **4.2.4**: 256n; **8.4.9**: 224n; **9.4.15**: 245n; **11.5.3**: 246n;

14.5.14: 224n; **14.5.15**: 277n; **14.5.15-16**: 238n
—. *In Ecclesiasten* (CPG 3157): 397
—. *In illud: "Quando subjecerit sibi omnia"*: 222n, 263n
—. *Inscriptiones in Psalmos*, **2.3.12**: 279n
—. *In sanctum Pascha*: 264n, 266n, 403
—. *In illud: "Quatenus ..."* (CPG 3170): 246n
—. *In quadraginta martyres*, (CPG 3189): 277n
—. *Vita Macrinae*: 292n, 296n
—. *Fr.* **3**: 223n
—. [Dubia] *In sanctum Ephraim*: 224n, 263n, 277n
Ps.-Gregory of Nyssa, *cf. p. 498*
Gregory Thaumaturgus, Creed of,: 191, 195, 200, 208-210, 323 and n

Helladius of Caesarea, *Life and Miracles of Basil* attributed to him: 552. *See* Ps.-Amphilochius
Hermagoras of Temnos: 228-229, 230n
Hermogenes of Tarsus, *De statibus*: 271n
Hierocles, *Commentarius in Aureum Carmen*: 169 and n
—. *Apud* Photium, *Bibl.* **214, 251**: 169
Hierocles Sossianus, *The Love of Truth*: 144
Hilary of Poitiers, *De synodis*, **38**: 298n
—. *De Trinitate*, **2.1**: 347; **2.32**: 354; **8.23**: 343; **8.31**: 349; **8.38**: 352
—. *Fr.* **5**: 311n
Homer, *Odyssey*, *α***2-3**: 277

Iamblichus, *Commentary on the Chaldaean Oracles*: 184
—. *De anima*: 153n
—. *De mysteriis*, **257-259**: 186
—. *Epistula* **184**: 180n; 185: 180n
—. *Life of Pythagoras*: 214 and n
—. *Oratio* **4**: 151n
Incipiunt testimonia SS. Patrum duas naturas in Christo confitentium: 515, 516
Irenaeus of Lyons, *Adversus haereses*, **4.20.7**: 608; **4.33.4**: 175n
Isidore of Pelusium, *Epistula*, **1.269, 2.127**: 252n
Ps.-Isidore of Sevilla, *Decretales*: 514, 514, 516, 518n
Isocrates, *Panathenaicus*: 229
—. *Panegyricus*: 229; **8**: 249n
Išoʻdenah, *Chronique de Séert*: 446
Ivo of Chartres, *Decretum*: 513, 514, 526, 532; **4.69**: 529; **7.32**: 529, 530n; **8.183, 13.53.55**: 529; **13.60**: 529, 531n, 532n; **13.67, 15.55.78**: 529
—. *Panormia*: 513, 514, 526; **2.159**: 529
—. *Tripartita*: 531, 532; **2.14.8-22**: 530, 531n; **3.7.2, 12.9**: 530, 531n
Izmaragd: 510 and n
Izbornik Svyatoslava 1073: 505n, 510 and n
Izbornik Svyatoslava 1076: 510 and n

Jacopo de Voragine, *Legenda Aurea*: 562-563
Jerome, *Commentarius in Naum*, **2.15**: 187n
—. *De viris inlustribus*: 470; **101**: 149
—. *Epistula*, **60.14.3**: 379n; **70.3**: 144n; **133.9**: 143n
—. *Praefatio in Didymi De Spiritu Sancto*: 338
John Chrysostom, *De s. Babyla* (CPG 4348): 291
—. *Ep.* **125**: 473
—. *In epistulam I ad Corinthios* (CPG 4428), *Hom.* **40**: 385n; *Hom.* **61**: 353, 401n
—. *In epistulam ad Ephesios* (CPG 4431), *Hom.* **22.2**: 385n For the so-called *Liturgia Chrysostomi* see *Liturgia*
John of Damascus, *Sacra Parallela*: 223n, 541, 552, 555
John of Exarch, *Hexaemeron*: 509 and n
John Malalas, *Chronographia* (PG 97: 65-717), **13**: 555n
John III Scholasticus, *Synagoga L Titulorum*: 510n
John Siceliotes *see* Doxopatres, John
Julian the Apostate, *Contra Christianos*: 287-288
—. *Epistula* **11-13**: 184. **12**: 184
—. *Panegyric on the Empress Eusebia*: 183n
Justin Martyr, *Dialogus cum Tryphone*, **4.1**: 155n
Justinian I, *Codex* **9.14.1**: 395n; **10.53.2.6.8.11**: 382n
—. *Edictum*: 517
—. *Institutiones*, **1.2.2**: 385n, 398n; **1.13.2**: 402n

Knik' Hawatoy: 478 and n
Kormchaya knyha: 510 and n, 512

Kozma, *Sermon Against the Bogomils*: 505n

Lactantius, Lucius Caecilius Firmianus, *De mortibus persecutorum*, **16.4**: 144n
—. *Divinae institutiones*, **4.27.5**: 143; **5.2.3-11**: 144; **5.2.12**: 144n; **5.15**: 397n
Laodicea, Synod of the late fourth-century (CPG 8607), *Canon* **2**: 530n
Leo I, *Epistulae* (CPL 1656), **4.1**: 400n; **104.14**: 462 and n; **165**: 462, 516
Libanius, *Epistula* **647**: 5n; **1580-1586, 1589, 1591, 1603**: 5n
—. *Oratio*, **2.58**: 287n; **18.178**: 143
Libellus Synodalis Parisiensis Concilii, **2.510-511**: 523
Liber Graduum: 4n, 14n; **2.7**: 14n
Liber multiloquiorum (from Farfa) = *Vat. lat. 4317*, **ff. 171v-172, 197v**: 528
Liturgia Chrysostomi: 268n, 464, 491n, 503, 604
Liturgia Nestorii: 453n
Liturgia Praesanctificatorum: 503
Ps.-Longinus, Cassius, *De sublimitate*: 271n; **22.1**: 251n, 274n
Luther, Martin, *Deudsche Messe*: 432

Ps.-Macarius the Great, *Homilia* **25** (= Ps.-Basil, *Hom*. 30; *Prol*. 9): 473
Makarii, Metropolit, *Velikiya Minei Chet'i*: 504n
Mamat'a scavlani: 486 and n, 493
Mashtots, *Euchologion*: 476
Ps.-Maximus, *Loci communes*: 510n. See also *Pchela*
—. *Sermo* **21**: 456n
Methodius of Olympus, *On Free Will*: 144n
—. *Symposium*: 178; **1.4**: 177n; **8.12**: 178
Mihanović Homiliar 25: 504n
Mirelo pravednoe: 510 and n
Moderatus, *apud* Simplicium *In Phys.* **231.5 ff.D**: 167n
Movsēs Khorenatsi, *Girk' T'lt'oc*: 478n
—. *History of the Armenians*: 477n

Nemesius of Emesa, *De natura hominis*, **2**: 153 and n
Nicaea, Second Council of (787), *Actiones*: 524
Nicephorus Callistus, *Historia ecclesiastica* (PG 145-147), **14.13.17**: 312n
Niceta of Remesiana, *De psalmodiae bono*: 456n
—. *De vigiliis*: 456n
Nilus, *Epistulae* (CPG 6043): 535n
Nikon of the Black Mountain, *Pandectes*, **4**: 361
Numenius of Apamaea, *De anima fr.*, **2.11**: 160; **11. 12. 15. 16**: 156; *fr.* **12**: 167

Origen, *Contra Celsum*, **3.39**: 149n; **4.6**: 252n; **5.15**: 252n; **5.38**: 156n; **5.39**: 156n; **6.61**: 156n; **6.70**: 354; **7.57**: 156n; **8.12**: 158n; **8.21**: 250n; **8.52**: 252n; **6.3-4**: 253
—. *De oratione*, **15**: 158n
—. *De Principiis*, **2.6**: 462, 516; **4.4.1**: 171n
—. *Homiliae in Iohannem*: 185
—. *Homiliae in Jeremiam*, **19.15**: 259n; **49.2.7**: 250n
—. *Homiliae in Leviticum*, **2.4**: 463n
—. *Homiliae in Lucam*, *fr. 15*: 238n
—. *In Cantica Canticorum*: 256n
—. *Fragments* collected by Weber: 165n
—. *The King is the Sole Creator*: 166
Orthodoxus, *Contra Apollinarem* = Ps.-Athanasius, *Dialogus* IV: 478 and n, 572n, 573n, 582, 583, 587

Paenitentiale Cummeani see Cummeane
Paenitentiale Remense, **5.45.54, 15.41**: 522
Paenitentiale Vallicellianum I: 523
Parmenides (ed. Taran), 97 and n; **8.1-43**: 97
Pchela (= Ps.-Maximus, *Loci communes*, in Old Church Slavonic): 510 and n
Penitential of Martène, **50.5.15.16**: 522 and n
Peter, Acts of: 171n
Peter Damian, *Opusculum* **11.19** (= Ps.-Basil, *De laude*): 463n
Philo Judaeus, *De aeternitate mundi*, **13**: 268n; **54**: 268n
—. *De cherubim*, **13**: 268n
—. *De congressu quaerendae eruditionis gratia*, **137**: 268n
—. *De decalogo*, **133**: 268n
—. *De ebrietate*, **16.33.139**: 268n
—. *De Iosepho*, **50**: 268n
—. *De opificio mundi*, **165**: 268n
—. *De posteritate Caini*, **171**: 268n
—. *De Providentia*, **2.65**: 244n
—. *De sacrifico Abeli et Caini*, **19.71**: 268n; **30**: 268n

—. *De somniis*, **2.103**: 268n
—. *De specialibus legibus*, **1.3.320, 2.2.130**: 268n
—. *De vita Moysis*, **1.49**: 268n
—. *Quod Deus sit immutabilis*, **16, 25**: 268n
—. *Quod omnis probus liber sit*, **59**: 268n
Philostorgius, *Historia ecclesiastica*, **1.7**: 157n; **2.14, 3.15**: 170; **8.12**: 70
Philoxenus of Mabbug, *Lettre à Patricius*: 447-448
Photius, *Bibliotheca*: 79; **4-5**: 72; **6-7**: 72n; **43**: 234n; **106**: 171; **119**: 171n; **137**: 72n, 234n; **138**: 73nn; **141, 142-144**: 234n; **191**: 234n; **214**: 166n, 169; **227**: 259n; **230**: 259n; **251**: 166n, 169
—. *Collationes et demonstrationes*, **Q I 4 8**: 311n
—. *Epistula* **44.2**: 234n
Pierius, *apud* Photium *Bibl.* **119**: 171
Plato, *Apologia*, **18B**: 155n
—. *Cratylus*: 186, 188; **422D**: 187
—. *Crito*, **50A-54D**: 235
—. *Gorgias*, **450a1-2**: 265n; **453a2**: 260n; **458b7**: 265n
—. *Phaedo*: 214; **67A**: 195; **90BC**: 155n
—. *Phaedrus*: 178, 272; **236a4**: 270; **249a6**: 265n; **250CD**: 195; **259e7-260a4, 261a8**: 265n; **264c5**: 253; **267a7-8**: 249n; **268d5**: 253n; **273B**: 268n
—. *Philebus*, **11d4**: 272
—. *Protagoras*, **356d4-357d4**: 258n
—. *Republica*, **369b**: 427; **380d-381c**: 97n; **396C**: 268n; **509B**: 166n; **611B ff**: 195; **10**: 146
—. *Symposium*, **218E2**: 203
—. *Theaetetus*: 166n; **17661**: 257, 258n
—. *Timaeus*: 287; **30A**: 168; **37e-38a**: 97; **41a**: 268n; **53B**: 168; **326c**: 276n
Pliny the Younger, *Epistula* **17.2**: 247n
Plotinus, *Enneads* **1.1.8.9-10**: 160; **1.2.3.12**: 217; **1.6**: 191, 206, 217, 218; **1.6.1**: 207; **1.6.7.2-3**: 139; **1.6.7.13 ff**: 200; **1.6.7.37-39**: 203; **1.6.8.1-3**: 203; **1.6.9.11 ff**: 201; **1.7**: 191, 199, 202, 207, 208; **1.7.1**: 195; **1.9**: 164; **1.48**: 211; **1.59**: 211; **2.1.1.2**: 160; **2.5.3.18**: 160; **2.8**: 191, 206, 212; **2.8.1**: 206; **2.9**: 191, 202, 207, 208; **2.9.1.40** ff: 167n; **2.9.2.16-18**: 201; **2.9.3.1-3**: 201; **3.1**: 147n; **3.1.4.1**: 161; **3.7.6**: 123; **4.4**: 140, 164; **4.7**: 160, 161, 208, 211, 215; **4.7.1.1-4.7.8.28**: 162-163; **4.7.8**: 164; **4.7.8.1-4.7.8.51**: 163; **4.7.8.28-4.7.8**: 163; **4.8.8.1**: 139; **4.8.11** ff: 139; **5.1**: 160, 161, 162, 167, 191, 192, 193, 194, 197, 198-204, 206-208, 210, 211, 215, 218; **5.1.1**: 203; **5.1.1.1-33**: 202; **5.1.2**: 203; **5.1.2.11-14**: 205; **5.1.2.13**: 218n; **5.1.2.14-18**: 203; **5.1.3**: 204; **5.1.3-4**: 204; **5.1.4**: 162, 204; **5.1.5**: 162; **5.1.6**: 123, 162, 205; **5.1.6.37**: 201; **5.1.8**: 162; **5.1.10.1-6**: 198; **5.1.10.24-26**: 201; **5.1.12.12-20**: 205; **5.2**: 216; **5.2.1**: 215; **5.4** (title): 161; **5.4.1.4**: 198; **5.5**: 140; **5.8**: 191; **5.8.10.26-27**: 201: **5.9.5.28**: 160; **6.3**: 217; **6.3.4.3**: 217; **6.6.12**: 268n; **6.7**: 191; **6.7.40.2**: 139; **6.7.41.16-17**: 200; **6.8.19.18**: 167; **6.9**: 156n, 191, 202, 207, 208, 211, 217, 218; **6.9.4.1.15** f: 139; **6.9.7.14** ff: 205; **6.9.7.16**: 156n; **6.9.9**: 211; **6.9.9.1-2**: 203; **6.9.9.47** ff: 139; **6.9.9.48**: 208, 211; **6.9.9.49**: 200; **6.9.9.49-50**: 211; **6.9.9.59**: 202, 208; **6.9.11**: 197; **6.9.11.28**: 156n
—. *On the Soul*: 162-163
—. *On Suicide*: 164
—. *On the Three Basic Hypostases*: 162
—. *On Voluntary Death*: 164
Plutarch, Mestrius, *De E apud Delphos*, **387** f: 183
—. *Demosthenes*, **7.2**: 271n
—. *Moralia*: 43
Ps.-Plutarch, *De fato*: 153n
Porphyry, *Against the Christians*: 141-147, 149, 150, 151, 159 and n, 181
—. *Commentary on Timaeus*: 154, 156
—. *De abstinentia*: 159, 212, 213n, 214; **1.33.36.54**: 213; **109.9**: 205
—. *De regressu animae*: 141-142, 145, 147, 149, 212-213, 214
—. *De statuis*: 159; **3.7.1**: 159n
—. *Isagoge*: 147n, 150
—. *Letter to Anebo*: 159
—. *On the Soul in Reply to Boethius*: 159
—. *Philosophy from Oracles*: 147n, 159
—. *Recitationes philologicae*: 159
—. *Sententiae*: 212; **30.2**: 168
—. *Vita Plotini*: 143, 147n, 208; **2**: 139; **2-3**: 140; **3**: 156, 165n, 166; **3.14.20**: 165; **4**: 162; **14**: 138n, 153, 156, 166n; **15**: 147n, 183; **15.20**: 183; **16**: 143; **17**: 156; **18**: 138n; **19-20**: 140; **20**: 140, 165; **22**: 218n; **23**: 139; **26**: 163

—. *Fr.* **43**: 143; *Fr.* **82**: 143n
Proclus Diadochus, *In Platonis Cratylum*: 186n; **19**: 185 and n
—. *In Platonis theologiam*, **2.4**: 165
—. *In Platonis Rem publicam*, **1.67.10-69.19**: 274n
—. *In Platonis Timaeum*, **1**: 167n; **1.332.24**: 165
Procopius, *Commentaria in Genesim*, *3.21*: 171
Prolegomenon (ed. Rabe): 260n
Prosper of Aquitaine, *Liber sententiarum*, *Sent.* **392**: 456

Quintilianus, Marcus Fabius, *Institutio oratoria*, **2.15.20**: 271n

Regino of Prüm, *Libri duo de synodalibus causis*: 513, 514; **1.166.167.168.325.326.328**, **2.109.259**: 525n; *Appendix*, **2.36.37**: 526
Regula Augustini: 470-471
Regula Aureliani: 471n
Regula Benedicti: 462n, 471; Prologus: 595; **73.5**: 595
Regula cuiusdam Patris: 471n
Regula Eugippii: 458 and n
Regula Fructuosi, **16**: 525n
Regula Isidori, **4**: 524n
Regula Macarii: 458
Regula Magistri: 471
Regula Pachomii: 458, 470n; **82**: 433n; *Praecepta atque iudicia* **clxxvi**: 524n
Regula Pauli et Stephani: 471n
Roman Missal (in Arabic): 491n
Root of Faith see Armat Hawatoy
Rufinus, Tyrannius, *Historia ecclesiastica*: 470; **1.14**: 173; **11.9**: 466-467
Rufus, in *Rhet. gr.* (ed. Walz): 271n
Rusticus, *Gestorum Chalcedonensium versio a Rustico edita*: 516n

Sacramentary of Fulda: 463-464 and n
Sallustius, *On Gods and the World*: 182
Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, *De beneficientia*, **4.28**: 244n
—. *Quaestiones naturales*, **5.18**: 244n
Sententiae Magistri: 514n
Severian of Gabala, *In baptisma see* Basil, *HBapt.* [13]
—. *In cosmogoniam homiliae* 1-6 (CPG 4194): 509
Severus Ibn al-Muqqaffa', *Affliction's Physic and the Cure of Sorrow* (in Arabic): 481n
—. *The Lamp of the Intellect* (in Arabic): 482n
—. *The Precious Pearl* (in Arabic): 487 and n
Severus of Antioch, *Epistulae*: 453n
—. *Opera*: 453n
Sextus Empiricus, *Adversus Mathematicos*, **8.56** ff.: 188
—. *Adversus Rhetoricos*, **62**: 271n
—. *Pyrrhonianae hypotheses*, **2.205**: 149n
Sigillum fidei see *Knik' Hawatoy*
Simplicius *see* Eudorus, Moderatus
Smaragdus, *Expositio in Regulam s. Benedicti*: 524n
Socrates Scholasticus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, **1.8**: 157n; **1.9**: 150; **2.19-20**: 311n; **2.43**: 4n, 14n; **3.7**: 158n; **3.10**: 75n; **4.21**: 332n; **4.26**: 5n, 295nn, 308nn, 384n; **5.23-24**: 312n; **7.14** f.: 291n
Sophocles, *Philoctetes* (ed. A. C. Pearson, 1923), **1302**: 269n
Sophronius of Jerusalem, *In baptisma*: 498
Sozomenus, *Historia ecclesiastica*, **1.6**: 171n; **1.15**: 171n; **3.11**: 311n; **3.19**: 75n; **4.12**: 75n; **5.14**: 75n; **6.7**: 37; **6.15**: 301n; **6.16**: 227n, 308nn, 384n; **6.17**: 295n; **6.26**: 5n, 75n; **6.34**: 227n; **6.34**: 600; **12.11**: 312n; **15**: 302n
Storia della Chiesa (in Coptic): 9-10, 481n
Suda: 151
Synaxaire, Jacobite (in Arabic): 481-482
Synesius of Cyrene, *Dion*: 185n
—. *Epistulae* (ed. R. Hercher, 1873), **136**: 169, 185
Σύγκρισις: 225n, 234n
Synodicon, West Syrian: 453n

Tat'ewac'i, Grigor, *Girk' Harc'omanc'*: 580n
Tertullian, Quintus Septimius Florens, *Adversus Hermogenem*: 167
Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Eranistes*: 517
—. *Graecarum affectionum curatio* (CPG 6210): 509
—. *Haereticarum fabularum compendium* (CPG 6223), **4.4**: 312n
—. *Historia ecclesiastica*: 227n; **1.5**: 170; **4.17**: 554n; **4.19**: 127n, 308nn; **5.21**: 291n

Theodorus of Gadara, *apud* Quintilianum *Inst. orat.*, **2.15.20**: 271n
Theodorus Lector, *Historia ecclesiastica*, **2.25**: 312n
Theodosius I, *De fide catholica*: 290n
Theodosius II, *Codex Theodosianus*, **4.7.1**: 402n; **9.45.3**: 399n; **13.3.3.6.7.16**: 382n
Ps.-Theodotus, *Miraculum s. Georgii*, 489n
Theognostus, *apud* Photium *Bibl.*, **106**: 171
Theon, Aelius, *Progymnasmata*: 236n
Thucydides, *Funeral Oration*, **1.70**: 250n; **2.37.2-3**: 224n
Trebnik: 512
Troilus Sophista, *Prol. Syll.* (ed. Walz), **49. 26-27**: 261n

Vatican, Council II (1962-1965), *Dei Verbum*, **21**: 614
—. *Sacrosanctum Concilium*, **7, 10**: 596
—. *Unitatis redintegratio*, **17**: xiii
Victor of Capua, *Scholia*: 462
Victorinus Afer, Caius (or Fabius) Marius, *Libri Platonicorum*: 148. *See also* General Index
Vitae Patrum (Latin): 416; **3.26.36.182**: 416n; **5.10.91**: 416n; **5.13.12**: 416; **5.15.72**: 416n; **5.17.21.25**: 417n; **6.1.9**: 416n; **7.41.2**: 416n
Vitae Patrum (Armenian): 478n
Vladymyr Monomakh, *Pouchenie dityam*: 510 and n

Yačapatoum: 475

Zacharias Scholasticus, *Vita Severi*: 5n
Zeno of Verona, *Sermones*: 467
Zlataya tsip : 510 and n
Zlatostruĭ: 510 and n
Zonaras, Johannes, *Epitome historiarum* (PG 134, 135: 9-438), **13.13.29** f.: 290n
Zosimus, *Historia nova*, **2.40.3**: 180n; **3.29.1**: 290n

Index of Biblical References

Genesis 1.1 ff.: 85
1.7: 241n
1.26: 342
4.1: 103
22.8: 94
27.18: 94
Exodus 3. 2-14: 101
3.15: 85
4.22: 102
6.2-3: 85
31. 2-3: 227n
35. 30-35: 227n
Leviticus 19.18: 600
Deuterenomy 4.9: 368
5.21: 235n
8.3: 614
8.11: 368
9.7: 368
Judges 8.34: 368
Nehemiah 1.7 ff.: 368
Psalms 1-150: 247, 251
2.7: 93
11: 541
18.2: 117, 370
21.2: 93n
32.6: 114n
35.10: 342
39: 541
46.8: 279n
61.11-12: 267n
81.6: 92
82.18: 265n
91.14: 246
93: 541
103.30: 357
109.3: 100, 123
111.5: 259, 264
138.6: 85
Proverbs 1-31: 346
3.11: 94
8.22: 102, 103 and n
10.19: 249n
Ecclesiastes (Qoheleth) 3.1: 269n
3.1-7: 258n
12.12: 249n
13.20: 428
Canticle of Canticles 1-8: 247
4.15: 245n
Wisdom 11.21: 256n
Isaiah 1.2: 102
5.21: 279n
6.3: 114
40.13: 352 (= Dt-Is)
53.7: 605
53.8: 85
Jeremiah 2.13: 368
2.13-15: 245n
Ezekiel 16.61 f.: 368
Daniel 1-14: 141, 151n
Hosea 2.15: 368
Amos 4.13: 116, 117
Malachi 4.2: 242
Matthew 1.20: 350
4.4: 614
5.19: 222n, 261n
5.28: 235n
5.42: 254
10.16: 259
11.27: 86
12.34: 251n
12.47-48: 565
16.16: 93
16.18: 282
19.19: 600
19.22: 599
21.28: 94
22.16: 241n
22.36-39: 238n
22.40: 238n
23.8-10: 222n
23.10: 114
23.33: 94
25.21: 432
26.29: 94
28.19: 115, 232n, 261, 356, 360
28. 19-20: 345, 347, 353
Mark 10.15: 617
12.4: 241n

12.30: 275n
15.34: 93n
Luke 1.79: 241n
2.52: 74n, 267n
3.23-38: 86
10.16: 91
12.42: 224n, 267n
22.19: 275n
John 1-21: 346
1.1: 99, 100, 123
1.3: 96, 117
1.4: 99
1.9: 99, 106
1.12: 114
1.14: 275n, 609
4.10: 245n
4.24: 114, 345, 349
5.18: 90
5.23: 91
6.54: 614
6.63: 247n
7.24: 260n
7.37-39: 245n
8.32f: 606
10.5: 432
10. 27-28: 432
10.30: 90, 91 and n, 92
12.29: 117
12.45: 87
14.6: 106, 241n
14.9: 87
14.16: 114
14.17: 357
14.19: 357
14.26: 114
14.28: 69, 89, 90, 91
15.26: 84
16.14: 350
17.10: 87, 111
17.25: 357
19: 175
Acts of the Apostles 2.36: 92 and n
4.32: 596
5.29: 347
10.36: 606
Romans 1.16: 619
1.20: 365
3.17: 241n
6.3: 610
6.17: 360
8.9: 911
8.15: 114
8.29: 104
8.32: 275n
10.17: 436, 616
11.33: 85
11.36: 352
12.3-8: 258 and n
12.6: 258n, 428
12.8 f.: 429
12.11: 261n
13.1: 385
1 Corinthians 1.9: 224n
1.13: 600
1.18: 605
1.20: 592
1.24: 89, 106
2.2: 592
2.6: 592
2.9: 594
2.10-11: 86, 115
2.11: 355
2.12: 111
3.9-42: 263n
3.11: 591
3.16: 115
4.15: 591
8.6: 350, 352
10.13: 224n
11.1: 257n
11.12: 348
11.24 f.: 613
11.28: 612
11.29: 275n
12-14: 430n
12.1-11: 258 and n
12.3: 356
12.4-6: 114, 353
12.7: 258n
12.7-10: 258n
12.7-11: 115
12.8-10: 260n
12.14: 435
12.26: 244n
12.27: 239
13.1-3: 260n
13.5: 256, 428
13.11: 264
13.12: 117
14.40: 239, 264n, 367
15.28: 311n
15.41: 113
2 Corinthians 2.17: 598
3.2-6: 248
3.9: 338
3.17: 114, 344, 353, 354

4.13: 603
5.14-15: 275n, 614
8.7: 261n
11.2: 598
Galatians 3.28: 600
4.19: 590
5.6: 267
5.9: 367
5.11: 605
Ephesians 1.8: 266n
1.10: 263
2.14: 267n
2.19-3.2: 263
2.21: 591
4.4: 600
4.7: 258n
4.12-16: 263
4.16: 350
4.29: 263, 264n
5.27: 612
6.5: 385n
Philippians 2.6: 87, 90 and n
2.6 f.: 604
2.6-8: 275n
2.8: 74n, 609, 619
2.9: 74n
2.9-10: 74n
Colossians 1.15: 87, 104
2.19: 350
4.6: 264
2 Thessalonians 3.5: 353
1 Timothy 1.4: 224n, 263n, 267n
3.15: 238n
5.21: 356
6.12: 234
6.20: 598
2 Timothy 1.14: 598
Philemon 3.20: 387
Hebrews 1.2: 96
1.3: 87, 88, 110, 341-342, 605
2.10: 351
6.5: 618
11.6: 86
Revelation (Apocalypse) 1.8: 99

Index of Manuscripts

Names of locations have been given in their original spellings. Inventoried objects of art are listed in the General Index. See also there "scribes; scriptoria".

Ἅγιον Ὄρος [Ἑλλάς]
Μονὴ Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος, **6**: 543, 552, 553n, 554, 555
Μονὴ Βατοπεδίου, **51**: 14n
61: 14n
107: 543n
Μονὴ Διονυσίου, **61**: 543n
105: 540
438: 539n
471: 539n
587: 544
Μονὴ Ἰβήρων, **355**: 62
1424: 539n
1436: 539n
georg. 11: 494n, 502n
Μονὴ Κουτλουμουσίου, **412**: 544n
Μονὴ Μεγίστης Λαύρας, **B65** (185): 14n
*Γ***31** (271): 447n
*Γ***59** (299): 54
*Δ***80** (456): 9n
ω **153** (1965): 9n
Μονὴ Χιλιανταρίου, **108** (T 30): 504n
405: 509
Ἀθῆναι [Ἑλλάς]
Ἐθνικὴ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Ἑλλάδος, **223**: 473n
2254: 543n
2759: 540
Μουσεῖον Μπενάκη, **B-799**: 544n
Akmese [Türkiye]
Armashi vank', **12**: 582, 587, 588
Albi [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **38**: 520n
38bis: 520n
43 (15): 520n
Alençon [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **135**: 530n
Al-Qosh (Alkosh) [Iraq]
Dyr' Dbtwlt' Ntrt Zr'', **237**: 454n
Antinoopolis [Miṣr] *see* Oxford Ashmolean museum
Armaš *see* Akmese
Athens *see* *Ἀθῆναι*
Athōs *see* *Ἅγιον Ὄρος*

Bairūt [Liban]
Université St.-Joseph, **482**: 487
512: 489n
954: 488n
Baltimore, Md. [USA]
Walters Art Gallery, **W-733**: 541
Barcelona [España]
Biblioteca de la Universidad, **228**: 520n
Bari [Italia]
Archivio della Cattedrale, **1** ("rotulus 'Exultet' "): 540
Beirut *see* Bairūt
Berlin [DDR]
Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, **gr. 1743**: 515n
Phill. 1776: 517
Staatliche Museen, Ägyptische Abteilung (Papyrussamlung), **inv. 3807**: 541n
inv. 6795: 54
Bern [Confédération Helvétique]
Bürgenbibliothek, **A-76**: 463n
Birmingham [Great Britain]
Selly Oak Colleges Library, **Mingana Chr. Ar. 152**: 490n
Mingana Syr. 69: 449n, 452n, 455n
Bruxelles [Belgique/België]
Bibliothèque des Bollandistes, **27**: 461n
Bibliothèque Royale Albert 1er/Koninklijke Bibliotheek Albert 1, **10127**: 519n
Bzummār [Liban]
Zmmarhi Vank'. Matenadaran, **139**: 579, 585
(Fondo Antoniani) 429: 576, 585
(F.A.) **474**: 579, 586
(F.A.) **605**: 577, 585

Cairo *see* El-Qāhira
Cambridge [Great Britain]
Pembroke College, **108**: 517 and n
Trinity College, **1133**: 463n
University Library, **Add. 3175**: 449-450
Add. 2023: 447n
Copenhagen *see* København

Dijon [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **42**: 463n

El-Qāhira [Miṣr]
Maktabat al-Dār al-Baṭtriyarkiyah, **661, Hist. 60**: 490n
33 Lit. 16: 492n
315, Theol. 164: 487n
Al-Matḥaf al-Qibtī. al-Maktabat, **20**: 635
Erevan *see* Yerevan
Escorial, El, *see* San Lorenzo de El Escorial

Firenze [Italia]
Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, **Plut. vii, 32**: 542
Plut. lvii, 7: 25
Aedil. 82: 515n
Ashburnham 29 (Libri 82): 522
Fesole 14: 467n
San Marco 584: 478n
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, **D-2745**: 473
Biblioteca Riccardiana, **256**: 520n

Galata, Istanbul [Türkiye]
Sahak-Mesropian Azgayin Matenadaran, **54**: 575, 586
84: 574, 585, 586
87: 578, 585
Genova [Italia]
Biblioteca Franzoniana, **17**: 33
Gerona [España]
Biblioteca Capitular, **7**: 551n
Gerusalemme *see* Yerushalayim
Glasgow [Great Britain]
University Library, **Hunt. Mus. V.3.5**: 51, 61

Istanbul (Türkiye]
Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Πατρειαρχείου Σχολὴ θεολογικὴ Χάλκης, τῆς μονῆς **105**: xx, 40n, 494
τῆς σχολῆς **37**: 9n

Jerusalem *see* Yerushalayim
Jolfā (Ostān-e Dahom) [Iran]
Amenap'rkich Vank' T'angaran, **221**: 582, 586
222: 583, 586
229: 582, 588
375: 582, 586
390: 578, 585
391: 580, 586
410: 583, 587
426: 583, 587

Kamo [Aykakan Sovetakan Sotsialistakan Anrapetutyun],[1] Collezione privata, **1**: 584, 586
Karlsruhe [BRD]
Badische Landesbibliothek, **Aug. XVIII**: 518n
E.M. 6: 465
Kazan [SSSR]
Nauchnaya Biblioteka Kazanskago Universiteta, **114**: 509n
København [Danmark]
Kongelige Bibliotek, **Gl. Kongl. Saml. 1343**: 537
Köln [BRD]
Dombibliothek, **91**: 519n
Kutaisi [Sakartvelos Sabchota Sotsialisturi Respublika][2]
Sakhelmcip'o Saistorio Muzeumi, **61**: 500

Lambach [Österreich]
Stiftsbibliothek, **31**: 458
Laon [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **330**: 458, 520
Leiden [Nederland]
Rijksuniversiteits Bibliotheek, **Voss. lat. 122**: 516n

[1] Armenia = Hayastan, the current designation indicated in brackets in Russian is: Armyanskaya Sovetskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika.

[2] In Russian: Gruzinskaya Sovetskaya Sotsialisticheskaya Respublika. Original name: Georgia = Sakartvelo.

Leningrad [SSSR]
Biblioteka Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdel rukopisnoĭ i redkoĭ knigi. **IV, 7 (arm. III 5,7)**: 575, 585
VI C 1: 498n
Institut Vostokovedeniya, **M 13**: 494n
Sobr. Greg. iv, Nr 27: 489n
RAIK (formerly Russkiĭ Arkheologicheskiĭ Institut v Konstantinopoly), **gr. 1**: 540n
Gosudarstvennaya Publichnaya Biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova-Shchedrina (GPB). Otdel rukopiseĭ, **F.i.631**: 504n
F.n.i.39: 504n
F.v. I 2: 458, 519
F.vi (1252): 541n
Λέσβος [Ἑλλάς]
Μονὴ τοῦ Λειμῶνος, **13**: 9n
Ljubljana [Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija]
Narodna in Univerzitetna Knjižnica, **Kop. 2 (16)**: 504n
London [Great Britain]
British Library (formerly British Museum). Department of Manuscripts, **Additional 12155**: 449n, 455n
Add. 12156: 455n
Add. 12167: 447
Add. 14496: 454n
Add. 14497: 453
Add. 14520: 451n
Add. 14531: 451n
Add. 14533: 447, 453
Add. 14542: 451n, 455
Add. 14544: 445, 454
Add. 14545: 454
Add. 14549: 452 and n
Add. 14601: 447
Add. 14608: 447
Add. 14615: 447 and n
Add. 17124: 449n
Add. 17143: 449n, 451n
Add. 17144: 451n, 452 and n
Add. 17145: 451n
Add. 17191: 453n
Add. 17193: 449n
Add. 18813: 451n
Add. 18814: 451n
Add. 19352: 541 and n
Add. 25600: 460n
Add. 27442: 504n, 506n
Add. 40755: 539n
Arundel or. 3: 489n
Arundel or. 21: 442n, 489n
Egerton 2392: 539n
Egerton 3155: 539n
Oriental 3571A (3): 483n
Or. 5001: 483n
Or. 8606: 40, 451n
Or. 8608: 449n
Richardson 7190: 447 and n

Madrid [España]
Biblioteca Nacional, **lat. 78**: 463n
Manchester [Great Britain]
John Rylands University Library, **copt. 62.25**: 482n, 486n
Μετέωρα [Ἑλλάς]
Μονὴ Μεταμορφώσεως, **223**: 539n
298: 539n
Metz [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **395**: 458 [MS destroyed in 1944]
Milano [Italia]
Biblioteca Ambrosiana, **E 49/50 inf.**: 552, 553
C 26 sup.: 458
C 79 sup.: 463n
E 147 sup.: 516n
G 88 sup.: 543n
L 28 sup.: 463n
syr. 37: 449n
Mingana *see* Birmingham, Great Britain
Monte Cassino [Italia]
Biblioteca Abbaziale, **246**: 461n
372: 463n
Montpellier [France]
Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine, **58**: 516n, 517 and n
Moskva [SSSR]
Gosudarstvennaya Biblioteka SSSR imeni V.I. Lenina (GBL). Otdel rukopiseĭ, **Sobranie Troitse-Sergievoy lavry 15**: 510n
S.T.-S.I. 129: 507
Gosudarstvennyĭ Istoricheskiĭ Muzeĭ (GIM). Otdel rukopiseĭ, **Sindol'noe sobranie, Savva gr. 61 (Vladimir gr. 146)**: 543[3]

[3] Although customarily the Greek manuscripts of the GIM are cited according to the catalogue of Arkhimandrit Vladimir (Filantropov), the official shelf-marks remain those

S.s. Savva gr. 174 (Vladimir gr. 387): 544n
S.s. Savva gr. 254 (Vladimir gr. 117): 51
S.s. Savva slav. 161: 510n
Uvarov 506: 507
Khludov 18: 511-512
München [BRD]
Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, **ar. 1068**: 486n
gr. 141: 57
Clm 14008: 515n
Clm 14446b: 463 and n, 523 and n
Clm 14508: 520
Clm 28118: 458

Napoli [Italia]
Biblioteca Nazionale, **IB 11, 428**: 484n
New York [USA]
Pierpont Morgan Library, **M-639**: 543
Νικοσία [Κύπρος/Kibris]
Collezione privata, **4**: 581, 586
Nor-Bayazet *see* Kamo
Novara [Italia]
Biblioteca Civica e Negroni, **30**: 515, 516 and n
N[uova] Giulfa *see* Jolfā

Orléans [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **154**: 420n
192: 458, 520
Oxford [Great Britain]
Ashmolean Museum. Egypt Exploration Society, **P. Ant. 111**: 565-570
Bodleian Library, **Barocci 102**: 515n
Barocci 311: 463n, 523 and n
Canonnici gr. 77: 536
Canonnici gr. 103: 542
Cromwell 23: 489n
Georg. b.1: 494n[4]
Roe 6: 543n
Selden Arch. B.54: 543n
Corpus Christi College [now in BL] **284**: 59
Christ Church **48**: 535n

Paris [France]
Bibliothèque Nationale. Département des manuscrits, **ar. 133**: 488
ar. 258: 488
arm. 44: 581, 587, 588
arm. 46 1-3: 581, 587
arm. 109: 578, 586
arm. 118: 479n
Coislin 193: 8n, 446n
Coislin 239: 543n, 552, 553, 555 and n
copt. 131 (2): 483n, 484
gr. 324: 491n
gr. 487: 60
gr. 497: 60
gr. 498: 60
gr. 502A: 501n
gr. 504: 57
gr. 507: 59
gr. 510: 553, 554, 555 and n
gr. 533: 543n
gr. 543: 542
gr. 550: 541n, 543n
gr. 923: 541, 552
lat. 133: 462n
lat. 1002: 465
lat. 1597A: 523
lat. 1603: 519n
lat. 3701: 466
lat. 3858B: 530n
lat. 3881: 514n, 530n
lat. 8878: 551n
lat. 10588: 519n
lat. 10593: 462n, 466
lat. 12238: 458
lat. 12444: 520 and n
lat. 12634: 458n
lat. 16832: 516n
nouv. acq. 1791: 464
or. 111: 487
suppl. gr. 334: 25
suppl. gr. 678: 54
syr. 62: 453
syr. 234: 455n
syr. 239: 486n

of the previous catalogue of Arkhimandrit Savva published in 1855, and again in 1858. **Vlad. gr. 117 = Savva gr. 254; 146 = 61; 387 = 174**.

[4] For this shelf-mark see David Barrett, *Catalogue of the Wardrop Collection and of Other Georgian Books and Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1973), p. 305.

Πάτμος ['Ελλάς]
Μονὴ τοῦ 'Αγίου 'Ιωάννου, **57**: 25
707: 540

Rieti [Italia]
Biblioteca Comunale, **5**: 528
Roma [Italia]
Biblioteca Casanatense, **2053**: 579, 585
Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emmanuele II, **Sess. 55**: 458
Biblioteca Vallicelliana, **A.5**: 515n
T.XVIII: 518n, 519n, 526-528
Rouen [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **758**: 458

St. Paul, Minn. [USA]
M. Frank Kacmarcik (private, "Codex Kacmarcik"): 491 and n
San Lorenzo de El Escorial [España]
Real Biblioteca de El Escorial, **BM S III 32**: 458
D I 2: 518n
Q III 10: 520n
San Marino, Cal. [USA]
Henry E. Huntington Library, **HM-3027**: 563
Sankt Gallen [Confédération Helvétique]
Stifstsbibliothek, **40**: 520n
150: 463n
926: 458
Sīnā' [Miṣr]
Μονὴ τῆς 'Αγίας Αἰκατερίνης, **ar. 271**: 488n
ar. 449: 491
georg. 32-57-33: 494n
georg. 35: 495
georg. 36: 486n
georg. 78: 503
georg. 89: 503n
gr. 339: 543n
gr. 346: 543n
gr. 418: 541n
syr. 9: 449
Strasbourg [France]
Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, **or. 4226**: 482n, 486n

Stuttgart [BRD]
Württembergische Landesbibliothek, **57 (56,58)**: 562
HB VI 109: 519n
HB VI 114: 526n
HB VII 62: 524n
Subiaco [Italia]
Santa Scolastica, **227**: 473n

T'bilisi (Tiflis) [Sakartvelos Sabchota Sotsialisturi Respublika] SSSR
Mec'nierebat'a Akademia, Khelnacert'a Instituti (SMA),[5] **gr. 48**: 536
A-19: 494n, 502n
A-63: 501 and n
A-81: 502n
A-95: 494n
A-100: 496n, 497-498
A-109: 543
A-129: 500n
A-132: 499n
A-144: 494n
A-171: 498n
A-181: 496n, 497-498
A-272: 500n
A-292: 500n
A-375: 502n
A-394: 496n, 497-498
A-584: 498n
A-648: 540n
A-689: 499 and n
A-735: 502n
A-1109: 494n
H-531: 499n, 503n
Torino [Italia]
Biblioteca Nazionale, **C.I.6**: 543n, 555n
Tours [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **615**: 458
Troyes [France]
Bibliothèque Municipale, **1234**: 463

Vaticano, Città del
Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, **Archivio di San Pietro H 58**: 528
Barberini gr. 372: 541n
Barb. gr. 476: 40n, 53, 495

[5] Cf. n. 2 above. Manuscripts housed at the Akademiya Nauk Gruzinskoĭ SSR, Institut rukopiseĭ. Manuscripts A are from the former "Ecclesiastical Museum" ("Saeklesio Muzeumi") and from the University Museum; H from the ancient "Historical and Ethnograhical Society" ("Saistorio-saet'nograp'io Sazogadoeba").

Barb. gr. 583: 9n
Barb. lat. 679: 515n
Barb. lat. 897: 529n
Borgia syr. 13: 453n
Chigi lat. A V 130: 463
Chigi or. 1: 578, 585
Palatino lat. 234: 515n
Pal. lat. 485: 463n
Reginense lat. 141: 467
Reg. lat. 267: 520n
Reg. lat. 1045: 516n
Urbinate lat. 59: 473n
Urb. lat. 521: 473n
Vaticano ar. 41: 491n
Vat. ar. 53: 491n
Vat. ar. 54: 491n
Vat. ar. 145: 488n
Vat. copt. 57: 484
Vat. copt. 58: 483
Vat. gr. 431: 507
Vat. gr. 463: 543n
Vat. gr. 666: 544n
Vat. gr. 679: 62
Vat. gr. 733: 442n
Vat. gr. 1088: 500
Vat. gr. 1156: 544
Vat. gr. 1554: 540
Vat. gr. 1598: 59
Vat. gr. 1633: 489n
Vat. gr. 1673: 51
Vat. gr. 1947: 543n
Vat. gr. 2066: 51
Vat. lat. 304: 473n
Vat. lat. 1319: 516n
Vat. lat. 1322: 516n
Vat. lat. 1339: 527n
Vat. lat. 1342: 515n
Vat. lat. 1347: 524n, 525n, 530n
Vat. lat. 1349: 463n, 523 and n, 526-527
Vat. lat. 3867: 536
Vat. lat. 4317: 528
Vat. lat. 4977: 527-528
Vat. lat. 5845: 515n
Vat. syr. 103: 454
Vat. syr. 122: 447n
Vat. syr. 126: 447n, 454
Vat. syr. 135: 454
Vat. syr. 368: 451n
Vat. syr. 369: 451n
Vat. syr. 509: 454n
Venezia [Italia]
Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana, **gr. 62**: 57
gr. 63: 500
gr. 64: 57
gr. I.5: 544n
Biblioteca San Lazzaro (Padri Mechitaristi), **152**: 583, 587, 588
177: 576, 585
221: 581, 586
251: 580, 586
299: 584, 587, 588
352: 577, 585
457: 476n
463: 479n, 581, 586, 587, 588
467: 584, 586, 587, 588
512: 582, 586, 587
569: 582, 586
590: 579, 586
653: 583, 586, 587
657: 584, 586
915: 580, 586
1075: 584, 587
1209: 575, 585, 586
1352: 583, 588
1459: 576, 585
1655: 584, 587
1913: 580, 586
Verona [Italia]
Biblioteca Comunale, **58**: 516n
59: 516n

Washington, DC [USA]
Dumbarton Oak Library, **gr. 3** (*olim* Ayion Oros **Pantokrator 49**): 541n
Wien [Österreich]
Mechitaristen Bibliothek, **1**: 581-582, 586, 587
217: 478n, 580, 586
224: 581, 586
232: 479n
249: 576 and n, 585
612: 577, 585
808: 583, 587
1121: 577, 585
Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, **lat. 1076**: 460n
or. 1560: 487
or. 2137 (mixt. 1381): 486
Wolfenbüttel [BRD]
Herzog August-Bibliothek, **Aug. 83-21**: 526n
4127: 458
Würzburg [BRD]
Universitätsbibliothek, **M.p.th. 9.31**: 519n

Yerevan [Aykakan Sovetakan Sotsialistakan Anrapetutyun][6]
Matenadaran, **436**: 575, 585, 586
524: 579, 585
620: 575, 585
707: 579, 585
822: 572n, 580, 586
829: 579, 585
1130: 580n
1243: 575, 585
1330: 575, 585, 587
1500: 478n, 572n, 574, 585, 586
1657: 578, 585
1924: 574, 585, 586
1939: 576, 585
1952: 580n
2549: 478n
2549: 580, 586
2811: 579, 585
3457: 576, 585
4001: 578 and n, 585
4145: 579, 585
5032: 576, 585
5353: 575, 585
5595: 475n, 478n, 572n, 574, 585, 586
5610: 580, 586
5686: 577, 585
5819: 577, 585
6590: 580n
6708: 580, 586
6731: 578 and n, 585
7028: 577, 585
8352: 578 and n, 585
10258: 577, 585

Yerushalayim [Yisra'el]
Βιβλιοθήκη τοῦ 'Ορθοδόξου Καθολικοῦ Πατρειαρχείου, **georg. 4**: 502n
georg. 14: 496n 497-498
georg. 44: 493n
georg. 74: 493n
Staurou 109: 539n
Taphou 14: 542
Taphou 334: 539n
Srbots' Hakobiants' Vank', Dzherhagrats' Matenadaran, **1**: 581, 586
68: 576, 585
71: 581, 586, 587
120: 584, 588
154: 583, 586, 587-588
173: 582, 586
336: 579, 585
406: 574, 585, 586
470: 574, 585, 586
619: 575, 585, 586
764: 584, 586
918: 583, 586
1062: 577, 585
1093: 577, 585
1211: 582, 587
1801: 575, 585

Zagreb [Federativna Narodna Republika Jugoslavija]
Knjižnica Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti, **III c 19**: 504n

[6] Cf. n. 1 above. The full name of the Library ("Matenadaran") in Russian is: Institut drevnikh rukopiseĭ "Matenadaran" imeni Mesropa Mashtotsa pri Sovete Ministrov Armyanskoĭ SSR.

Index graecitatis

See also the glossary on pp. 134-136.

ἀγάπη, 249, 254-256, 257n, 263n; and *διάθεσις*, 275
ἀγεννησία, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 86, 119, 326
ἀγένητος, 73 and n
ἀγέννητος, 73 and n, 79, 80, 81, 84, 85, 86, 87, 101, 102, 116, 185, 189, 313, 326 and n, 327
ἀθάνατος, 84
ἀΐδιος, 100, 101
αἰών, 96, 98 and n, 100, 101, 120
ἀκολουθία, 251n; with *τάξις*, 238-241
ἀκρίβεια, 223-225; and *διδασκαλία*, 223n
ἄκτιστον-δεσπότικον, 323n, 324
ἀλήθεια, 223n
ἀλλοτριότης, 201
ἄναρχος, 78, 79, 100, 101, 116
ἀνδραπόδοι, 394
ἀνόμοιος, 87
ἀόρατος, 84
ἀξίωμα, 108, 109, 231n
ἀπαραλλάκτως, 128; *εἰκών*, 175
ἁπλότης/ὀρθότης, 269n
ἀπρεπής, 254n
ἀρτάω, 238n
ἄφθαρτος, 81, 84, 119

βίος/λόγος, 271n, 277n; *-πίστις*, 224n

γέννημα, 74, 92, 93 and n, 94, 95, 104, 116, 119, 120
γέννησις, 101, 328
γέννητος, 74, 119, 327

δεσπότικον see *ἄκτιστον*
διάθεσις, 260n; and *ἀγάπη*, 275; (*dispositio*, in rhetoric), 270-275; in Plato, 272; see also *σχέσις διάκρισις*, 258n
διάλογος, 241n, 251n
διάστημα, 88 and n, 95n, 96
διδασκαλίχι, 261n
δοῦλον see *κτιστόν*
δύναμις, 89, 100, 105

εἶδος, 260n
ἐκπόρευσις, 328
ἐνάργεια, 251n, 252 and n
ἐνέργεια, 90 and n, 109, 130; 330, 343
ἐξουσία, 223n
ἐπίνοια, 80, 185, 187, 188
εὐεργεσία, 347, 401
εὐταξία, 239 and n

ζωῆς χορηγόν, 200, 208, 211

ἡσυχία, 203, 205 and n, 212

θεάνθρωπος, 268
θεὸν γενέσθαι (γενόμενον), 202, 208, 211, 357
θεωρία τῶν ὄντων, 364, 367, 368, 370

ἰδίωμα, 84, 93

καιρός, 225n, 229
κοινωνία, as sharing of *οὐσία*, 87, 89-90, 95; social, 241, 267
κρίσις, 228, 258, 259n
κτίσμα, 93n, 103, 116, 129, 171, 209
κτιστόν-δοῦλον, 323n, 324

λέξις, 228
λόγος, 241 and n, 268n; as speech, 232, 247 and n, 264, 269n; universe, 365; compounds with, 243n; *ἐνδιάθετος*, 274n; *θεοτελής*, 370; *προφορικός*, 274n; *λόγος/βίος*, 271n, 277; as *θυσία*, 250n; as *ἰατρός*, 244n

μετά and *σύν*, 232
μνήμη (in rhetoric), 229-230
μοναχός, 223n
μόνος πρὸς μόνον, μονὰς πρὸς μονάδα, 197
μονογενής, 75, 102, 103, 119

νοῦς, 156n, 160, 173

οἰκετοί, 394n

οἰκεῖον, τό, 252-256, 263n
οἰκείωσις, 201, 256n
οἰκονομία, of Bible, 263n; *dispensatio*, 228; distribution of goods to the poor, 263n; God's, 223n, 227-228, 252n, 256, 263n, 267n; physician's, 244n; in Basil, 45, 131 and n, 223, 269n, 344; in Eastern church, 223n; in rhetoric, 228-229, 232, 258 and n, 271; its social aspect, 224n; and *ἀγάπη, φιλανθρωπία, οἰκειότης, τὸ πρέπον*, 265; and *ἀκρίβεια*, 223-229; and *οἰκοδομή*, 262-265; and *πίστις*, 224n; *τοῦ λόγου*, 261-262
ὁμιλία, 249, 251-252
ὁμοίωσις, 261n; *θεῷ*, 257-259
ὁμολογία, 264
ὁμοούσιος, 231-233. See also *ὁμότιμος*, homoousion
ὁμότιμος, 132-133; as *ὁμοούσιος*, 231-233
ὀνόματα, 343
οὐ πάντα ἐφίεται, 199-200
οὐσία, 69, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 85, 86-110, 120-122, 158n, 330; *μία ο. τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, 322 and n

παράδοσις, 237n
περιστατικά, 259 and n
πίστις/βίος, 224n; and *οἰκονομία*, 224n
ποίημα, 92, 93, 109, 116, 120, 171, 209
πρέπον, τό, 252-256
προεστός, 433, 434, 481n
προστασία, 433
προστάτης, 407-410

συμπάθεις, 275
συμφωνία, 239 and n
σύν and *μετά*, 232
συναρίφμησις, 346, 347, 355
σύνεσις, 279 and n
συστοιχία, 346, 347
σχέσις/διάθεσις, 266n

τάξις, 88, 228, 241, 251n; and *ἀκολουθία*, 238-240; rhetorical, 270-271
τεχνολογία, 149n, 197

ὑπαρίθμησις, 196-197, 346, 347, 355
ὕπαρξις, 156, 158, 189
ὑπόστασις, ἀρχική, 196, 198

φιλία, 276
φίλος, compounds with, 225n
φιλοσοφία, 223n, 279n
φίλτρον, 223n
φρόνησις, 258n
φύσις, 241; *ἄκτιστος*, 98; and *λόγος*, 241n

General Index

For proper names, see also the Indexes of Citations (Basil and Other Sources). Individual scribes and scriptoria have been listed under those main entries.

Ablabius, praefectus praetorio AD 326-337, 181
Abraham, patriarch, 96, 369, 546, 552, 574
Abramius, bishop of Batnae, 16, 444n
Abramowski, Luise, 137n, 208-209, 210
Abū-'l Fatḥ 'Abdallāh b. al-Faḍl, 488 and n
Abuladze, Ilia, 486 and nn, 493
Aburgius, 12, 13, 16, 18, 19, 405 and n, 408
Acacius, bishop of Beroea, 444nn
Acacius, bishop of Caesarea in Palestine, 35, 37
Adam, 177, 364, 373, 551
Adam, Karl, 469
Adontz, Nikolaĭ Georgievich, 473n
Adoptionism, 74 and n, 309n
Adrastus, 153
Aedesius, 182, 184
Aelian(us), 205
Aenesidemus of Cnossos, 188
Aetius, 35, 70 and n, 72, 75 and n, 119, 149 and n, 180, 185-190, 348, 351, 420n
Africa, northern, 145, 146, 171, 315, 455
agape, sexual, 146 and n; and eros, 176-178. *For other meanings see* love
Agathangelos, 477 and n
Agathon, 416n
Albinus, 171 and n
Aldina, 58-59
Alekseĭ, Metropolitan, 507n
Alexander the Great, 222, 236, 237n
Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, 157n, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176
Alexander Aphrodisias, 265
Alexander of Byzantium, 176
Alexander of Lycopolis, 142, 165-169, 171
Alexandria, 5n, 70, 138, 142, 155, 156, 158n, 171, 172, 175, 181, 383, 424, 439n, 481; pagan, between AD 270-325, 165-170
Alexius Comnenus, 550
Alivisiatos, Hamilcar, 223n
Altaner, Berthold, 456n, 459n, 464n, 465, 466-467
Amaduni, Garabed, 475n
Amand de Mendieta, Emmanuel (David), xli, 34, 52, 56, 57, 58, 62, 63, 64, 65, 131, 213n, 359n, 362, 363, 366, 367, 425n, 430n, 432, 434-435
Amasia, 5
Ambrose of Milan, 16, 21, 138, 337, 380, 457, 461, 465, 470, 513, 531n
Amelius, 139, 140, 141, 143, 162, 163, 164 and n, 218n; his *Commentaries on John's Gospel*, 164
Amhim *see* scriptoria: Akhmim
Ammianus Marcellinus, 23, 310
Ammonas, 416n
Ammonius, 156, 165, 168
Ammonius Saccas, 138, 166 and n
Amphilochius of Iconium, 10n, 13, 16, 17, 41, 191, 395, 407-408, 494n, 547, 552
Anacletus, pope, 514
Ananias Shirakatsi, 476-477
Anastasius, 556, 558, 561
Anastos, Milton Vasilios, xli, 413, 623
Anasyan, Hakob A., 571n, 580n
Anatolius, 159 and n
Ancyra, Synod of (358), 299
Andronicus, 16, 405, 408
Angelo Clareno, 64, 472-473
Angleton, F., 380n
Anianus of Celeda, 461
Annisa, 5 and n, 6, 7, 8, 19n, 301, 419
Anomoeans, 7n, 14n, 18n, 35, 41, 70, 197, 330, 420 and n
Anonymous Byzantine scholar, 8
Anonymous Syriac translator, 8n
Anselmo de Luca, 513, 514
Anthimus of Tyana, 305, 474
Antioch, 16, 70, 143n, 171, 180, 182, 184, 188, 304, 444 and n, 455, 553; Council

of (324/325), 157-158; Synod of 341, 310, of 343, 311, of 388, 291n; Georgian monasteries nearby, 495, 499, 500
Antiochus Epiphanes, 143
Antipater, 16, 405, 407
Anton Cagareli Č'qondideli, 502n
Antony the Egyptian, 214n, 415, 416
Apamea, 139, 140, 141, 181, 444n
Apocalypse/-tic, 551 and n
Apollinarian/-ism, 309n
Apollinarius of Laodicea, 4n, 6n, 19 and n, 23, 36, 56, 72 and n, 151, 249n, 252n, 306 and n
Apollo, 218n
Apollonius of Tyana, 144, 146-147, 214n
Apostles, 75, 248
Apronianus, 466
Aquileia, 459
'Arabah, Monastery of St. Antony, 491
Arcadius, comes, 11, 405
Arcadius, bishop, 12
Argyropoulos, Ioannis 460n
Arianism/Arians, 41, 70, 72, 73, 74 and n, 93n, 98n, 102, 119, 120, 123, 124, 148, 157, 158, 159, 171, 174, 179, 185, 189, 196, 198, 203, 285, 286, 290n, 306, 309n, 310, 311n, 312-313, 315, 319, 325, 342, 538, 556, 561, 563
Arintheus, 12 and n, 405; his wife, 18
Aristides, 244n
Aristotelianism, 149-150, 185, 186, 197, 199, 200, 247; anti-, in Athens, 183n
Aristotle, 77, 149, 189, 205, 206, 215, 229n, 230; denier of Providence, 187, 215
Arius, 69, 77, 149, 150, 157n, 158 and n, 169, 170-173, 174, 175, 176, 185n, 299, 309 and n, 310, 312-313, 481n, 543; soteriology of, 172
Arles, Synod of (354), 312, 514
Armenia Minor, 9n, 16, 17, 18n, 306, 473, 474 and n
Armenian(s), 294, 492, 495, 503; letters, 474
Arnobius, 145, 146, 147, 153
arrangement, 228-229
Arras, 459
Arsen Iqalt'oeli, 495, 501
Arsenius, 361. *See also* Rhomaios
Asbach, Franz Bernd, 522, 523N
Ascetica (*see* Index of Citations of the Works of Basil), in Arabic, 486-488; Armenian, 474-475; Coptic, 482-483; Georgian, 494-495, 499-502; Latin, 457-458, 472-473; Old Church Slavonic, 505-509; Syriac, 445-449
Ascholius of Thessaloniki, 16
Asia Minor, 144, 182 and n, 291
Assisi, 464n
Asterios, 312
astrology, 147n
Atarbius of Neocaesarea, 16, 17, 209, 210
Athanasius of Alexandria, 12, 13, 21, 23, 27, 69, 95, 142, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173-178, 214n, 222n, 225n, 273n, 274n, 277n, 285 and n, 286, 290n, 292, 298, 304, 309n, 311n, 312, 313, 315, 317, 337, 341, 342, 455, 461n, 483, 484, 535, 537, 543, 544n, 547
Athanasius of Ancyra, 12 and n, 376
Athanasius of Anazarbus, 188
Athanasius II of Balad, 449 and nn
Athanasius, a father, 12 and n
Athanasius, a Syriac monk, 446
Athenagoras I, xi, xiii. *See also Tomos Agapis*
Athenogenes, 548
Athens, 6, 155, 165, 169, 180, 190, 214, 286, 293-294, 295, 439n, 534, 553, 592; philosophy at, *see* Platonism in Athens; celebrations to honour Basil, xliv
Atiya, Aziz Suryal, 488n, 492n
Atticus, 160, 161, 171 and n, 183n
Aubineau, Michel, 5n, 217
audientia episcopalis, 378, 379, 400-401
Augustine of Hippo, 32, 44, 148 and n, 149 and n, 151, 261, 455-456, 459, 465, 468-470, 471, 513; slavery in, 398
Aulon, 291n
Aurelian, 140, 142, 143
Ausonius, 381
Autun, 459
Auty, Robert, 503n
Ayion Oros, 504n, 505 and n, 506; Hagios Nikolas church, 548n; Monastery of Iviron, 495, 498, 502; Zōgraphou, 505, 506 and n; Megistēs Lavras, 548n; Stavronikita, 535n; Khilandari, embroideries at, 544n; katholikon of Khilandari, 548n

Bach, Joseph, 18n
Bacha, Constantine, his liturgical codex, 491n
Bačkovo, monastery and church in, 548n
Bagratuni, Arsen, 583

Balás, David Laszlo, 137n
Balkan Dere 4, church, 556, 557
Ballerini, Fratres, 467
Bamberger, John Eudes, 273, 275n
Bandini, Angelo Maria, 461n
baptism, 115, 129, 610-612; baptismal formula, 232
barbarians, 315
Bardy, Gustave, 170
Bari, Basilian colloquium at, xliv
Barnes, Timothy David, 137n, 142, 143, 151n, 154n, 155n, 180n
Barns, John Wintour Baldwin, 565
Barringer, Robert, xxxix
Barsaum, E., 449n
Barses of Edessa, 18, 444nn
Bartelink, Gerhardus Iohannes Marinus, 278n
Basel (Basle) (1532, 1551), editions of Basil, 56-57, 58, 59
Basil of Ancyra, 23
Basil of Caesarea, career, 5-19, 296-308, 380, 382, 592-602; education, 5-6, 180, 183, 190, 193, 219, 292-296, 380, 383; family and social background, 5 and nn, 379, 380, 383, 408-410; "Great," 221-222, 223-224, 225n, 226, 303n, 592; health, 244n, 293 and n, 429-430; homilies (see also *Homilies, Moral*), 9-10, 27-34, 376, 384; influence in the west, 468-472; letters (see also *Letters* of Basil), 6-19, 24-27, 377, 378; lives of, 22-23, 441; magisterium, 602-620; ministry, xi-xiii, 592-602; philanthropy, 377; problem of slavery, 384-386, 389-390, 393, 395, 398, 401, 402; problem of social justice, 384-385, 386-387, 389-390; social activity, 375, 377, 378, 379; teaching (*see also* Basil, dispute with Eunomius), 363, 364, 373; works *see* editions, manuscripts, translations, and the specific headings: *Ascetica*, canonical collections, Florilegia, *Hexaemeron*, *Homilies (Moral)*, *Letters*, *Liturgy*; and Eunomius *see* Eunomius; and Gregory of Nyssa *see* Gregory of Nyssa; and Iamblichus, 212-213; and monasticism, 331-334; and Plotinus, 190-220; and Porphyry, 212-213. For the iconography *see* frontispieces, iconography, illuminations, paintings, stamps, Three Hierarchs; further on teaching *see especially* Father, Holy Spirit, Jesus Christ, Trinity
Basil, dispute with Eunomius:
- *agennēsia*, Eunomius' doctrine of attacked, 77-86, 119
- *aiōnes*, 96, 100, 101, 120, 124
- appraisal of, 117, 121-134
- artisans consubstantial with products of their labour, 102, 120
- *axiōma*, 108-109
- begotten and unbegotten light, life, and power not to be differentiated, 106-108
- captiousness, 93, 94, 101, 122
- causality, 88, 90-91, 122-127
- creation, 101, 102
- creed, 127
- deification of man, 112, 114, 115
- difference of name or designation does not indicate difference in *ousia*, 92-94, 105, 120
- distinction between unbegotten Father and begotten Son, 106-108
- dogma a mystery, 105, 116, 120, 126
- errors, 121, 122-127
- Eunomius, Basil and Gregory's argument against fails in important respect, 124-126; major "heresies" of, 95 n 93, 105 n 129; refuted, 67-136; *see* Eunomius, "blasphemies," inconsistencies
- exegesis, 75, 78, 80-81, 84-87, 89-94, 96, 99-106, 110-111, 113-117, 122-123
- Father, *archē* and *aitia* of Son, 112, 122, 124; indicates *ousia*, not *energeia*, 90 n. 78; always Father, 95
- *gennēma* not *ousia* of Christ, 93-94, 120
- glossary of technical terms, 134-136
- God, 67-92; attributes, 80-85, 88-90; creation and generation by not physical, 93, 99, 104-105; Fatherhood, 78, 95, 103-105; impassible, 104-105; nature, 85; *ousia* and *dynamis* of, 109-110; proper designation "Father" not "the unbegotten," 78, 86; "unbegotton" does not indicate *ousia*, 86; unknowability, 74-75, 85-86, 126
- Gregory of Nyssa, comparison with, 74, 79, 82-83, 86, 95-100, 103, 107, 121, 122, 126, 130, 131, 133

Holy Spirit, 111-118, 131-135; Basil expresses ignorance of, 116-118; below Son in order and rank but not in nature, 112-114, 129; divine nature, 114-115, 129; double procession, 112-113; *energeiai*, 114; holiness, 113-114; kinship with Father and Son, 114, 129; not created, 129, 132; Paraclete, 114; pronounced *theos* and *homo-ousion* with God by Gregory of Nazianzus, *theos* but not *homo-ousion* by Gregory of Nyssa, neither by Basil, 129-133; unbegotten, 84
idiōmata and names indicate distinctions within the *ousia*, 84, 88, 92-94, 107-108
inconsistencies, 102, 110-111, 122-127, 133
kērygma and *dogma*, 131-133
Kyrios, meaning of, 92
language of Bible metaphorical, 105
misunderstands Eunomius on one point, 78-80, 102, 122, 126
Monogenēs, 75, 102-103
Neoplatonism, 125
oikonomia, 131
ousia, unity of Father's and Sons's, 88
pagan sources, 118-119, 123; *see also* Aristotle
Plotinus, 116, 118, 123
Proverbs 8: 22, 102-103
Son, 92-111; attributes, 82; "beginning of being," 95, 104, 123-127, 133; begotten but uncreated, 74, 95, 104, 125; birth not carnal, 93, 99, 104, 105; caused atemporally, 88-91, 100, 112, 122-127; co-eternal with the Father, 88, 95-96, 120; creator, 101, 111; *dynamis* and *sophia* of God, 89, 100; eternity of, 88, 95-97, 99-101, 120, 122-127; generation of a mystery, 105, 120, 126; generation of a mystery is chief feature of Christianity, 103-104; generation of a mystery by nature not by grace, 125; *gennēma* not his *ousia*, 93, 94, 120; *homoiotes* (resemblance) to Father, 110-111, 127-128, *homo-ousios* with Father, use and avoidance of, 69, 88-89, 92, 94, 102, 107, 109-111, 121, 125, 127-129, 133; image of God, 74, 99-100, 108-109; no soteriological defence of *homo-ousia*, 126-127; not God's assistant (*hypourgos*), 103; *ousia* of Father shared by 87-89, 91-92, 107, 120, 125; *ousia* of the Father revealed by, 110; Paraclete, 114; simplicity, 89; subordination to Father in rank but not in nature, 88, 112, 122, 125
time *see* Son, caused atemporally
Basil of Neocaesarea, father of Basil, 5 and n, 292, 382n, 553
Basiliada, 30, 227n, 375n, 600
"Basilizing," 227n
Batnae (Sarūg, Sürüç), 444 and n
Baudry, Etienne, 14n
Baumstark, Anton, 445n, 449n
Bede, 459, 468n
begotten, 74, 87, 89, 105, 106, 108
Belgium, 519n
Bell, Harold Idris, 481,
Benedict of Aniane, 458n
Benedict of Nursia, 315n, 300, 331, 462, 471 and n, 594
Beneventan script, 461, 463n, 526
Berdiaev Nikolaï, 366
Berkhof, Hendrik, 174n
Bernardi, Jean, 4, 9, 10 and n, 18n, 25, 29-32, 45, 46
Beroea (Haleb), 12 and n, 16, 444 and n
Bessarion, 417n
Bessières, Marius, 5n, 10n, 24, 26, 52, 53-54
Bezenitis, P., 48n
Bialystok, 504n
Bible, inspiration, 363, 364; a dispensary, 364-365; as important as the eucharist, 614-618; metaphorical language, 105; allied with rhetorical tradition, 259 and n; rule of life, 425-426; in Armenian, 474; in Georgian, 495, 496; in English: King James Version, 227n, 239n, 259n; Revised Standard Version (RSV), 227n; in Syriac, 446
biblicism of Basil, 41, 325 and n
Bieler, Ludwig, 463n
Bienert, Wolfgang A., 194n
Bischoff, Bernhard, 523n
bishop, qualities, 376, 377, 378; letters to bishops of Egypt, 18; of Pontus, 17; of the West, 13, 16, 18, 455
Bithynia, 144, 302
Black Mountain, near Antioch, Monastery of St. Simeon, 500 and n

Black Sea, 439n
Blaise, 547
Blake, Robert Pierpont, 492, 496 and n, 499n, 501n
Bobbio, 458, 461n
Bobrovskiĭ, M. K., 504n
Bogomils, 505 and n
Bologna, Museo Civico 787, 544n
Bonis (Mponis), Konstantinos Georgiou, xlii, 48n, 244n, 382 and n, 386n, 623
Borst, Arno, 278n
Boyle, Leonard, xxxix
Bosporius, bishop, 17
Boulenger, Fernand, 61, 382n
bouleutae, 326, 378, 383n
bouleuterion in town, 382
Bradley, Eric, Collection of, 559
Brandenburg, 412
Bréhier, Louis, 206
Brison, 19
Britain, 143n
Brock, Sebastian, 448n, 449nn, 450
Brooks, Ernest Walter, 453n
brotherhood of Christians, built by words, 248-249
Brugge, Precious Blood church, 558n
Buck, Donald E., 67n
Buck, Mary Joseph Aloysius, 470
Budovnits, Isaak Urielevich, 510n
Bulgakov, Sergeĭ, 414n
Bulgaria, 468n, 504 and n, 506, 510nn
Bulgarian, language, *see* Middle Bulgarian
Burchard, 513, 514, 526
Burckhardt, Joseph, 294n
Burns, Paul, 137n
Bury, 517 and n
Butler, Edward Cuthbert, 471

Caesarea of Cappadocia, 5, 6, 7, 11, 16, 19, 180, 219n, 222n, 223n, 292, 293, 296, 298, 301, 302, 303, 308, 332, 375, 378, 384, 401, 402, 403, 406, 425n, 439n, 444n, 460n, 474, 552, 576, 600. *See also* scriptoria: Kayseri
Caesarea of Palestine, 141, 159 and n, 161, 162, 164
Caesarea, patricia, 19, 378
Caesarius, 13 and n, 30
Caesarius of Arles, 463n
caesaropapism, 284, 285n
Calcidius, 142, 146, 147, 149, 151-155, 157, 212
Callahan, John Francis, 469
Callisthenes, 12, 400
Campbell, James Marshall, 245n, 250n
Candidian, 8
"Candidus," 180, 189-190
canon law, 223n
canonicae, 17
canonical collections, historical, 514-515; penitential, 514, 521-523; systematic, 515; Syriac, 452n, 453 and n, 454nn; western, 513-532. *See also* Canons of Basil
Cappadocia, 9n, 18n, 23, 47, 191, 301, 302, 316, 375, 378, 380, 382, 391, 394, 396 and n, 412, 420n, 422, 439n, 440, 445n, 457, 474, 475, 552; archaelogy of, 23; division of, 13, 14, 305, 406, 408, 474; famine in, 11; slaves in, 394, 395
Cappadocians, 277n, 440n
Cappadocian year, 17n
Cappadocian Fathers, 32, 48, 49. *See also* individually
Caracalla, 222
Carpocrates, 146
Carrhes (Haran), 444n
Casole, 464
Caspari, Carl Paul, 209
Cassian, John, 471n
Cassiodorus, 468n
Castoria *see* Kastoria
catechumens, 44
catenae, Syriac, 451
cause, 88, 97, 100
Cavalcanti, Elena, 67n
Cavallin, Anders, 24, 54, 55
Cefalù, mosaics of, 546
Celsus, 144
cenobitic life, 225n
censitor, 12
Chadwick, Henry, 416
Chalcedon, Council of (451), 472, 515, 516
Chalcis (Qennešrin), 16, 444n
charisma, 114, 426-432, 435, 590; of adoption, 426; of discretion, 416, 432; of prophecy, 416; and Gregory of Nazianzus, 426n; charismatic movement, 414-415. *See also* church
Cherniss, Harold Fredrik, 97n
Chevalier, Irénée, 469
Chevetogne, colloquium to honour Basil, xliv
chorepiscopi, 12

Christianity in the fourth century, 22; and paganism, 155 ff.
christology, 179
Chrysippus, 77, 187n, 188, 363
church, 283, 590; "catholic," 284 and n; a charismatic body, 606; a fellowship, 244n; not a synagoge but a syllogos, 243n; likened to earth, 249n; administration, 389; dissension, shipwreck, 245n; communion of churches, xii-xiii; history of early church, 282-284; and state, 284-286, 316, 411, 413; western churches, 13, 455
Chyzhevskiĭ, Dmytro, 443n, 504n
Cicero, 260-261; -nian, 459
Č'ič'inadze, Z., 502
Clarke, William Kemper Lowther, 275n
Claudius Gothicus, 142
Clavis Patrum Graecorum (see p. xxxiii) 2835-3005: 50; 2900: 12n, 56, 461n
Cleinias, 214
Clement of Alexandria, 137, 185
Clement of Rome, 514, 544n
clergy, career, 382; education, 381; privileges, 379
Clonfert, 463n
Cochlaeus, Johannes, 464n
codicillaria dignitatis, 408
Coele-Syria, 6, 383, 420n, 444 and n
Colonia, 17
Columban, 458
Combefis, François, 57-58, 528
comets, 147n
comites, 378
commandments, divine, 266n; order of, 238; and the law of nature, 241
commonplaces, 207, 249n
community, 278-279; ascetic, a brotherhood, 432; need for, 255-256
Comneni, 69n
Congregation of Priests of St. Basil (CSB), xi, xiv, xv, xxxix
Constans, 311
Constantine, 22, 150, 151, 155-159, 174, 175, 179, 181, 222, 281n, 284, 314n, 316, 393, 395n, 400, 415, 424, 425n
Constantius, 287, 298, 311, 315, 424, 425
Constantinople, 6, 180, 216, 293, 382, 462n, 464, 499, 536, 539, 542, 544n, 550, 592; senate of, 382; Synod of (AD 336), 304n; of 360, 7, 35, 76n, 315, 420n; First Council of (AD 381), xiii, 45-46, 315; its Creed, 46, 131n; Third Council of (AD 680-681); 544; Fourth of (869-870), 530, 531 and n; *see also* Istanbul
contemplation, 370, 371, 373; of the universe, 365. *See also θεωρία*
conversion, 199
Coptic, 10n, 480-485, 491 and n
Copurašvili, Ninaja, 496
Corax, 260n
Corbie, 458, 517, 519, 520
Cosmas and Damian, 544n
Costanza, Salvatore, 62
Council of 1166, 69 and n
Courcelle, Pierre Paul, 145-146, 152n, 213n, 218n, 456n
Courtonne, Yves, 24, 55, 60, 62, 205, 234n, 244n
created, 74. *See γέννητος*
creation, 98, 101, 110, 111, 116, 117
Croesus, 237n
Cronius, 145, 146, 153 and n, 154, 155
Cross, Frank Leslie, 174
Crouzel, Henri, 111n
culture, classical, 22, 23, 43, 253, 445n; Christian, 316; Syro-Hellenic, 449
Cumianus Longus or Cummaine Fota, 463n
curiales, 406, 408, 409
Cynic/-ism, 172, 173, 177 and n, 215
Cyprian, 23, 224n, 225n
Cyrenaica, 297
Cyril of Alexandria, 193, 204, 208, 215, 287, 535
Cyril, 474
Cyril, Apostle of the Slavs, 503, 504n, 511
Cyrillic script, 503
Cyrus the Great, 237n
Cyzicus, 35, 37, 70

Dadišo Qaṭraya, 448n
Dagron, Gilbert, 47n
Damasus of Rome, 12 and n, 21, 27, 304, 514
Damian (and Cosmas), 544n
Damian, Patriarch of the Copts, 483, 485
Dams, Th., 35
Daniel, 417n
Daniélou, Jean, 185-186, 188, 192, 241n
Danilova, Irina, 537
Danylak, Roman, xxxix
Daphne, 181
David, 225n
David "The Translator," 474n

David, Georgian translator, 493n
Day, Maurice Fitzgerald, 83n
Dechani, Kosovo, 504n
De Clercq, Victor Cyril, 157n
De Durand, Georges Matthieu, 35
Defensor of Ligugé, 462n
Deferrari, Roy Joseph, 61, 293n
Dehnhard, Hans, 39 and n, 40n, 48, 60, 131n, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 199n, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 208, 210-211, 216, 355
De Jerphanion, Guillaume, 5n, 556
De Meester, Placide, 8n, 499n
Demetrios I, xv-xviii, xxxix, xl
Democritus, 188
Demosthenes, 17, 227n
Den Boeft, J., 137n, 153n
De Riedmatten, Henri, 6n
De Sinner, Ludwig, 58
Deusdedit, 514
De Vogüé, Adalbert, 458n, 471
Devreesse, Robert, 51
dialectics, 47
Dianius, 6, 7
Didymus the Blind, 67n, 194n, 322 and n, 337
Dill, Samuel, 381n
Dillon, John Myles, 152, 153, 183, 186
Dinneen, Lucilla, 274n
Dinsen, Frauke, 130n
Diocles of Magnesia, 188
Diocletian, 143, 151, 171, 175, 285
Diodore of Tarsus, 13, 17, 260n, 276n
Dionysius of Alexandria, 171, 173
Dionysius of Rome, 196n, 198n
Ps.-Dionysius Areopagita, 219
diptychs, 542
Dirking, Augustin Hubertus Emil, 18n
discourse *see* speech
dispositio see τάξις, διάθεσις
dissension, opposite to truth, 233n
Doara, 399
Docetism, 284, 309n
Dodds, Eric Robertson, 182n
Dörrie, Heinrich, 164n
Dörries, Hermann, 3, 11n, 17n, 39, 48, 131 and n, 133n, 199 and n, 202, 354, 357, 416, 418n, 420, 434n
Domnica, 308
Doresse, Jean, 484
Dorotheus, deacon, 304, 394
Dorotheus, presbyter, 17
Dostoievskii, Feodor Mikhailovich, 367
Doutreleau, Louis, 35
Driessen, Innocentius Wilhelmus, 476n, 479n, 572, 577n
dualism, 332
Ducaeus *see* Du Duc, Fronton
Duchesne, Louis, 14n
Du Duc, Fronton, 57
Dumont, P., 223n
Du Pin, Louis Ellies, 234n

Early church, 69, 282
Ebied, Rifaat Y., 482n
Ebionitism, 284, 313
"Economy" in Basil, xii-xiii; *see further* under *οἰκονομία*
ecumenical celebrations in honour of Basil, xi, xxxix, xliv
Edessa (Urfa), 444 and n, 447, 451n, 454; monasteries near, 445 and n. *See also* scriptoria
editions of the works of Basil, 22-24. *See further* Aldina, Basel, Paris, Venice
Eggersdorfer, Franz Xaver, 295n
Egypt, 6, 144, 155, 291, 298, 383, 420n, 461, 480-481, 482 and n, 483, 485, 487, 488
Ehrhard, Albert Joseph Maria, 442n, 504n
Elassona, Olympiotissa monastery, 550
El Greco, 563
Elias, 417n
Elias, commentator of Aristotle, 164
Elpidius, 12, 17
Elvira, Synod of (306), 395n
Emmelia, 5, 6, 12, 292, 297, 332, 553
Engberding, Hieronymus, 8n, 453n
Engelbrecht, August, 466-467
England, 522
Ensslin, Wilhelm, 285n
Epiphanius, 17, 548
Epiphany, 9n
Ephesus, 182; Council of (431), 543
Ephraem the Syrian, 221n, 556, 557, 561, 563
Ephraem, hermit, 416n
Ephrem Mtsiré, 495, 499-501, 502
Epictetus, 213, 366
Epicureans, 215
epideictic, 261n
Erasmus, Desiderius, 56-57, 509
Erennius, 165
Erevan *see* Yerevan
Erigena, John Scotus, 459n
eros *see* agape

Eski Gümüş, 547
eternity, 95, 97 and n, 98, 122; pattern of, 242 and n
Ethiopic translations of Basil, 444n
ethos and logos, 251n
Eubulus, Platonic "Successor," 183
Eubulus the Sophist, 555n, 560
eucharist, 250n, 612-614
Eudorus, 139
Eudoxius, 70
Eugenius of Constantinople, 302
Eugippius, 458
Eulancius, 17
Eunomius of Cyzicus, 10, 18n, 21, 23, 24, 33, 36, 46, 48, 149 and n, 180, 185-190, 194, 251n, 330, 341, 348, 369, 420n, 452, 469n
  agenētos and *agennētos* as synonymous, 73
  agennēsia is *ousia* of God, 73-74, 77-86, 118
  agennētos rather than Father is correct designation for God, 87
  aiōnes 96, 100-101, 120, 124
  anomoean, 70, 75, 87, 89, 109, 126
  his *Apologia*, 67-136, 70n, 72n, 76n
  Apologia Apologiae, 70, 71, 121
  appraisal of, 72, 118-120, 123-125
  axiōma, 108-109
  begotten means created, 74, 102-103, 119
  "blasphemies" of, 87, 89, 95, 111, 112, 115
  Christ, created, 91, 92, 102, 103, 119, 125; *gennēma* and *poiēma*, 74, 92-94, 104, 105, 109, 111, 116, 120; *gennēma* his *ousia*, 93-94, 120; *gennētos* rather than Son, 87; God's assistant (*hypourgos*), 102; relation to time, 87, 94-96, 120, 123-125; *see also* Son "confession that God is what he is," 80-82, 84, 119
  contradictions *see* inconsistencies
  creed of, 77, 127
  difference of name or designation indicates difference in *ousia*, 83, 92-94, 105, 120; inconsistency on, 105
  energeia and *ousia* of God, 90, 108-110
  epinoia, 80-81
  exegesis, 69, 75, 89, 92, 104, 116-117
  Father older than Son, 78, 87, 95-96, 99-101, 120, 124; indicates *energeia*, 90, 108-110; superiority of, 89-90; *gennēma* in *ousia* of Christ, 93-94, 102
  glossary of technical terms, 134-136
  God, attributes, 80-85, 88-90, 119, *axiōma*, 108-109; incomparability 87, 91-92, 120; *ousia* knowable, 74; not shared by Son, 87, 101, 103, 108; simplicity, 88-89, 105-110
  Holy Spirit created by and inferior to Son, 109-111, 115-117; not divine, 115
  inconsistencies, 82, 91-94, 104-105, 119-120
  majority not criterion of truth, 76
  Monogenēs, divinity denied of, 75; meaning of, 102-103, 119
  Neoplatonic influence, 70, 119, 149 and n, 180, 185-190, 194
  pagan sources, 75, 84, 107, 118-119
  pretexts, 76-78
  privatives, 84-85, 119
  Son, created, 87, 92-93, 119; generation of by Father usually denied, 74, 87, 95, 103-105, 119; *homo-ousios* with his own creations, 101-102; not comparable with Father, 87, 111; *ousia*, non-existent before its formation, was begotten by the will of the Father, 95, 99-101, 125; relation to time, 87, 100-101, 124-125; separated from Father by law of nature, 108; sole cause of Holy Spirit, 111, 115, 116; subordinate to the Father, 87, 89-91, 108-109; unlike the Father, 70, 75, 87, 90, 106, 108, 111; *see also* Christ
  tactics, 73-89
  treatises against, 72-73
  vindicated against Basil and Gregory of Nyssa on two points, 78-80, 102, 122-126
Eupaterius, 16
Euphemius, 556, 562
Euphratensis, province of, 444 and n
Euphrates, river, 439n, 449
Eupsychius, 10n
Eusebius of Caesarea of Cappadocia, 7, 8, 11, 23, 32, 301, 303 and n
Eusebius of Caesarea in Palestine, 141, 142, 144, 146, 150-151, 157 and n, 158, 159-165, 179, 192, 193, 250n, 292 and n, 473 and n; and Plotinus, 141, 159-165, 170, 198, 208, 211, 215

Eusebius of Nicomedia, 157, 170, 189, 311 and n
Eusebius of Samosata, 11, 12, 13, 16, 17, 18, 307, 444
Eusebius sodalis, 19, 295
Eusebona, 11 and n
Eusinoe, 10, 36, 37, 38
Eustathius, translator of the *Hexaemeron*, 64, 459-460
Eustathius of Himmeria, 16, 444n
Eustathius, physician, 19
Eustathius "the Philosopher," 6
Eustathius of Sebaste, 6 and n, 13, 16, 17, 27, 32, 36, 37, 39, 47, 199, 298-299, 306 and n, 429, 455, 475, 481n
Eustathians (followers of Eustathius of Sebaste), 14n, 23, 36, 37, 42, 298 and n, 299, 332, 481n
Eustochius, 159-165; edition of Plotinus *see* Plotinus
Eustochius, a Cappadocian slave, 400
Evaesae, 18
Evagrius of Antioch, 16
Evagrius Ponticus, 24, 454n, 457n
Evdokimov, Paul, 370
Eve, 177, 551
Evelyn White, Hugh Gerard, 484n
Ewkt'ime (or Ek'vt'ime) At'oneli, 441n, 443, 465, 494n, 495-498, 499n, 500, 501, 502 and n
exegesis and teaching, 261n
exemplum (in rhetoric), 237 and n
Eznik, 476 and n, 477 and n

Fabian, 531n
Facundus of Hermiane, 456 and n
Fares, Theophilus, 488
fatalism, 366, 459n
Father, 326-327, 604; *see also* Basil, Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa, Trinity
Fathers of the Church, 590
Faustus of Byzantium, 473, 480
Faustus, successor to Nerses, 474
Fedotov, George Petrovich, 510n
Fedwick, Paul Jonathan, xix, xl-xli, 3, 10n, 12n, 14n, 18n, 48, 55, 59n, 67nn, 70n, 130n, 133n, 137n, 250n, 272n, 409n, 417-419, 425n, 430n, 433, 440n, 464n, 481n, 533n, 623
Feofan Grek, 510n
Festugière, André Marie Jean, 5n, 145, 146, 214n, 366
Festus, 19, 261, 439
Firmicus Maternus, 147 and n
Firmilian, 23
Firminus, 19
Fitzgerald, Wilma, xliv, 623
Flahiff, George Bernard, xiv, xxxix
Florence, Council of (1439), 112n
Florilegia, Arabic, 487; Armenian, 478 and nn; Coptic, 491; Ethiopic, 487n; Georgian, 486 and n, 493; Latin, 462 and n, 465, 515-517; Old Church Slavonic, 509-510; Syriac, 452 and n, 455 and n
Flusin, Bernard, 40 and n
Foerster, Richard, 5n, 61
Fontaine, Jacques, 152n
Fortunatianus, 19n
Fotiĭ, Metropolit, 505n
"Fountain of Life," 537n
Fournier, Paul, 527 and n
France, 455, 467n, 518, 519 and n, 520, 521, 526
Franciscan, 472-473
Frederick William, 412
freedom, human, 366
friendship, 225n
Froben, Jerome, 56, 57
frontispieces of Basil, 536, 537-538
Fulgentius of Ruspe, 309n, 520n

Gabriel, archangel, 544n
Gabriel, Melkite priest, 451n
Gabriel Mtsiré, 496n
Gaios, Rector, 502
Galavaris, George, 541
Gallay, Paul, 4n, 6n, 25, 26, 180n
Gallienus, 166
Gallus, 188
Gangra, Synod of (360s), 4n, 5n, 14n, 42
Ğarīḥ Ibn Yuhannes ar-Rarāwī, 486, 493
Garitte, Gérard, 443n, 494n, 499n
Garnier, Julien, 22, 23, 28, 35, 58, 59, 60 and n, 61, 82n, 105n, 131n, 329n, 466, 488, 537
Gaudentius of Brescia, 460n
Gaul, 382, 455; bishops of, letter to, 56
Geerard, Morits, 50. *See also Clavis Patrum Graecorum*
Gelasius I, 516-517
Gelathi, monastery of, 499n, 502
Gelianus, 209
Genethlius, 17
George, St., 547
George of Laodicea, 348

Georgian literature, 492, 495, 499; translations of Basil, 492-503
Germanus of Auxerre, 380
Germany, 519n, 521
Getasa, 12n
Gibson, Arthur, 67n
Giet, Stanislas, 35, 45, 59-60, 205, 252n, 381n, 386n, 538n
Gilchrist, John T., 529n
Gill, Joseph, 112n
Giorgi At'oneli, 441n, 465, 493, 495 and n, 500, 502, 503n
Giorgi Prokhoré, 494n
Glagolithic script, 503
Gnosticism, 143, 145, 284, 313, 319, 337
Goar, Jacques, 464
God, first, second, third, 198; a second, 155-156, 176; second and first, 156, 157-158; unknowability of, 74n; will of, 366; *see also* commandments divine
Göreme, 556
Gomes "the Peccator," 460n
Goodhue, Nicholas, 67n, 97n
Gordius, 10n
Goths, 315
grace, 115; *see also* Holy Spirit, charismata
Graf, Georg, 486 and n, 488 and n, 489nn, 490n, 492
Granstrem, Evgeniya Edvardovna, 536n
Grant, Robert McQueen, 159n
Gratian, 359, 513, 514, 526
Greece, 182, 183, 184
Greek, modern, Basil's translations, 444n
Gregg, Robert Clark, 172
Grégoire, Reginald, 442
Gregory the Great, 513
Gregory the Illuminator, 477n, 479
Gregory of Nazianzus, 5, 6, 8, 13nn, 21, 23, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 36, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 55, 59, 130n, 131, 133, 177n, 180, 183, 184, 209, 210, 215, 216, 219, 220 and n, 221, 222, 223, 224n, 225n, 231, 234n, 250n, 262, 268n, 276n, 294, 300, 301, 305, 317, 322, 325, 337, 347n, 380, 396, 397, 399n, 401n, 441, 454n, 467, 491, 494n, 496n, 500n, 502, 513 and n, 518, 534, 535, 540, 541, 542-543, 544nn, 547, 548, 553, 559, 562, 592, 598, 618; and Plotinus, 215-216. *For* iconography *see also* Three Hierarchs
Gregory of Nyssa, 5, 12, 21, 24, 28, 33, 34, 40, 63, 69, 70, 71, 74, 76n, 82-83, 96, 98 and n, 107n, 118, 124, 126, 130, 185 and n, 186, 209, 210, 215, 216-218, 220, 231, 241n, 252n, 292, 317, 367, 369, 395, 396, 397, 399 and n, 403, 426n, 436, 441, 447n, 491, 496n, 498, 509n, 534, 541, 542, 543, 544 and n, 546, 559, 562, 618
Gregory of Nyssa, dispute with Eunomius:
  aiōnes 98, 100
  author of "Basil's" 38th letter, 107
  causality (atemporal) 97-98, 124-126
  comparison with Basil *see* Basil of Caesarea
  corrects Basil, 121
  creation, 98
  eternity of Father and Son, 96-98, 124
  Eunomius, argument against fails in important respect, 124-126; argument against misunderstood, 78-80, 122
  God, attributes, 82-83, 130; Fatherhood, 83; unchangeableness, 97; uncreated nature, 98, 124, 126, 133
  Holy Spirit, 130-131
  inconsistency, 124-126, 133
  paradox pointed out, 96
  Parmenides and Plato, possible dependence upon, 96-97
  Proverbs 8.22, 103
  time, 96-98, 124
Gregory presbyter, 12
Gregory Thaumaturgus, 193, 200, 204, 210, 211, 218, 316 and n, 322
Gregory, uncle of Basil, 12
Gribomont, Jean, xix, xl, xli, 3 and n, 8n, 10n, 14n, 18n, 40, 42 and nn, 44, 47n, 50, 53, 55n, 57, 59n, 63, 64, 137n, 192, 193, 195, 199nn, 208, 216-217, 382, 412, 418 and n, 431n, 433, 443n, 445n, 457n, 471, 473, 481n, 482n, 486n, 501n, 505n, 526, 572, 623
Groh, Dennis E., 172
Gronau, Karl, 205
Grossenhain, 59
Guillaumont, Antoine, 14n
Gummerus, Jaakko, 128n
Guthrie, William Keith Chambers, 97n
Gwatkin, Henry Melvill, 4n, 14n

Habib Ibn Hidma Abu Ra'ita, 487
Hadermann-Misguich, Lydie, 547
Hadot, Ilsetraut, 169n
Hadot, Pierre, 138, 147n, 149n, 160n, 189

Hagios Loukas *see* Phocis
Hakobyan, Vazgen Artashesi, 480
Hann, George C., collection, in Pennsylvania, 560-561 with plate
Hanrahan, James, xxxix
Harmand, Louis, 376
Harmatius, 19
Harnack, Adolf, 46
Harris, Adrian H., 67n
Hauser-Meury, Marie Madeleine, 13n
Hauschild, Wolf Dieter, xl, 4, 17n, 24, 27
Hausherr, Irénée, 14n, 367, 368, 447n
Hayes, Walter Martin, 39-40, 51, 60n, 67n, 194n
Hefele, Karl, 14n
Helenopontus, 5, 10, 17
Helia, 13
Helladius, 12, 406
Hellenism, 172, 181, 188, 219, 287, 310, 320, 499
Hengsberg, Wilhelm, 234n
Henry, Paul (born 1906), 60, 116n, 131n, 147n, 153n, 160, 161, 164, 165, 191, 192, 193, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 212, 215, 218n
Hera, 19
heresies, antisocial aspect, 233n
Hermagoras of Temnos, 258n, 271
Hermant, Godefroy, 22
Hermetists, 145, 146
Hermogenes, 157
Hermogenes, a pagan, 167
Hero, 224n
Herrera, Francisco, 563
Herulians, 183
Hesychius, 12, 222n, 295, 400
Hexaemeron (*see also* Index of Citations ... Basil), in Arabic, 486, 488; Armenian, 476-477; Georgian, 486, 493, 498; Latin, 459-460; Old Church Slavonic, 509; Syriac, 449
Hierius, 182
Hierocles, Sossianus, 142, 144 and n, 146, 169 and n
Hierocles, 5th cent. Alexandria, 166, 181
Hilary, 17
Hilary of Poitiers, 182n, 311n, 337
Himerius, 6, 294, 295
Himmeria, 444n
Himmerius, 12
Hippocrates, 244n
Hörner, Hadwig, 28, 33, 34, 63
Holl, Karl, 24, 131n, 321, 325 and nn, 434, 435
Holy Spirit, 3138, 46, 75, 84, 86, 88, 99, 109, 111-118, 129-132, 134, 210, 221, 223, 225n, 232, 238n, 258n, 259n, 266n 269n, 306, 328, 364, 373, 598, 606; Lord, 344, 353-354; χώρα, 349. *See also* Basil, charisma, Gregory of Nyssa, homoousion, ὁμότιμος, συναρίθμησις, ὑπαρίθμησις
Holy See and the St. Basil Symposium, xi, xxxix
Homiliaries, 442 and n; Arabic, 488-490; Armenian (t'onakan), Georgian (mravalt'avi), 493; Old Church Slavonic (torzhestvennik), 504, 510; Syriac, 451
Homilies, Moral (τὰ ἠθικά), 9-10; in Arabic, 488; in Armenian (*Girk' Pahoc'*), 477-478, 572-573, 574, 575, 580-581; in Coptic, 483-484; in Georgian (*Ethika* of Ewkt'ime At'oneli), 496 and n, 497-498; in Old Church Slavonic, 504-505; in Syriac, two translations, 449-450
homines novi, 423
Homoeanism, 35
Homoeusianism, 23
Homoiousianism, 37
homoousion, 36, 88, 102 and n, 107, 109, 110, 121, 125, 127n, 128-129, 130 and n, 131, 132, 133, 134, 157, 171, 166n, 298, 299, 311, 313, 315, 321, 341, 598. *See also* Basil, Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa, Holy Spirit, Nicaea, Son, Trinity
honestiores-humiliores, 402n
Horowitz, Harold W., 67n
Hrotsuita, 559n
Huglo, Michel, 64n, 456n, 465-466
Humbertclaude, Pierre, 432
Hypatia, 169, 172n, 291
hypatos, 378, 381
hyperbaton, 250-252
Hyperechius, 19
hypostasis, 24, 69, 84, 107n, 123, 158 and n, 166-167, 225n, 311n

Iamblichus, 153, 166 and n, 180-182, 185, 186, 187, 190, 214n; and Basil, 212-215
Iconoclasm, 545, 548
iconography of Basil, in the menologia and hagiographical manuscripts, 540-541; in marginal Psalters, 541-542
Ignatius of Antioch, 313
illuminations of Basil, with the *Amnos* or

Melismos, 544n, 548; accompanying the Ps.-Amphilochian *Vita*, 555-562; on embroideries, 544 and n; in manuscripts of Gregory of Nazianzus homilies, 542-543; accompanying *Or.* 43, 552-554; with the *Hetoimasia*, 544n, 547, 551; *koimēsis*, 543 and n; on liturgical vessels, 544 and n; medallions, 544n, 546; in manuscripts of Oecumenical Councils, 543-545; Officiant Basil, 545 ff.
Incarnation, 268, 275n, 277n. *See also* Jesus Christ, Son, soteriology
incorporeality, 84
Innocent I, 157n
innovations, theological, 76
Iosif, *see* Yosif
Iovinus, comes, 16
Iovinus of Perrhes, 16
Iris (Yeşil Irmak), 5n, 36, 37, 296, 299, 300n, 301
Irish, 518, 523
Isaac, 552
Isaias of Scete, 448
Isidore of Sevilla, 152, 530 and n, 531 and n
Isocrates, 229
Israel, 369
Istanbul, 575, 576, 577, 578, 583; Kariye, 548n; Khora, 548n. *See also* Constantinople
Italy, 315, 455, 461, 462, 464, 471n, 473, 519, 523, 527, 563; bishops of, letter to, 16, 56. *See also* scriptoria
iudicium, 271
Iulitta, martyr, 10n
Iulitta, a widow, 12
Ivo of Chartres, 513, 514, 526, 532

Jacob, OT, 552
Jacob of Amida, 455
Jacob of Edessa, 449 and n
Jacob, André, 464n, 465n, 503n
Jacobites, 481, 482, 487
Jahn, Albertus, 193
Jason, 548
Jerome, 21, 45, 143n, 144, 149, 287, 315, 457, 469, 470 and n, 513
Jerusalem, 493, 560; Holy Cross monastery, 494n. *See also* scriptoria, *and* Yerushalayim (Index of Manuscripts)
Jesus Christ, 144, 146, 604-606; icons, 539-551, 560; the *Amnos*, 544n; some titles, 80-81. *See also* Basil, Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa, homoousion, Son
Joel, prophet, 510n
John, 8
John XXIII, xvi
John the Baptist, 225n, 544n, 560
John bar Aphtonia, 448-449
John Chrysostom, 32, 49, 62, 234n, 274n, 303n, 311n, 318, 380n, 401n, 402, 412, 441, 456 and n, 461, 469, 478 and n, 484, 488n, 502n, 513 and n, 518, 535, 540, 541, 543, 544nn, 548, 549, 565. *For* icons *see also* Three Hierarchs
Ps.-John Chrysostom, 565
John Climacus, 541n
John the Exarch, 468n, 509
John Kolobos, 416n
John Mauropus, 234n, 550
John Paul II, xi-xiv
Johnston, Charles Francis Harding, 60, 201n, 338, 351, 451n
Jones, Arnold Hugh Martin, 394n, 440n. *See also Prosopography*
Jordan, 558, 560
Joseph, OT, 224n
Joseph, NT, 550
Joseph Kandelaki, 502
Joseph the Physician, 563
Joseph of Volokolamsk, 363
Judaizers (Sabellians), 196, 198, 282
judgment, 259 and n, 260 and n
Jülicher, Adolf, 380
Julian the Apostate, 7n, 8, 19, 22, 143, 151 and n, 175, 180, 181, 182, 183, 188, 279n, 286 and n, 287 and n, 288-289, 290, 294, 302n, 308 and n, 309, 315, 425 and n, 481n, 555, 556
Julian the Chaldaean, 147
Julian of Eclanum, 467-468
Julian of Halicarnassus, 453n
Julius II, 311n
Jumièges, 458
Jura, 459
Justin I, 448
Justin Martyr, 213
Justinian, 151

Kachadse, M., 476n
Kacmarcik, Frank, 491
Kannengiesser, Charles, 174-175
Karayannopoulos, Ioannis, xlii-xliii, 623
Karin, 578n

Kastoria, St. Anagyres church, 548; St. John the Theologian church, 548
Kekelidze, Kornilii Samsonovich, 443n, 494n, 495, 496n, 499, 501n
Kelkit Çayi (Lycos), 5n
Kelly, John Norman Davidson, 131n
Kerff, Franz, 521n
Kertsch, Manfred, 223n
kerygma and dogma, 131-132
Khintibidze, Elgudzha Georgievich, 443n, 500, 501
Khozrov the Translator, 474n
Kidd, Beresford James, 290n
Kierkegaard, Søren, 369
Kiev (Kyev), Svyata Sofiya, 546
Kiprian, Metropolitan, 511 and n
Kirilo-Bilozersk, 507n
Kirk, Rosemary, 625
Kirsten, Ernst, 380
Knorr, Uwe Walter, 18n
Komitas, Catholicos, 478
Koopmans, Jochem Jan, 398n
Kopeček, Thomas Alan, 380n, 381n, 382n
Koster, Willem John Wolff, 173n
Kotsonis, Hieronymos, 223n
Kottje, Raymund, 521
Kozma the Presbyter, 505 and n
Kraft, Heinrich, 127n
Krajná Bystra, church of, 551
Krüger, Gustav, 380
Kurbinovo, St. George church, 547, 548
Kustas, George, xli-xlii, 266n, 533, 623
Kyrylo Turovskyi, 504n, 510n

Laciza, 10n
Lactantius, 142, 144 and n, 145
Ladner, Gerhart Burian, 67n
Lampsacus, Synod of (364), 10n, 36, 37, 38, 299
landlords in Cappadocia and Pontus, 382
Landwehr, Hugo, 54n
Langenfeld, Hans, 393n
language *see* speech, logos
Lanne, Emmanuel, 484n
Laodicea, 444n
Lateran, First Council of (1123), 531n
Laun, Ferdinand Justus, 295n
Lavrov, Petr Aleksievich, 506
law of nature and divine commandments, 241
Lawrence, deacon, 546
Lazarev, Viktor Nikitich, 537n
Lazica, 10n
Lebanon, celebrations in honour of Basil, xliv
Lèbe, Léon Lucien, 41, 418n
Lebon, Joseph, 41
Leclercq, Henri, 4n, 14n
Lefort, Louis Théodore, 481n
Lehmann, Paul Joachim Georg, 462n
Leningrad, 544n, 551n; State Library, 504n
Leo I, 516
Leontius, 19
Leontius, abbot of St. Theodore, 445-446
Leontius the Sophist, 11
Lesnovo, Archangels church, 536-537
Letter (Epistle), 248-249, 251n, 253n, 263n
Letters of Basil, 24-27, 47, 53-56, 58, 65; of consolation, 254; of recommendation, 405-410; in Arabic, 486, 487; in Armenian, 478 and n, 479 and n, 572 and n, 573 and n; in Georgian, 497, 498, 499, 502; in Latin, 461; in Old Church Slavonic, 511, 512; in Syriac, 452-453; in Syriac otherwise unknown, 447n
Levie, Jean, 205
Lewry, Osmond, 538n
Libanius, 5n, 180, 183, 291, 293, 310, 320, 409n; correspondence with Basil, 4n, 19 and n, 56, 62
Liberius, 37, 315
Licinius, 150, 174, 175, 180n, 181
Liebeschuetz, John Hugo Wolfgang Gideon, 409nn
Lietzmann, Hans, 3, 26
Limoges, 459
literature, pagan and Christian, 245
liturgy, essential to the church, 596
Liturgy of Basil (*LBas. I*), 8 and n; manuscripts containing illuminations, 538-540
Ljubljana, 504n
Ljubotin, 548
Lloyd, Anthony Charles, 160n
logos, 274n, 276n, 312 ff.; the Son, 311n, 330, 341; *see also* Jesus Christ, Son; and ethos, 251n
Longinos, 417n
Longinus, 138n, 140, 164, 165, 183
Longobards, 315
Loofs, Friedrich, 3, 14n, 26
Lorenz, Rudolf, 470-471
Lorsch, 463n

love *see* agape
Lucian of Antioch, 170 and n, 171, 312 and n
Lucianists, 170-171, 188
Luzhnytskyĭ, Hryhor, 443n
Lycia, 144
Lycos (Kelkit Çayi), 5n
Lycurgus, 546
Lyon, 319, 519

Maas, Paul, 5n
Mabbug, 454
Macarius, 8
Macarius, 417n
Macarius of Alexandria, 297
Macarius the Egyptian, 297
Macarius/Simeon of Mesopotamia, 416
Macedonian, 503
Macomber, William F., 491n
Macray, William Dunn, 538n
Macrina the Younger, sister of Basil, 5, 6, 21, 40, 292, 297, 299, 332
Madrid, Museo del Prado, 563
magistri, 377, 378
Magne(i)nianus, 16, 19 and n
Magnentius, 311
Magnus, 19, 261, 439
Magnus, bishop of Chalcis, 444n
Magusaeans, 262n
Mainz, 464
Makariĭ, Metropolit, 504n
Mamant, St., 10n
man, dignity of, 606-610; Neoplatonic vision of, as a microcosm, 276n; as psychological being, 270-279; as social being, 237-269
Mango, Cyril, 69n
Mani, 142, 165, 166n, 168, 169, 175
Manichaeism, 157n, 166, 168, 171, 350
Manning, Eugène, 462n
Mansfeld, Jaap, 165-168
Manuel I, 69 and n
manuscripts *see* Index of Manuscripts *and also* iconography, illuminations, scribes, scriptoria
Maran, Prudentius, 3, 7n, 11n, 16n, 22, 23, 27, 28, 29, 35, 41, 58, 60, 61, 304n, 329n, 380, 418n, 466, 488, 537
Maraval, Pierre, 5nn
Marcellus of Ancyra, 23, 36, 48, 304 and n, 311 and n
Marcellus of Apamea, 291n
Marcellus, general, 302
Marcus Aurelius, 182
Mardonios of Nicomedia, 287n
Marguliès, Alfons, 504n
Mark of Ephesus, 112n
Mark, a Syrian monk, 446
Marmura, Michael F., 216n
Maronite, 488
Maroutha, 446
Marrou, Henri Irénée, 170n
Martinian, praefectus urbis Romae, 13 and n, 405, 408
Martvili Processional Cross, 544n
Martyrs of Sebaste, Forty, 10n
Mary, Virgin, 236, 268n, 495n, 540, 544n, 546, 547 and n, 548, 549, 550, 555n, 560, 618-620; *Pokrova*, 550-551
Mases in the Argolid, 183
Mashtots *see* Mesrop
Masius, Andreas, 453n
Matenadaran, 578n; *see also* Yerevan
matter, 167, 169; pre-existing, 87
Maurists *see* Garnier, Julien and Maran, Prudentius
Maxentius, 284 and n
Maximian, 175, 284n, 317, 552
Maximus the Philosopher, 7, 16 and n
Maximus Scholasticus, 12 and n
Maximus, theosophist, 182
Mazzanti, Giorgio, 3n
medical analogies, 244n
medicine, 244n
Meijering, Eginhard Peter, 155n, 174n
Melchizedek, 496n, 498, 546
Meletians, 481
Meletius of Antioch, 12 and n, 13, 16, 17, 304, 444n, 494n
Meletius, physician, 17
Melito of Sardes, 313
Melkitic, 453n, 454n, 485, 487, 491 and n
memory of God, 368, 372-373, 374
menologia, 9, 10; *see also* illuminations
Mercati, Giovanni, 461n
Mercati, Silvio Giuseppe, 69n
Mercurius, St., 481n, 555 and n, 556
Mercury, 145
Meredith, Antony, 185n
Mesopotamia, 6, 383, 420n, 444 and n, 445n, 481
Mesrop (Mashtots), 474 and n, 475, 477n
Mesrop, Catholicos in the 11th cent., 475-476
Messalianism, 47
messenger, 248

Messina, conference on St. Basil, xliv
Meteora, 473n
Methodius of Olympus, 142, 144 and n, 150, 151, 176, 177, 178
Methodius, apostle of the Slavs, 503, 504n, 510n, 511
Michael, archangel, 544n
Middle Bulgarian, 503, 504n, 505n, 506, 507, 508
Middle Platonism, 137, 142, 153 and n, 154, 157, 159, 165, 168, 172, 173, 175, 179, 180, 181, 184, 190, 197, 198, 212, 219
Migne, Jean Paul, 58
Mihanovič Homiliar, 504
Milan, 152, 455 461; Synod of (346), 311; Synod of (355), 312, 314n
Millet, Gabriel, 537
Mladenovich, Sofronii, 509
Moderatus, 139, 214n
Modestus, praefectus praetorio Orientis, 15 and nn, 308, 377, 384, 405, 406, 407, 537
"Mönchsdogma," 131n, 357
Moffatt, Ann, 18n
Mommsen, Theodor, 412
Monarchianism, 311 and n
monasticism, 415-417, 594; politeia, east and west, 472; Egyptian (Coptic), 480-481; Meletian, 481 and n; Russian, 508; Syriac, 445-449
monenergetist, 337
Monidze, Ivan, 563
monk, 276n, 291, letter to monks, 19; persecuted ones, 17
Monophysitism, 309n, 448, 454
monotheism, 69
monothelist, 337
Monreale, church of, 546
Montagu, Richard, 57
Monte Cassino, 468n
Montenero, Giovanni, 112n
Moons, Matthieu Ch., 63
Mordek, Hubert, 519, 527n
Morel, Fédéric, 57
Moscow, 502, 544n; churches of: Annunciation, 558; Pherapontov monastery, 537; Tretyakov Gallery, 550-551; *see also* scriptoria
Moses, OT, 96, 101, 262n, 287, 339, 341, 363, 364, 365, 551
Moses, abbot, 455
Mošin, Vladimir A., 504n, 506
Moslim, 490
Moss, Cyril, 445n
Moulton, James Hope, 350
Mount of Olives, 457 and n
Moutsoulas, Helia Dimitrios, 48n
Movsēs Khorenatsi, 478n
Müller, Karl Ferdinand Friedrich, 298n, 303n
Mueller, Lawrence Edwin, 462n
Münsterschwarzach, 458
Munier, Charles, 513-514, 518, 529-530
Muradyan, Kim, 476 and nn, 571n, 578n
Murray, Gilbert, 182
Musonius, 376

Nahtigal, R., 504n
Naldini, Mario, 18n
names, negative, 84, 85; proper in the NT, 82; not indicative of the *ousia*, 82, 92
Naples, 483
Narcissus, 158
nature (divine), 24; and person, 247n
Naucratius, 5, 292
Nectarius, 12; and his wife, 19
Neocaesarea, 5, 13, 17, 292, 376
Neoplatonic, 196-197, 198, 213, 217, 219, 266n, 276n, 355
Neoplatonism, 40, 215
Neoplatonists, 253
Neopythagoreanism, 139
Nereditsa, Saviour church, 547
Nerezi, St. Panteleimon church, 547
Neri, Umberto, 14n, 44, 61, 248, 251n, 261n, 273n
Nerses, 473 and n, 474, 475
Nersoyan, Hagop, 473n
Nestorianism, 72, 309n, 446, 454n
Nestorius, 543
Newman, John Henry, 45, 342
Nicé-Constantinople, Synod of (359), 7
Nicaea, church, 556, 561
Nicaea, Council of (AD 325), 126, 142, 152, 155, 157, 162, 169, 177, 178, 179, 220, 281, 310, 314, 348, 514, 543, 598; Creed of, 36, 37, 71 and n, 105n, 118, 127, 128, 129 and n, 133, 134, 290n, 309, 313, 314-315, 341, 344; Council of (AD 747), 545; Council of (AD 787), 80
Niceta of Remesiana, 456 and n
Nicholas of Myra (Bari), 535 and n, 540, 541, 544n, 546, 548
Nicobulus, 26
Nicocles, 293

Nicola d'Otranto, 464
Nicolopoulos, P. G., 48n
Nicomachus, 214n
Nicomedia, 144, 145, 181
Nicopolis, 17
Nikon, Patriarch, 511 and n
Nilus, 545
Nisibis (Nusaybin), 454-455
Nomocanon, 56
Nonna, 224n
Nonnus the Sinner, 445 and n, 447n, 454
Norman, Henry Wilkins, 462, 468n
Nor Naxijevan, 578n
nous, 139, 166
Novgorod, 551n
novices, 249n
Numenian, 201
Numenius of Apamea, 145, 146, 153 and n, 154, 155, 156, 160, 161, 181, 213
Nygren, Anders, 176-177
Nyssa, 399

obedience, 254n, 366
O'Connell, Robert J., 148n
O'Donnell, Reginald, xxxix, 67n
Odysseus, 277
Ohrid, St. Sophia church, 557-558
Old Church Slavonic, 442, 443, 503-512
Olivares, Library of the conde-duque de Olivares (now in San Lorenzo de El Escorial), 458
Olympiodorus, 545
Olympus, 6, 17, 19
Olympus (Lycia), 144
O'Meara, John Joseph, 148n
One, 139, 153n, 166, 167 and n, 169, 173, 215
Oppermann, Hans, 147n
Oppian, 205
Opsopaeus, Vincentius, 59
Optimus, 18, 56
Orans, Basil, 560; Virgin Mary, 547
orator, the ideal, 276n
ordo see τάξις
Oriens, diocese of, 444nn, 445nn
Origen, friend of Basil, 8
Origen, a pagan, 156
Origen of Alexandria, 23, 27, 31, 39, 137, 138, 149n, 153, 156, 158 and n, 159, 165, 166 and n, 167, 168, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 178, 181, 185, 186, 193, 195, 208, 210, 213, 250n, 273n, 300, 310, 316, 318, 322, 470 and n, 516
Origenism, 48, 247, 468, 470
Orlandi, Tito, 481n, 483 and n
Orlov, Mikhail Ivan, 511
Orontes, 448
Orosius, 470
Orthodox Church, xii, xv-xvi, xxxix
Ortiz de Urbina, Ignacio, 445n, 449n
Osborn, Eric Francis, 213 and n, 214
Osrhoëne, 444 and n, 445n, 481
Ossius of Cordoba, 152-154, 157, 158n, 395n
Ostrog, 508
Otreius, 16
Outtier, Bernard, 486n, 493
Oxford, honouring St. Basil, xliv
Oxford, Bodleian Library Upper Reading Room, 538 and n

Pachomians, 481n
Pachomius, 300, 332, 481
paganism, 291-292
paideia, 277 and n, 381, 382
paintings of Basil, on Royal Doors, 549, 551; on walls, 546-548, 556; in Southern Italy, 563
Paionius, 13
Palermo, Capella Palatina, 546; church, 546; colloquium on St. Basil, xliv
Palestine, 6, 297, 383, 420n, 481, 485, 486, 492, 493 and n, 495, 503; Holy Cross monastery, 495; Mar Saba, 495
Palladia, 407
Palladius, 13, 19, 457 and n
Palmyra, 165, 446
Pamphilus, 159, 162, 163, 164
Pap, king, 473
Papachristopoulos, C. G., 48n
Paphlagonia, 75n
Paraclete, 114
paradox (rhetorical), 268 and n
parallels, false, 138, 201, 203-204, 218n
Parhal, 494n; monastery of St. John the Baptist, 496n
Paris, 583, 584; Synod of (825), 523; editions of Basil's works, 57, 58, 59; Musée du Louvre, Harbaville ivory, 563
Parmentier, Marius, 415n
Parnassus, 12
Pasinicus, 19
Patara, 144
Patmos, 544n; St. John the Theologian monastery, 464

patriciae, 378
Patricius, 447-448
patristic literature in Armenian, 474; in Georgian, 496
Patrophilus, 17
Paul, abbot, 416n
Paul, apostle, 85, 246n, 267n, 269n, 385, 387, 388n, 398, 435, 540, 544n
Paul of Samosata, 74n, 159n
Paul VI, xi, xiii; *see also Tomos Agapis*
Paulinus of Samosata, 16
Pelagian, 461, 467-468, 469
Pelagius, 468
Pelagius of Laodicea, 16
Pelikan, Jaroslav, xlii, 341n, 413, 623
Penitentials, Theodorian, 521-522
Perachorio, 547; Holy Apostles church, 548n
Peradze, Grigol, 494n, 499
Pergamius, 12
Pergamum, 182
Pericles, 237n
Perrhes (Perin), 444n
Perrin, Michel, 144n
person, 225n; and nature, 247n
personification, 236-237
Peter, apostle, 540, 544n
Peter of Alexandria (3rd-4th cent.), 171 and n, 173
Peter of Alexandria, successor to Athanasius, 16, 18
Peter of Sebaste, 5, 292, 296, 297, 299
Phalerius, 19
Phargamum, Synod of (372), 17
Philadelphia, Pa., St. Basil workshop, xliv
Philagrius Arcenus, 19, 396
philanthropia (God's love for mankind), 80-81, 224 and n, 229, 234, 256
Philippopolis, 311
Philo Judaeus, 105n, 173
philosophy, 32; pagan, 107; and rhetoric, 223n, 225-226, 262n, 269 and n
Philostorgius, 45, 72, 151
Philostratus, 440n
Philoxenus of Mabbug, 447-448
Phocis, Hagios Loukas, 546
Photinos, 311n
Photius, 72, 73, 79, 304, 440n
physical, emphasized in Christianity, 244n
Pierius, 173
Pietism, 325n, 423n
Piganiol, André, 13n, 395n
pilot, 244n
Pinetum, 459n
Pisidia, 17
Plagnieux, Jean, 268n
Plato, 43, 137, 139, 145, 146, 153, 154, 155, 156, 170, 178, 188, 192, 215, 219, 229, 244n, 260n, 265 and n; echoes in Basil, 265n
platonic, 197, 213, 219, 272, 274n, 355
Platonism, 23, 48, 96n, 140, 142, 144n, 148, 153, 154, 156, 157, 176, 177, 178, 182, 204, 213, 214, 219, 220 and n; ambiguity of, 137; in Alexandria, 165-170, 173, 181; in Athens, 182-185
Platt, Philip Wallace, xxxix, 623
Plotinus, 39, 40, 60, 116n, 137-220 passim, 355; in Porphyry's edition, 139, 140, 141, 161-163, 164, 196, 208, 211, 218; in Eustochius' edition, 140, 141, 163, 164, 196, 208; oral tradition, 139; and Basil, 190-220; and Eusebius, 159-165; and Gregory of Nazianzus, 215-216
Plutarch, 169n, 183, 184-185, 219, 409n
pneuma, 114, 116
Poemonius, bishop, 16
Poemen, 416n
Pomerania (Pommern), 412
Poland and the anniversary of Basil's death, xliv
Pole, Reginald, 57
polemic, anti-Christian, 142, 143, 144, 146, 149
Pollard, T. Evan, 172n, 174n
polyptoton, 268n
polytheism, 69
Pompey, 222
Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies (PIMS), Toronto, xi, xiv, xv, xxxix
Pontus, 7n, 9n, 14n, 247n, 296, 299, 316, 332, 382, 445n, 457n, 552
Pontus Polemoniacus, 5, 17
Port Royal, 22
Poque, Suzanne, 456n
Porphyry, 137, 144, 145, 146, 147 and n, 148-151, 153, 154 and n, 155, 159-165, 166, 167n, 168, 173, 180n, 181, 183, 184, 186, 189-190, 205, 206n, 216; fate of writings, 150-151; his metaphysics, 159-160; and transmigration, 153n; and Basil, 212-215; edition of Plotinus *see* Plotinus; source of Marius Victorinus, 149-151
Posidonius, 205, 219
"possible, insofar as," 257 and n

praefectus praetorio, 377, 378, 384
praxis, 371
preaching as sacred ministry (*leitourgia*), 250n
prepositions μετά, διά, σύν, ἐν, meaning of, 348-352
Prestige, George Leonard, 344-345, 355
Prinz, Friedrich, 459n
Priscillian, 416
Priscus, 182, 184
Proclus, 62, 63, 164
Procopius, general, 302
Procopius, Georgian hieromonachus, 494-495, 499, 501 and n
Prohaeresius, 6, 294, 295
Propaganda Fide, 488
Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire, I (*PLRE*, cf. p. xxxv), 4n, 11n, 19n
Prosper of Aquitaine, 358, 456
providence, 371, 373
Pruche, Benoît, 39, 60, 67n, 111n, 133n, 195, 196, 198, 199n, 200, 201, 339
Puech, Aimé, 18n
Pyromalus, Isidore, 464
Pythagoras, 145, 155, 157, 215
Pythagorean, 214

Quasten, Johannes, 50, 413
Qennešrin (Chalcis), 449 and n

Rahmani, Ignazio Efremo II, 453 and n
Ramsay, William Mitchell, 5n, 380
Rauschen, Gerhard, 70n
Ravenna, Galla Placida, 551n; San Apollinare Nuovo, 551n
Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft (see p. xxxvi): 4n
Regensburg, colloquium on Basil, xliv; St. Emmeram, 521n
Regino of Prüm, 513, 514, 525-526, 528
Reichenau, 459 and n
Reinert, Stephen, 67n
Reitzenstein, Richard, 214n
religion and culture, 277n
Renoux, Athanase, 480
Reynolds, Roger Edward, xliv, 528n, 623
rhetoric, 23, 293, 381; its five functions, 228, 230; memory, 243; periodic structure, 241 ff.; road imagery, 241n; and Bible, 259 and n; and philosophy, 225-226, 269 and n; and teaching, 260-265. *See also* arrangement, *dispositio*, *exemplum*, hyperbaton, orator, paradox, personification, polyptoton, preaching, sermon, Sophistic, speech, style, word(s), *μνήμη*, *οἰκονομία*
Rhomaios (i.e. "The Byzantine," probably Arsenius): 416n
Rice, Tamara Talbot, 560
Richard, Marcel, 3, 27
riches, 246n
Riedel, Johann Wilhelm, 491
Rimini, formula of (359), 37
Ring, Oskar, 318n
Rist, Anna, 137n
Rist, John Michael, xli, 18n, 39n, 48, 156n, 166n, 265n, 355, 413, 421n, 623
Ritter, Adolf Martin, xliii-xliv, 18n, 146, 127n, 137n, 623
Rochais, Henri Marie, 462n
Rome, 138, 151, 166n, 175, 183, 237n, 293, 306, 455, 459, 473, 488, 579; Basil's negotiations with, 13, 16, 18, 304, 306-307; Basil paintings in: Santa Maria Antica, 563; Santa Maria in Gradellis, 557; workshops in honour of Basil in: Academia Bessarionis, xliv; Augustinianum, xliv; Circolo Besa, xliv; San Anselmo, xliv
Rouillard, Édouard, 28, 65
Rudberg, Stig Yngve, xl, xli, 24, 28, 40, 52, 53, 55, 57, 59, 60, 62, 63, 64, 413, 443n, 467, 536n, 623
Ruether, Rosemary Radford, 180n, 231n, 262n
Rufinus Tyrannius, 8n, 21, 42, 64, 234n, 456 and n, 457-459, 461n, 465-468, 472, 516, 518, 532
Russia, 544n, 547
Russian, 502, 503, 507, 508, 509; church, 285n

Sabellianism, 36, 309n, 311, 330
Sabellians, 31, 171, 196n, 198
Sabinus, 37n
Sahak, Catholicos, 474 and n
Sahapivan, Synod of (444?), 475
Sahdona (Martyrios), 454n
Saint-Germain-des-Prés, 458
Saint Neophytus (Paphos), Enkleistra church, 547
Sallustius, 182 and n
Samir, Khalil, 489n, 491n, 493n
Samosata, 16, 444n
Sanctissimus, 16
Šanidze, Akaki, 494n

Sanok, Ukrainian church, 558-559, 562
Sardica, 155; Synod of (343), 311n
Sarmin, 454
Sarov, 507n
Sasima, 305
Satala, 9n, 10n
Saturninus, 546
Schäfer, Jakob, 303n
Schmid, Heinrich Friedrich Ferdinand, 314n
Schmidt, Carl, 54n
Schmitz, Hermann Josef, 523
Schneemelcher, Wilhelm, 285n
Schubart, Wilhelm, 54n
Schucan, Luzi, 18n, 60n
Schwartz, Eduard, 3, 14n, 26, 515, 516n, 517n
Schwyzer, Hans Rudolf, 153n, 160, 161, 164, 191, 192, 196, 202, 203, 215
Scotus Erigena *see* Erigena
scribes: Abraham, 574; Abraham of Beth-Ṣūrāyā, 452; Abû-'l Surûr, 489n; Arsen Bagratuni, 583; Atom krōnawor, 578; Avetis, 582; Awēt, 574; Barseł, 582; Brabion, 575; Brusac'i Yovhannēs Tēr Karapetean, 584; Ełia vardapet, 583; Eremia, 574; Esayi, 574 (?), 578; Ewdok's-Ewt'im k'ahanay, 579; Ezek'iel sarkawag, 580; Gabriel, 451n; Geōrg, 575; Giorgi Prokhorė, 494n; Gomes "the Peccator," 460n; Grigor, 577; Grigor dpir, 579; Grigor Toma-žirski, 578; Grigorean Kusaranc'i, 584; Grigorēs Erznkac'i, 578; Israyēl Arewelc'i, 574; John the Scribe, 510n; Karapet, 579, 582; Karapet abełay, 581; Karapet Pułtarac'i, 580; Kirakos, 579; Kostandin, 581; K'ristap'or Mrguz, 578; Łrimc'i Sargis, 578; Łukas erec', 587; Malak'ia Baberdac'i, 575; Markos hayrapet, 579; Martiros, 583; Melk'iset' k'ahanay, 582; Mesrop, 582; Mik'ayēl krōnawor, 582; Mikhā'īl, 488n; Minas dpir, 583; Mkrtič', 579; Mkrtič' Łazareanc', 582; Mser dpir, 584; Mxit'ar Ayrivanec'i, 574; Nersēs Sargsean, 584; Nonnus the Sinner, 445 and n, 447n, 454; Oskan Erewanc'i, 582, P. L. Ališan, 584; Pałtasar Bałišec'i, 584; Petros Kiwlpekeanc', 583; Pōłos C'łnec'i, 576; Pōłos k'ahanay, 576; Reto, 504; Rstakēs, 580; Sara krōnawor Daštec'i, 583, Sargis, 575, 580; Sargis sarkawag, 579; Serobē Petrosean, 580; Serovbē Petrosean Aknec'i, 577; Simeon hieromonachus, 454; Step'anos, 574, 580, 581, 582; Step'anos C'łnec'i, 576; Step'anos k'ahanay, 580; T'adeōs vardapet 583; Tēr Yovsēp' Pahtiarean, 579; Vahan k'ahanay, 581; Yakob Kesarac'i, 577; Yakob sarkawag, 576; Yarut'iwn Trovat'ac'i, 576; Yohan Erznkayec'i, 580; Yohanēs abełay, 581, Yovhannēs, 579; Yovhannēs k'ahanay, 575; Yovhannēs k'ahanay P'ap'azean, 584; Yovhannēs krōnawor, 579; Yovhannēs Mokac'i, 578; Yovhannēs Tivrikc'i, 584, Yovsēp', 582; Yovsēp' vardapet, 579
scriptoria: Adabazar, 584; Akhmim, White Monastery (Dēr el Abyad), 483, 484; Amida, 576; Antinoopolis, 446n, 565-570; Antioch *see* Black or Admirable Mountain; 'Arabah, Monastery of St. Antony,491; Arjəray giwł, 582; Ayion Oros, Monē Ivirōn, 495, 498, 502; Ayion Oros, Monē Zōgraphou, 505, 506 and n; Bałeš o Muš, 584; Belgium (?), 519n; Black or Admirable Mountain (Savi mt'a, mauron oros), near Antioch (Antakiya), Monē tou Hagiou Symeōnos, 500 and n; Bobbio, 458, 461n; Burgundy, 519; Bury, 517 and n; Caesarea *see* Kayseri; Cardeña, Abadia San Pedro, 260n; Cilicia, 581; Constantinople (Istanbul), 575, 577; Corbie, 458, 517, 519, 519-520 (? cf. Laon); Dechani (Deč), 504n; Drazark, 581; Edessa (Urfa), Monasteries of St. Barbara, St. Jacob, Licinius, 454; Erznka, 575; Etschmiadsin (Ejmiacin), 575, 580, 584; Farfa, 528; Fayyum, 629; Fleury-sur-Loire, 458, 520 and n, 522; France, Northern, 520-521; France, Northeastern 519n; France, Southern, 520; France, Southwestern, 519n; Gayl vank', 579; Gełarday vank', 574; Gelathi, 499n, 502; Germany (?), Southwestern, Western, 519n; Glajor, 578; Hałbat,

577, 580; Hawhawoy vank', 582; Hnč'ešt, 584; Hoŕomosi vank', 575; Iskiwtar, 584; Istanbul *see* Constantinople; Italy, Southern, 466 and n, 519 and n, 526, 540; Jerusalem (Yerushalayim), 582, 583; Holy Cross Monastery, 494n; Jerusalem, Srbots' Hakobiants' vank', 574, 581, 583; Jolfā (Ostān-e Dahom), 582, 583; Jumièges, 458; Kayseri, S. Karapet, 583; Kiev (Kyiv), 510n; Klardjeth, 494n; Kołunc' vank', 581; La Cicogna, San Nicola, 463n; Laon, Cathédrale Notre Dame, 458 (cf. Corbie); L'viv (Lvov), 578; Lyon, 519; Mabbug, 454; Meteora, 473n; Metz, Basilique de Saint Arnould, 458; Moscow (Moskva), Monasteries of Andronikov and Chudov, 507n; Mows, Ełiazaru vank', 475n, 574; Muš, 580; Muš, Arak'eloc' vank', 584; Norašen anapat, 579; Olivares, Library of the conde-duque de, *see* Olivares; Parhal, Monastery of St. John the Baptist, 496n; Patmos, Monē tou Hagiou Iōannou, 464; Pinetum, 459n; Regensburg, 463n, 523n; Rheims, 523; Saint-Germain-des-Prés, Library, *see* St-Germain-des-Prés; Saint-Maximin-de-Trèves *see* Trier; Sałmosavank', 579; Sankt Gallen, 458; San Nicola della Cicogna *see* La Cicogna; Sarmin, 454; Sebaste (?) (Sivas), 574; Sinai, Monē tēs Hagias Aikaterinēs, 482n, 486n, 487, 488n, 493-494, 495; Sis, 574; Sōrōt', 575; S(rbots') Sargis vank' Ušoy, 582; Stiłci giwl, 581; Subiaco, 473; Svanet'i, 494; Tat'ew, 579; T'omay Ariak'eali vank', 576; T'ovraskan, 582; Trier, St. Maximin, 458; Troitse-Sergieva Lavra *see* Zagorsk; Udabno, 493, 494n; Vauluisant, Cistercian Monastery, 464; Wadi Natrun (Wadi'n Natrûn = The Valley of Nitria), 446, 483; Wadi Natrun, Monastery of St. Macarius (Dêr Abû Makâr), 486, 493; Wadi Natrun, Monastery of St. Maria Deipara (better known as Dêr es Suriân = Monastery of the Syrians), 446 and n, 454n, 455; Wissenbourg, Abbey, 458; Xoŕni anapat, 581; Zagorsk, Troitse-Sergieva Lavra, 507 and n; Zmiwrnia (Izmir?), 576

Scripture, inspired, 339; a public dispensary, 244n; source of theology, 340; and tradition in Basil, xii-xiii

Scythian monk, 462n

sea, 244

Sebaste, 14n, 18n, 39, 199; *see also* scriptoria

Secretariat for Promotion of Christian Unity, xi, xxxix

Seeck, Otto, 5n

Seleucia, St. Thomas monastery, 448

Semi-Arian, 203

senators, social position, 382; sons' career, 380-381, 383; *see also* Constantinople

Serapion of Thmuis, 297

Serapion, bishop of Vladimir, 510n

Serbian, 503, 504, 506

Sergeĭ of Radonezh, 507n

sermon *see* ὁμιλία

Sesboüé, Bernard, 35, 36, 38

Sevan, 475

Severian of Gabala, 478n, 509

Severus of Antioch, 451 and n, 453n

Severus Ibn al-Muqaffa', 481n, 482 and n, 487 and n

Sever'yanov, Sergeĭ Nikolaevich, 504n

Sevilla, Second Synod (619), 517 and n

Sheldon-Williams, Ingis Patric, 219

Shestakov, Dimitriĭ, 504n

Shook, Lawrence K., xxxix

Sicca, 146

Sichkarev, Luka Ivanovich, 509

Sicily, 139, 140, 142, 143, 147n, 455; anniversary celebrations in: Abbazia Mezzojuso, xliv; Abbazia S. Martino, xliv. *See also* Messina, Palermo

Sicyon, 183

Sieben, Hermann Josef, 111n

Siegmund, Albert, 517n

silence, 249n; threat to love, 249

Silvanus of Tarsus, 37

Simeon, NT, 550

Simeon/Macarius, 434n

Simeon of the Black Mountain, 450n, 454

Simeon Metaphrastes, 442 and n

Simeon, Tsar, 510n

Simon, Dieter, 521n

Simonetti, Manlio, 14n, 37n, 74n, 170, 466n

Simplicia, 12, 399n

simplicity, 118
Simplicius, 212
Sinai, 482n, 485, 486, 487, 488n, 492n, 494, 495, 535, 538
Sion 544n
Siriyan Qastra, 446
Sirmium, Synod of (351), 298 and n; (357), 310
Sisois, 417n
Slavenetskii, Epifanii, 509
slavery, views of Basil, Paul, Stoics, 384-386, 389
slaves, in Cappadocia, 394, 395
Slavs *see* Middle Bulgarian, Old Church Slavonic, Russian, Serbian
Smets, Alexis, 33, 34, 46, 63
social life, aspect of the oikonomia, 244n; in east and west, 381; cohesion, 254
socialism of Basil, 31
Socrates, 155, 157
Solomon, 269n
Son, 327-328. *See* Basil, Eunomius, Gregory of Nyssa, Jesus Christ, Trinity
Sonusa (Annisa?), 5 and n
Sopater, 180 and n
"sophiology," 369, 370-372
Sophistic, 293; Second, 231, 244n, 265n
sophists, 173, 227n
Sophronius, bishop, 12
Sophronius, magister officiorum, 12, 13, 16, 295, 377, 388n, 405, 408
Sophronius of Pompeiopolis, 75n
Sophronius, otherwise unknown, 72
Soranus, 16 and n
Sotadean metre, 173 and n, 177
Sotirios, bishop of Toronto, 41n
soul, remaining above, 139, 146
Sozopolis, 18
Spain, 309n, 315, 455, 460n
speech, 248-250, 265-267, 278; *see also* logos
Špidlík, Tomáš, xl, xliii, 249n, 266n, 414, 623
Spiridonov, Semyon, 562
Staats, Reinhart, xi., 48, 111n, 131n, 133n, 429n
stability, idea of, 275n
stamps, postal, with representations of Basil, 533n
Staraya Ladoga, St. George church, 548n
Stauffer, Ethelbert, 284n
Stead, George Christoph, 173n
Stein, Ernst, 13n
Stephanus, 222n
Stephen, protomartyr, 546
Stephen, Siunetse, 474n
Stephen, a Georgian translator, 493n
Stevenson, James, 150
Stoic, 161, 172, 173, 238n, 239n, 246n, 268 and n, 271n, 272, 274n
Stoicism, 23, 187-188, 196, 197, 207, 212, 215, 220; (Platonic), 268n
Stoics, 215, 246n, 385
Stroheker, Karl Friedrich, 381n
Studenica, Radoslav Narthex, 548
Studion, 543
style of the Bible, 251n; clarity in, 266n
suffragator, suffragium, 406-410
Subiaco, 473
Subordinationism, 74n, 88, 89, 122, 158, 175, 176, 179, 196, 197
substratum, 121
Suk'rean, A., 476n
Sulla, 183
Sulpicius Severus, 311n
Suprasl, 504 and n
Svanet'i, 494
Svidnik, Museum of Ukrainian Culture, 551n
Svyatoslav, 510
Symmachus, 259n
Synan, Edward, xxxix
Synaxarion, Georgian, 540n
Synaxaries, Coptic, 481 and n
Syncletice, 416n
Syncleticia, 459
Synesius, 169, 172n, 181, 185 and n
Syria, 181, 481, 485; Syria I, province, 444n
Syriac, 488, 489n, 491n, 492, 495, 521

Tarchnišvili, Michael, 443n, 476n, 499nn, 502 and n
Tarsus, 13
Tashkovski, Dragan, 503n
Tatta, lake, 439n
Taurus, 305, 439n
T'bilisi (Tiflis), 578n
teaching and rhetoric, 260-265
Teisias, 260n
Teja, Ramón, xliii, 9n, 623
Terentius, comes, 16, 17, 295, 461n; his daughters, 13, 479n
Tertullian, 313
Thebaida, 297

Theiler, Willie, 148n, 166n, 205, 206n, 212, 213
Themistius, 277n, 310
theodicy, 179
Theodopolis, 576
Theodora canonica, 19
Theodore, 19
Theodore of Canterbury *see Penitential, Theodorian*
Theodore of Mopsuestia, 72, 79
Theodore of Pherme, 417n
Theodore of Studion, 53
Theodore Psalter, 540
Theodoret of Cyrrhus, 193, 208
Theodorus of Asine, "the Great," 182, 184, 186
Theodosius I, 22, 71, 290-291, 312, 315
Theodosius II, 151
Theodosius of Alexandria, 451 and n
Theodosius of Beroea, 12, 444n
Theodosius, a slave in Cappadocia, 401n
Theodotus of Nicopolis, 16, 39, 306
Theodotus, Platonic "Successor" in Athens, 183
Theognia, 558
Theognostus, 173
theology of Basil, according to Gregory of Nazianzus, 225n. *See also* Basil
Theophilus of Alexandria, 319-320
Theophilus, bishop, 17
Theophilus of Castabala, 37
Theophrastus, 205
Therasius, 12
Thessalia, 473
Thessaloniki, 503
Thevet, André, 538 and n
Thomas of Heraclea, 449n
Thomson, Robert William, 174n, 175n, 451n, 476-477
Thrace, 315
Three Hierarchs, iconography, 536-537, 541, 544n, 546, 549, 550-552
Thucydides, 244n
Tiflis *see* T'bilisi
Tillemont, Louis Sebastien Le Nain de, 3, 6n, 14n, 22, 23, 27, 35, 41, 43-44, 45, 234n, 466
time, 88, 96, 100, 122-127; order of, 87
Timothy I, Nestorian Patriarch, 453n, 454n
Timothy Aelurus, 39, 194, 451 and n, 453n, 478 and n
Timothy, chorepiscopus, 12
Tokali Kilise II, 556
Tomos Agapis, xi, xiii
topos *see* commonplace
Toronto, St. Basil Symposium, xi, xiv, xv, xvi, xxxix-xliv; list of participants, 624-626
T'orosian, Yovhannēs, 476n
traditio, 233
tradition, apostolic, 358-359; "mystical," 359; written, non-written, 359; and Scripture, xii-xiii
Trajan, 16 and n
Trajan, comes rei militaris, 16, 405
translations of Basil's works *see Ascetica, Hexaemeron, Homilies (Moral), Letters*, and in the Index of References of Basil's Works Nos **1, 4, 7, 360**
translators of the works of Basil *see* Abū-'l Fatḥ 'Abdallah b. al-Faḍl, Angelo Clareno, Anianus of Celeda, Anonymous, Argyropoulos, Arsen Iqalt'oeli, Athanasius II of Balad, David (1-2), Ephrem Mtsiré, Eustathius (Italian), Ewkt'ime At'oneli, Gaios (Rector), Ğarīḥ Ibn Yuhannes ar-Rarāwī, Giorgi At'oneli, Giorgi Prokhoré, Khozrov the Translator, Mladenovich, Nicola d'Otranto, Procopius (hieromonachus), Rufinus Tyrannius, Sichkarev, Simeon of the Black Mountain, Slavenetskiĭ, Stephen Siunetse, Stephen (Georgian)
Trask, Tallman H., 67n
Trebizond, Cave Chapels of St. Savas, 548n
Trent, Council of, 359
Trento, colloquium on Basil, xliv
Treucker, Barnim, xliii, 3 and n, 11n, 15n, 380, 381 and n, 406n, 409n, 422-423, 623
Trevisan, Pietro, 62
Trinity, 69, 84, 98, 112n, 116, 124, 129, 220, 225n, 231n, 310, 311 and n, 314n, 326-331, 602; *see also* Basil, Eunomius, Father, Gregory of Nyssa, Holy Spirit, Son
Troeltsch, Ernst, 429n
truth, opposite of dissension, 233n
Tsereteli, family, 536n
Turner, Cuthbert Hamilton, 53n
Tyana, 13, 305, 306, 408
Tyre, Synod of (337), 310

Udabno, 493, 494 and n
Ukhova, T. B., 509n
unknowability of God, 86 and n

Uluhogian, Gabriella, xli, 475n, 478n, 479n, 480n, 623
Uluköy (Annisa?), 5 and n
unbegotten, 73 and n, 77, 78, 86, 87, 89, 105, 106, 108. *See also* ἀγέννητος
uncreated, 73 and n, 133
unity of Christian community, 267 and n; of society contributed by letter-writing, 253n
Urbicius, monk, 17, 18
Urseius, abbot, 457
Ursus, 556

Vailhé, Siméon, 474n
Vaillant, André, 505 and n, 506, 510n
Valentinus, 237n
Valerian of Aquileia, 13
Vancouver, colloquium on St. Basil, xliv
Vandals, 315
Valens, 13 and n, 22, 23, 121, 133, 182, 227n, 290, 302, 308, 406, 408, 409, 420n, 425, 473, 553-554, 561, 563
Valentinian I, 37, 290 and n, 381
Valentinian II, 290n
Valerianus, 16
Van der Horst, P. W., 165-168
Van Esbroeck, Michel, 14n, 18n, 33, 34, 46, 63, 479n, 493n, 494n
Van Parys, Michel, 112n
Van Winden, Jacobus C. M., 154n
Vardan, 478n
Vatican, Second Council, xiii
Vatra Moldavita, 548n
Vegetius, 17
Veilleux, Armand, 481n
Veljusa, 547
Venice, S. Giorgio, 550; S. Marco Basilica, 544n; Tesoreria, 544n
Venice (1535), edition of Basil's works, 57
Vergil, 536
Verlinden, Charles, 393n
Vespasian, 237n
Victor, 12 and n
Victor of Capua, 462
Victor of Cartenna, 463n
Victorinus, Marius, 138, 148-151, 154, 189-190; and Porphyry, his source, 149-151
Vigilanus, codex, 518n
Viktorov, Aleksieĭ Egorovich, 505n
Vincent, 546
virginity, in Athanasius, 177-178; in Methodius, 178
viri novi, 145, 146, 147, 153
Vischer, Lukas, 380
vision of God, 369. *See also* θεωρία
Vitus, 16
Vivarium, 459n, 468n
Vives, José, 518n
Voicu, Sever Juan, xli, 446n, 461n, 623
Volotove Pole, Dormition church, 548n
Von Campenhausen, Hans Freiherr, 282n, 286, 316, 379
Von Ivanka, Endre, 380n
Von Lilienfeld, Fairy, 416n
Von Matthaei, Christian Friedrich, 58, 62
Von Miklosich, Franz Ritter, 504n
Von Paucker, Karl Heinrich, 459n
Von Schubert, Hans, 331

Wadi Natrun *see* scriptoria
Wallis, Richard Tyrrell, 153n, 160n, 169n
Walter, Christopher, 556, 557, 559
Warsaw, 504n
Wasserschleben, Friedrich Wilhem Hermann, 518
Waszink, Jan Hendrick, 152, 153n, 154, 212
water, 243-244; symbolism, 244-247
Way, Agnes Claire, 250n
Weber, Karl Otto, 165n
Weijenborg, Reinoldus, 18n
Weingarten, Hermann, 290n
Weitzmann, Kurt, 554n, 555n
Westerink, Leendert Gerrit, 164
Westerman, William Linn, 393n
Wey, Joseph C., 518
Wickham, Lionel Ralph, 35, 76n, 185nn, 187
Wilbrand, Wilhelm, 470n
Willebrands, Jan, xi-xiv, xxxix
Wilmart, André, 461
Wilson, Charles Z., 67n
Wilson, Nigel Guy, 18n, 43, 61, 65n, 214n, 265n, 449n
Wissenbourg, 458
Witzel, Georg, 464
Wolf, Johann Christoph, 61n
Woman Sinner (Ps.-Amphilochian *Vita*), 556-557, 559, 561, 563
Woollcombe, Kenneth John, 6n
word, ministry of, *see* οἰκονομία τοῦ λόγου
words *see* speech
Wright, William, 449n, 455n

Xanthias, 417n

Yakovlev, Vladimir Alekseievich, 510n
Yarnell, Allen, 67n
Yaroslav, Art Museum of, no. **i.648**, 562n
Yerevan (Erevan), 476, 571n
Yeşel Irmak (Iris), 5n; *see* Iris
Yosif, Arkhimandrit, 504n
Young, Charles E., 67n
Young, Michael John Lewis, 482n
Yovhannēs Mantakuni, 480
Yuryev, 563

Zacharias, 416n
Zacharias Scholasticus, 5n
Zagorsk, 544n
Zarbhanalean, Karegin, 572n
zeal, 261n
Zelzer, Klaus, 459n
Zeno of Verona, 467 and n
Zenobia, 140
Zenon, 416n
Zeus, 222n
Zhordania, T'edo, 493n
Zilliacus, Henrik, 565
Zoilus, 12
Zoroaster, 143, 147
Zosimus, 23
Zostrianus, 143
Zowit' of Artasat, 480